EMPEROR

A NEW LIFE OF CHARLES V

GEOFFREY PARKER

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To my grandchildren, Cameron, Sienna and Cordelia

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PREFACE

Does the world really need another book about Charles V, ruler of Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, half of Italy, and much of central and south America? The emperor himself composed his memoirs; hundreds of biographies of him have appeared in dozens of languages; WorldCat lists over 500 books published so far this century with ‘Charles V’ in the title. Nevertheless, no work is ever perfect. The emperor composed his triumphalist autobiography in 1550, while at the height of his powers, and several of the ‘lives’ are partisan (even some nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographers used his achievements for ideological ends).

Charles’s modern biographers belong to one of two tribes: those who complain that their subject left too few records to allow the reconstruction of an accurate portrait, and those who protest that he left too many. In 2003, Scott Dixon, a member of the first tribe, declared that ‘Charles left us little trace in the records of what he was really like . . . Of the many thousands of letters dispatched from his desk, very few make any mention of personal details.’ The following year, Harald Kleinschmidt made a similar claim: ‘There is an abundance of texts bearing Charles’s name. But he never saw most of these and among the minority of letters that he did write with his own hand are some which do not reflect his own thoughts but those of his advisers.’[1]

Karl Brandi, author of a two-volume biography of Charles, belonged to the second tribe. ‘Not for many centuries,’ he wrote in 1937, ‘could any prince compare with him in the number of revealing documents which he left behind.’ A few years later, Federico Chabod went even further and claimed that ‘Charles V left us more holograph documents than any other

ruler in History.' In 1966, Fernand Braudel argued that previous historians failed to reconstruct Charles's 'thoughts, his temperament and his character' mainly because the surviving sources are too abundant. 'Looking for the emperor's personality amid the mass of papers,' he concluded, 'is like looking for a needle in a haystack.' In 2002, Wim Blockmans concurred: 'The body of source material' concerning the emperor 'is so massive, it is impossible to survey the whole of it'.[2]

Impossible? Certainly, the surviving sources are 'massive'. Charles signed his first letter at age four (Pl. 2), and by the time he died he had signed more than 100,000 documents in Dutch, French, German, Italian, Latin and Spanish, adding a holograph postscript to several of them. His holograph letters (those written entirely with his own hand in French, Spanish and occasionally German) cover thousands of folios. Charles's epistolary output survives in archives and libraries all over Europe, in part because he spent so much of his reign on the move. He spent almost half his life (over 10,000 days) in the Low Countries and almost one-third (over 6,500 days) in Spain; he spent more than 3,000 days in Germany and almost 1,000 in Italy. He visited France four times (195 days), and north Africa and England twice each (99 and 44 days respectively). He created a documentary trail in almost every place he went. He eludes historians only on the 260 days he spent at sea, travelling between his dominions.[3]

Although he never crossed the Atlantic, Charles also left a documentary mark on his American dominions. The viceroy of Mexico issued almost 1,500 orders in the emperor's name in 1542 and 1543 alone, many of them in response to a direct imperial order. Some of his warrants (*cédulas reales*) gained iconic status because they legalized new Mexica settlements (*altepetl*) and became coveted foundational documents of which copies were still made in the 1990s. Moreover, since 'in Pre-Hispanic Mexico, the founding of the various *altepetl* took place under the will and protection of the gods', Charles acquired an honoured place among the panoply of deities in several of the communities he founded.[4]

The emperor strove to achieve immortality in more conventional ways. He sat for portraits, sponsored histories, commissioned works of art, built palaces, and appeared in propaganda spectacles (notably urban 'entries': Pl. 7). Mass-produced images of him appeared on coins, medals, ceramics and

even draughts counters (Pl. 30), as well as in books and broadsheets. Musicians composed works to celebrate his successes (the battle of Pavia; the imperial coronation) and sometimes his setbacks (the death of his wife). An international corps of poets, painters, sculptors, glaziers, printers, weavers, jewellers, historians, armourers and scribes strove to project an approved image. The emperor followed the advice of Baldassare Castiglione's study of etiquette, *The Courtier* (one of Charles's favourite books, published while the author was ambassador at the imperial court and translated into Spanish at Charles's command): he did everything – walking, riding, fighting, dancing, speaking – with one eye on his audience.[5] He would have been appalled that in the nineteenth century the Spanish government opened his tomb and exposed his naked mummified corpse as a tourist attraction, and that some visitors made drawings while others took photographs (Pl. 39). One bribed a guard to detach the tip of one of his fingers as a souvenir – although this vandalism belatedly proved a boon because forensic examination of the detached digit, now kept in a special receptacle, provided two pieces of important medical evidence: the emperor had suffered from chronic gout, just as he always complained, and he was killed relatively swiftly by a double dose of malaria (Appendix II).

Arma virumque cano ('I sing of arms and a man'): in an important article about the perils associated with writing the life of the emperor, Heinrich Lutz used the opening words of Virgil's *Aeneid* (a text familiar to Charles) to underline the need for his biographers to focus on those matters that absorbed his time, energy and resources – above all on war and preparing for war, both because hostilities took up so much of Charles's reign and because contemporaries noted that he was 'happiest on campaign and with his army'. Lutz argued that other developments, even the Renaissance and the Reformation, should appear only as and when they mattered to Charles, and that they must always be viewed through his eyes.[6]

Bearing in mind Lutz's strictures, this biography deploys the available sources, from documents to digits, to illuminate three key issues:

- *How* Charles took the crucial decisions that created, preserved and expanded the world's first and most enduring transatlantic empire.

- *Whether* Charles's policy failures arose from structural faults or from personal shortcomings: could a monarch with superior political skills have done better, or had circumstances created a polity too big for its own good and impossible to defend? In modern parlance, does agent or structure explain the failure to pass on his empire intact?
- *What* was it like to be Charles? While writing about one of Charles's role models, Alexander the Great, Plutarch (one of Charles's favourite authors) noted that 'The most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men: sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations.' This biography draws on many such unscripted but revealing episodes.[7]

Inevitably, the available sources are uneven. Like every other human being, Charles slept, ate, drank and performed other bodily functions every day, but they left a documentary trace only when they caused a problem (he could not sleep; he vomited; he excreted 'hot piss'; the pain from his haemorrhoids 'made him cry like a baby'). He also spent part of every day at prayer, he regularly attended church services, and each Holy Week he secluded himself in a monastery where he refused to transact any public business – but historians have no idea what else he did at these quiet times unless something unusual happened (he fainted during a church service and lay unconscious for over an hour; he retired to pray or confess at an unusual time, such as just before or just after making an important decision).

Moreover, as Charles lamented in the confidential instructions he composed for his son and heir in 1543, some political decisions 'are so impenetrable and uncertain that I do not know how to describe them to you' because 'they are full of confusions and contradictions'.[8] He made at least one effort to clarify everything. In November 1552 his valet Guillaume van Male confided to a colleague that the emperor had just ordered him to:

> . . . close the doors to his chambers and made me promise to maintain the utmost secrecy about the things he was about to tell me . . . He held back nothing. I was stunned to learn what he told me. Even now I shudder when I think of it and would rather die than tell

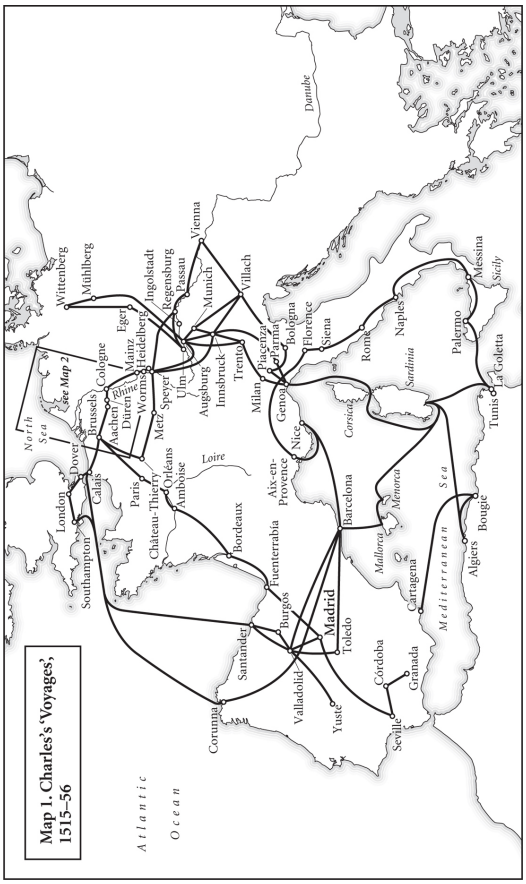
> anybody but you. Now I can write freely because the emperor sleeps, it is the dead of night, and everyone else has left.

‘It will take a long time to share all the details with you,’ van Male continued tantalizingly, because the emperor had just ‘told me everything that ever happened in his life’, and ‘even provided me with a handwritten paper that listed all his past misdeeds’, including ‘many things he should have handled differently, either because he forgot something or because he later made changes’. Unfortunately for historians, at this point sleep overcame van Male too, and he laid down his quill. If he committed ‘all the details’ to paper at some later date, then his letter (like the emperor’s handwritten list of misdeeds) has perished.[9]

Nevertheless, enough sources have survived to resolve many of the ‘confusions and contradictions’ in Charles’s life. Apart from the mountain of his own surviving correspondence, the emperor attracted the attention of a large number of people: friends and foes alike wrote more about him than about any of his contemporaries, even Martin Luther. From his birth until his abdication numerous foreign diplomats observed and reported his every action, word and gesture; and a dozen or more eyewitnesses described major public events (such as his coronation in Bologna in 1530 and his abdication in Brussels in 1555). Records multiplied whenever the emperor travelled by land – and over the course of his reign he stayed in over 1,000 different places, from Wittenberg to Seville and from London to Algiers (Map 1) – so that it is sometimes possible to reconstruct his movements hour by hour.[10] Charles was never alone. Courtiers and diplomats accompanied him on even his loneliest journeys, including his first weeks in Spain in 1517 when he hiked across the Picos de Europa to claim his inheritance, sleeping in hovels surrounded by livestock and beset by bears; and again during his flight across the Alps in 1552 to escape capture by his German subjects, when his staff had to commandeer emergency bed linen for him in remote villages. He was closely observed even after he retired to the small palace attached to the monastery at Yuste, in Spain’s Gredos mountains. At least two monks kept a journal in which their august guest played a starring role; virtually every day his courtiers recorded what their master had said and done; and twenty eyewitnesses provided sworn

testimony about what they had seen and heard as the emperor lay dying. Bizarrely, Charles's last days are the best-known period of his entire life.

'My God, how does one write a Biography? Tell me,' Virginia Woolf asked a friend (and fellow biographer) in 1938. 'How can one deal with facts – so many and so many and so many?'[11] Four centuries earlier the Spanish Humanist Juan Páez de Castro, whom Charles had commissioned to write 'the life of Your Majesty', wrestled with the same dilemma. Before he started work, Páez de Castro drew up an outline that explained to Charles how he planned to deal with 'so many facts'. First, he set out his own credentials: he claimed fluency in six languages (including Chaldean) and knowledge of law, natural history and mathematics. Next, 'since writing is not just the product of ingenuity or invention but also of work and effort to assemble the materials that will be written about, it is necessary to seek them out'; and so Páez de Castro planned to visit every place 'that has seen the banners of Your Majesty, in order to provide the lustre that I desire for this work'. At each location he would 'consult venerable and diligent people; read the inscriptions on public monuments and graves; dig into the old registers kept by notaries, where many things that make up history are found; and copy all previous histories, old and new, by good and bad authors'. Finally, 'it will be necessary to consult Your Majesty about many things, to find out the rationale' for controversial decisions. It was an excellent outline, but Charles died before Páez de Castro could interview him, and its author died before he had completed any part of his biography.[12]



In his abdication speech in Brussels in 1555, Charles reminded his listeners that he had undertaken forty 'voyages' on their behalf. He would make one more, his last, to the convent of Yuste in Spain, making him the most-travelled monarch of early modern Europe.
Source: de Boom, 'Voyage', pull-out

This volume presents Charles's life in four chronological sections separated by 'portraits' of how he appeared to his contemporaries at critical moments: in 1517, when he left the Netherlands for the first time; in 1532, when he reached full maturity; and in 1548, when he attained the height of his power. The only exception is a thematic chapter on 'The Taming of America'. Charles, the first European to rule significant parts of the Americas, developed a keen interest in the continent: although he focused primarily on how best to make the resources of the New World pay for his endeavours in the Old, the emperor also displayed lasting interest in its flora, its fauna and its people, both natives and newcomers. In particular, he sought to provide his native subjects with spiritual guidance and material security. He saw this as an issue that affected his 'royal conscience' because 'when he found out how all the native inhabitants of Hispaniola and Cuba,

and the other [Caribbean] islands had died through being sent to the mines, he became convinced that he would go to Hell if he permitted the practice to continue'.[13] Few Netherlanders of his day cared about America – even Erasmus 'hardly let an allusion to the New World pass his pen' – and Charles was the only sixteenth-century ruler to make a principled stand for the rights of native Americans. His legislation 'long continued to be a powerful break on the oppression of native Americans'. Charles's New World initiatives therefore merit detailed attention.[14]

Páez de Castro, too, intended to include Charles's New World achievements in his biography, but he planned to omit some other matters. Although he believed that historians should 'condemn and denigrate the bad, so that nothing similar should take place in future', as well as 'exalt and praise the good to encourage repetition', he distinguished between 'the details that are proper to history and those that, without compromising the truth, should remain in the author's inkwell'.[15] For better or worse, few details about the emperor remain in my own inkwell. On the personal level, I have exalted and praised his facility with languages (he eventually mastered Italian and Spanish as well as his native French, and could speak some Dutch and German); his prowess in marksmanship and horsemanship; and his personal courage when commanding troops under fire. He also knew how to foster loyalty and affection. According to a diplomat in 1531, Charles addressed a crowd 'in such a moving and gentle way that it almost made the audience weep' and by the time he had finished, his hearers 'were of one mind, as if they had become his slaves'; when he died, the sorrowing members of his entourage 'gave great cries, hit their faces and butted their heads on the walls'; and a few years later, Ferdinand told a confidant that 'I loved and revered the emperor as if he had been my father'.[16]

As for 'condemning and denigrating the bad', I have documented how Charles falsely denied that he had approved in advance the attack on Rome and capture of Pope Clement in 1527; how he lied about the murder of two French diplomats, Fregoso and Rincón, in 1541; and how he reneged on a solemn promise to marry his son Philip to a Portuguese princess in 1553. In some cases, Charles vehemently, publicly and repeatedly denied that he had lied (as in 1527 and 1541); in other cases, he simply refused to discuss his reprehensible conduct (when a Portuguese envoy came to protest the

repudiation of the princess in 1554, ‘we told him what was necessary, without wishing to justify or discuss the matter further, because when these matters are past it is best to dissimulate’).[17] Charles could also behave badly in private. When he discovered in 1517 that his older sister Eleanor was in love with a courtier he forced her to appear before a notary and make a formal deposition renouncing her lover and promising to obey her brother in all things; the following year he forced her to marry an uncle more than twice her age. In 1530 he ordered that Tadea, one of his three illegitimate daughters, should receive a permanent ‘mark on her right leg below the knee’ (at best a tattoo, at worst a brand mark); and three years later he negotiated a marriage contract between his 11-year-old niece Christina of Denmark and a man four times her age, with the right to consummate the union immediately. Most shameful of all, Charles abused his mother Queen Joanna. He kept her confined and under guard until her death in 1555, and for some years he surrounded her with a fictional world, full of fake facts (such as insisting long after the death of her father, King Ferdinand, that he still lived). Moreover, on his visits to Joanna, Charles plundered her tapestries, jewels, books, silver goods and even liturgical vestments, which he recycled as wedding gifts for his sister and his wife, filling the empty chests with bricks of equivalent weight, hoping that his mother would not notice that he had robbed her until after he left.

These are perplexing paradoxes, and I have tried to understand them by establishing *how* Charles came to act as he did, before studying *why*. This methodological decision has some important consequences. As Christopher Clark observed in the preface to *The sleepwalkers*, his breathtaking study of the origins of the First World War:

> Questions of why and how are logically inseparable, but they lead us in different directions. The question of *how* invites us to look closely at the sequences of interactions that produced certain outcomes. By contrast the question of *why* invites us to go in search of remote and categorical causes . . . The why approach brings a certain analytical clarity, but it also has a distorting effect, because it creates the illusion of a steadily building causal pressure; the factors pile up on top of each other pushing down on the events;

> political actors become mere executors of forces long established and beyond their control.

Like Clark, I have therefore tried ‘to let the *why* answers grow, as it were, out of the *how* answers, rather than the other way round’, even though asking ‘how’ inevitably privileges agency and contingency whereas asking ‘why’ foregrounds structures and continuities.[18]

To understand and explain how Charles behaved, like Páez de Castro I have learned several languages (though not Chaldean) and studied other disciplines (though not law, natural history or mathematics); I have visited the places ‘that saw his banners’ (and especially those that received his archives); I have read most ‘previous histories, old and new, by good and bad authors’; and I have ransacked written records. Although I was unable to consult His Majesty in person ‘about many things, to find out the rationale’, more than enough material survives to allow readers to choose whether to believe those who revered the emperor or those who reviled him.

Should we side with Luis Quijada, who had known the emperor for over twenty years and after he watched him die declared him ‘the greatest man that has ever lived’; and with Francisco de Borja, who asserted that when he spoke with Charles he spoke with God? Or should we believe Pope Paul III who claimed ‘Your Majesty is an ingrate who only remembers his friends when he needs them’; and the French ambassador who echoed that ‘If you examine the matter closely, you will find that the emperor has never cared for anyone, except insofar as he can make use of them’?[19] Do we join Gustave Bergenroth, who spent a decade in the archives of western Europe transcribing some 18,000 pages of documents by and about Charles, and rejoice as we watch the emperor ‘break down, piece by piece . . . politically, morally, bodily, until he finishes his miserable life in his miserable retirement at Yuste’, and deem his life ‘one of the greatest tragedies ever enacted’? Or do we endorse the verdict of Karl Brandi, one of the few scholars to have read more documents than Bergenroth by and about the emperor, that he ‘was a man, with the daily weaknesses and caprices of his kind, yet in the permanent motives of his desire, in the courage of his convictions, something more than a man, a great figure in the history of the world’?[20] Is there more to exalt than to denigrate about Charles V? Does

the world really need another book about him? Gentle reader: the decision is yours.

NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

Where an established English version of a foreign place-name exists (Antwerp, Corunna, The Hague, Venice, Vienna) I have used it, otherwise I have preferred the style used in the place itself today (Mechelen, not Malines; Aachen, not Aix-la-Chapelle; Regensburg, not Ratisbon). The exception is the capital of the Ottoman empire: all references to it taken from original sources preserve the contemporary usage ‘Constantinople’; all others refer to ‘Istanbul’. Likewise, where an established English version of a protagonist’s name exists (Francis I, Clement VII, Don John of Austria) I have used it, otherwise I have preferred the version used by the protagonist. Different people with the same name form an exception. Although the context usually clarifies their identity, ‘Catalina’ refers to Charles’s youngest sister and ‘Katherine’ to their aunt, Katherine of Aragon; ‘Margaret’ means Charles’s aunt Margaret, archduchess of Austria and dowager duchess of Savoy, and ‘Margarita’ means his illegitimate daughter, duchess of Florence and later of Parma (known in contemporary sources as ‘Madama’); ‘María’ normally means Charles’s older daughter; ‘Marie’ means his sister the queen of Hungary (after 1526 dowager queen); and ‘Mary’ means either Henry VIII’s sister or older daughter, both of whom were at one stage betrothed to Charles.

Protagonists who changed their style or title present a special challenge. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–86) used the style ‘bishop of Arras’ between 1540 and 1562 and thereafter ‘Cardinal Granvelle’, but he appears throughout this book as ‘Perrenot’ to distinguish him from his father, Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle (1486–1550), who appears throughout this book as ‘Granvelle’.[1] Charles’s grandfather Maximilian (1459–1519) also

changed his style. He started life as archduke of Austria, adding duke of Burgundy after 1477 when he married Duchess Mary; in 1486 he began to style himself ‘king of the Romans’ and after 1508 changed it to ‘emperor elect’. After the death of his father Emperor Frederick III in 1493, however, his contemporaries normally referred to Maximilian as ‘the emperor’ and that is how he appears throughout this biography. Charles, too, was ‘emperor elect’ after he became king of the Romans, until the pope placed the imperial crown on his head ten years later; but after 1520 almost all his contemporaries referred to him as ‘the emperor’. Charles himself followed the style used by the ruler in each of his dominions. In Spain, he used the title *Rey Católico* (‘the Catholic king’), granted to his grandparents Ferdinand and Isabella, and signed all documents *Yo el Rey* (‘I the king’) even when writing to his wife or his children. He signed documents in Latin, German and Italian, ‘Carol’ or ‘Carolus’; and those written in French, ‘Charles’. In this book, Charles is referred to as ‘emperor’ from his coronation as king of the Romans in 1520 until he transferred the title to his brother in 1558; and ‘the Empire’ (with an initial capital) refers to the ‘Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation’ over which he ruled.

Finally, some terms changed their meaning over time, which can cause confusion. Thus ‘Protestant’ first appeared in 1529 as a political term for those who protested at the abrogation of the toleration granted to German Lutherans three years before. It acquired a doctrinal meaning the following year, when the followers of Martin Luther presented their Confession of Faith to the Diet of Augsburg; but, as Bob Scribner observed, throughout Charles’s reign it remained ‘something of a politico-religious centaur, a theological statement worked out under diplomatic and political pressure to meet the demands of a political situation’. The emperor used interchangeably the terms ‘those who have deviated from the true church’, ‘Protestant’ and ‘Lutherans’ (even for those who rejected aspects of Luther’s teaching, such as Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg); but in this book ‘Lutherans’ refer exclusively to followers of Martin Luther and ‘Protestants’ to all who rejected papal authority.[2]

PART I

YOUNG CHARLES

‘*We are delighted that our grandson Charles takes so much pleasure in hunting, because otherwise one might think he was a bastard.’*

Emperor Maximilian to Margaret of Austria, 28 February 1510

— ONE —

FROM DUKE OF LUXEMBURG TO PRINCE OF CASTILE, 1500–8

THE DUKE OF LUXEMBURG

‘We will begin with his lineage’: with these words Pedro Mexía commenced his biography of Charles V, written in 1548, and his first chapter – entitled ‘Of the exalted, excellent and undoubted genealogy and lineage of this great prince’ – listed his subject’s ancestors over the previous thousand years.[1] Mexía had correctly identified Charles’s greatest initial asset – his exalted family – but hindsight led to some exaggeration. At the time of Charles’s birth in 1500, his father Archduke Philip of Austria ruled only a few provinces in the Netherlands inherited from Philip’s mother, Duchess Mary of Burgundy, albeit he was also heir to the distant lands in central Europe ruled by his father Maximilian, head of the House of Habsburg. Charles’s mother Joanna initially had no parallel expectations, since she was the third child of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, both from the Spanish House of Trastámara and normally known as the Catholic Monarchs, a title bestowed upon them by a benevolent Spanish pope.

The three dynasties shared a number of common denominators. Above all, they all practised a policy of matrimonial imperialism. Several generations of the Aragonese and Castilian branches of the Trastámara intermarried with the express intention of uniting the kingdoms; and they also intermarried with the House of Avis, which ruled Portugal, in the hope of uniting the peninsula. The dukes of Burgundy embraced matrimonial

imperialism from the first (in 1369 the first duke married the heiress of the county of Flanders), and they acquired most of their other Netherlands territories through inheritance. Habsburg rulers contracted marriages both to add territories and to strengthen bonds between different branches of their dynasty, giving rise to a slogan that first became popular just after the union of Maximilian of Austria with Mary of Burgundy in 1477:

> *Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube*
> *Nam quae Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.*
> Others make war; you, happy Habsburgs, marry,
> For the kingdoms Mars gives to others, Venus gives to you.[2]

Matrimonial imperialism nevertheless came at a cost. Polities created in this way were the antithesis of the modern state: dynastic loyalty was often their only common denominator, encouraging a ruler to see his dominions, however far-flung, as a personal possession, a patrimony, to be handed on to the next generation intact. In 1543, Charles assured his son, the future Philip II, that his principal goal would be ‘to avoid leaving you less of an inheritance than the one I inherited’.[3]

Fear of France formed another common denominator between the three dynasties. Burgundy had signed anti-French treaties with Aragon in the 1470s, and a decade later Maximilian suggested the marriage of his only son with a Spanish princess; but negotiations languished until Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494 and marched triumphantly to Naples to press his dynastic claims to the kingdom. The following year, Maximilian warned the Catholic Monarchs ‘that once the king of France has gained Naples, he will want to occupy the other states of Italy’; and to persuade them ‘that they should resist and attack the king of France’ he proposed a double marriage: between his daughter Margaret and their heir, Prince John, and between his heir Philip and their younger daughter Joanna. The marriage contracts were signed in January 1495 and the Spanish princess reached Lier, near Antwerp, in October 1496, where the couple consummated their marriage. No one foresaw that their son would rule the greatest empire seen in a millennium (Fig. 1).[4]

The future Charles V first made his presence felt from the womb. In September 1499, Philip summoned ‘a midwife from the city of Lille’ to ‘see

and visit' Joanna; and four months later he sent a courier 'at the utmost speed, day and night, without sparing men or horses', to ask the abbot of a convent near Lille to lend its most precious relic, the 'ring of the Virgin' reputedly placed on Mary's finger by Joseph when they married, and said to 'bring solace to women in labour'. According to some accounts, the ring proved extremely effective: Joanna's labour began while she attended a ball in the palace of the counts of Flanders in Ghent, and she only got as far as the nearest latrine before giving birth to the future emperor. It was 24 February 1500, St Matthew's Day.[5]

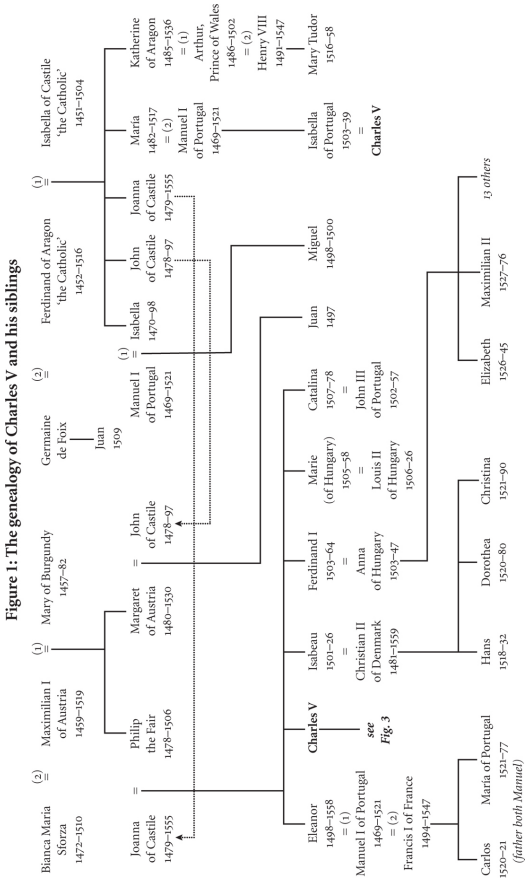


Figure 1: The genealogy of Charles V and his siblings
Bianca Maria Sforza 1472–1510
(2) = Maximilian I of Austria 1459–1519
Mary of Burgundy 1457–82
(1) = Philip the Fair 1478–1506
Margaret of Austria 1480–1530
= John of Castle 1478–97
Germaine de Foix
(2) = Ferdinand of Aragon 'the Catholic' 1452–1516
Juan 1509
Isabella of Castile 'the Catholic' 1451–1504
(1) = Isabella 1470–98
John of Castile 1478–97
Joanna of Castile 1479–1555
Maria 1482–1517 = (2) Manuel I of Portugal 1469–1521
Katherine of Aragon 1485–1536 = (1) Arthur, Prince of Wales 1486–1502 = (2) Henry VIII 1491–1547
Mary Tudor 1516–58
Joanna of Castile 1479–1555
= Manuel I of Portugal 1469–1521
(2) = Eleanor 1498–1558 = (1) Manuel I of Portugal 1469–1521 = (2) Francis I of France 1494–1547
Charles V
see Fig. 3
Isabeau 1501–26 = Christian II of Denmark 1481–1559
Ferdinand I 1503–64 = Anna of Hungary 1503–47
Marie (of Hungary) 1505–58 = Louis II of Hungary 1506–26
Catalina 1507–78 = John III of Portugal 1502–57
Juan 1497
Miguel 1498–1500
Isabella of Portugal 1503–39 = Charles V
Carlos 1520–21
Maria of Portugal 1521–77 (father both Manuel)
Hans 1518–32
Dorothea 1520–80
Christina 1521–90
Elizabeth 1526–45
Maximilian II 1527–76
13 others

Most contemporary histories of Charles included his genealogy, and for good reason: a remarkable series of births, marriages and deaths united the possessions of four European dynasties under a single sceptre. None of Charles's grandparents desired this outcome, however, and it would have been undone had the unions between Princess Isabella and Manuel of Portugal, between Prince John of Spain and Margaret of Austria, or between Ferdinand of Aragon and Germaine de Foix, produced an heir that survived infancy.

As soon as the citizens of Ghent heard news of the birth, according to the city's leading poet, an eyewitness:

> Great and small shouted 'Austria' and 'Burgundy'
> Throughout the whole city for three hours.
> Everyone ran about while shouting the good news
> Of [the birth of] a prince of peace.

Meanwhile Philip signed letters instructing the major towns of the Netherlands to arrange 'processions, fireworks and public games' to celebrate the birth of his heir, and summoned the leading clerics of his dominions to attend the child's baptism.[6] He also sent an express messenger to his sister Margaret, then returning from Spain, 'begging her to hasten back so that she could hold the child in her hands at the font during the baptism' and serve as godmother. As soon as Margaret arrived she pressured her brother to call the child Maximilian, after their father, but Philip chose the name of their grandfather, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy – although he also conferred on his son the title 'duke of Luxemburg', a dignity held by several of Maximilian's ancestors.[7]

Charles's grandparents reacted in different ways. In Spain, 'when his grandmother Queen Isabella learned of his birth' on St Matthew's Day, 'remembering that Holy Scripture records that Jesus chose the Apostle Saint Matthew by chance, and understanding how much hope surrounded the birth of her grandson, who would inherit so many and such great kingdoms and lordships, she said: "Chance has fallen upon Matthew"'. In Germany, Maximilian declared himself 'entirely satisfied with the name' of the child 'on account of the affection I hold towards my dear lord and father-in-law, Duke Charles'.[8] Meanwhile, in Ghent, the magistrates prepared a series of triumphal arches representing the individual dominions that the infant would inherit from his father and grandfather, if he survived, while others represented the virtues of wisdom, justice and peace. On the evening of 7 March 1500 a long procession accompanied the infant over a special elevated walkway from the palace to the local parish church where his baptism would take place. Thousands of torches along the way 'turned night into day' (in the words of an awed chronicler) and allowed the vast crowd to watch as the officials and courtiers slowly passed by, culminating

in Charles and his four godparents, each one destined to play a significant role in his early life: his great-grandmother Margaret of York, widow of Charles the Bold; his aunt Margaret of Austria; Charles de Croÿ, prince of Chimay, and Jean de Glymes, lord of Bergen, two of the foremost Netherlands nobles. No one could have overlooked the symbolism of this arrangement: Philip, who would normally have occupied pride of place in the procession, ceded it to his son, who thus entered his secular inheritance by receiving the homage of his future subjects at the same time that he became a member of the Christian Church through baptism.

Philip had good reasons for this innovation. Although he boasted many titles, his ancestors had acquired them piecemeal over the course of a century, mostly by marriage. As Rolf Strøm-Olsen has pointed out: 'Charles's baptism presented a rare opportunity for the Habsburg court to make supra-regional claims about its legitimacy, power and authority', giving the ceremony in Ghent 'in ritual terms, some of the significance of coronation ceremonies found elsewhere in Europe, ceremonies not available to the rulers of the Low Countries'.[9]

Nevertheless, Philip did not entirely trust the people of Ghent. Three weeks before the birth he ordered that thirty archers and twenty-five halberdiers should henceforth 'stand on duty from the time when the archduke arises, and then accompany him on his way to Mass'. They 'must not leave the palace' without express permission but instead 'secure and protect the person of the archduke' day and night.[10] These were not idle precautions. After the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, Ghent had refused to accept her husband Maximilian as regent of the Burgundian Netherlands and guardian of their infant children. Instead, its magistrates seized young Philip, holding him as a hostage, and created a council of regency 'to maintain the right of our lord, your son, whom we hold to be our prince and natural lord, and none other'.[11] In 1485, at the head of troops from his German and Austrian territories, Maximilian crushed the dissidents and liberated his son, whom he moved to the loyal city of Mechelen; but three years later his autocratic behaviour provoked first his own capture and imprisonment in Ghent, and then his expulsion from the Netherlands.

Revolt, factional strife, and war thus characterized Philip's minority, which lasted until his fifteenth birthday in 1493, prompting the new ruler to adopt a very different style of government from his father. As Philip declared in 1497: 'Ever since we came of age and received the allegiance of our lands, we have always had the earnest desire, wish and inclination to end the great disorders that have prevailed here because of past wars and divisions, both in our own household and elsewhere in our said lands, and instead to introduce order.'[12] A decade later the Venetian ambassador at the court of Burgundy, Vincenzo Quirino, deemed this policy a success. Philip, he wrote, was 'by nature good, generous, open, affable, kind and almost intimate with everyone', and 'he sought to uphold justice with all his might. He was pious and he kept his promises.' Nevertheless, Quirino added, 'although he quickly understood complex issues, he was slow to deal with them and irresolute in action. He referred everything to his council.' Quirino also noted that 'I have learned from experience that decision-making at this court is very variable and mutable', because 'often they decide one thing in the council, and then do something totally different'. Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador, agreed: the archduke, he wrote, 'is very fickle, and everyone has the power to change his mind'. Maximilian once reproached his son for listening to 'traitors and disloyal advisers who put [false] ideas in your head in order to create divisions between you and me' and suggested that 'it is better for you that I should know about your plans before your ministers instead of being treated like a stranger'. Yet Maximilian's repeated demands that his son should follow his lead, above all in waging war on France, left Philip (in Quirino's words) 'torn between paternal affection and the esteem and trust he places in his ministers'. In short, 'He finds himself in a labyrinth.'[13]

Olivier de la Marche, a veteran courtier of the dukes of Burgundy who became Philip's preceptor, appeared to agree with these unfavourable analyses, because at the end of his *Memoirs*, completed just before his death in 1502, he called the archduke 'Philip-believe-what-you're-told [*Philippe-croy-conseil*]'.[14] Nevertheless La Marche's 'Introduction', written a decade earlier, had expressly warned his pupil not to follow the example of his headstrong father Maximilian. 'Let me tell you the truth,' he urged Philip: 'Never give your subjects power over you, but always ask for their advice

and assistance in forming and sustaining your grand designs.' La Marche praised the archduke because, after a quarter-century of war and rebellion, 'by listening to advice, you put the country back on its feet': he had united and pacified his disparate holdings; he had ensured universal acceptance of Habsburg rule; and he had established a cohort of over thirty trusted councillors, many of whom would also advise his son, creating a crucial element of political stability and continuity that helped to prevent a recurrence of the domestic unrest that had followed the death of his predecessors.[15]

The young duke of Luxemburg knew nothing of this. The daily accounts of his household show that a few weeks after giving birth, 'the archduchess and her noble children' (Charles and his sister Eleanor, fifteen months his senior) left Ghent for Bruges and then Brussels. There Joanna fell seriously ill and 'for forty-nine days continuously' Liberal Trevisan, Philip's personal physician and a member of his council, joined the 'other doctors and surgeons tending our very dear and much loved wife, to cure her of an illness'.[16] Charles would not have noticed. A Spanish diplomat reported that the duke of Luxemburg and his sister 'were being raised together in their apartments and no one has been added to their list of servants', with one exception: Barbe Servels, who, as Charles recalled four decades later, 'served as my principal wet-nurse for nine months'. A native of Ghent, Barbe began to nurse her august charge from the outset and Charles remained devoted to her: in 1540 he stood godfather to her son, in whose career he took a keen interest, and when she died in 1554 he ordered her to be buried in the cathedral of St Gudule in Brussels and commissioned a prominent epitaph in her honour.[17]

The reports of Ambassador Fuensalida to Ferdinand and Isabella provide the earliest descriptions of Charles and his sister. In August 1500, after his first visit, Fuensalida wrote what grandparents everywhere want to hear: at five months 'the duke of Luxemburg is so tall and strong that he seems like a boy one year old', while his sister Eleanor, aged almost two, 'is so lively and clever that she seems as developed as a child of five'. Naturally, 'they are the most beautiful children in the world'. By the time of his first birthday, Charles was 'already taking steps in a baby walker (*carretonçillo*)' and 'walks with as much confidence and strength as a

three-year-old'; and by August 1501 he was 'the strongest child for his age that I have ever seen'.[18]

The interest of the Catholic Monarchs reflected, in part, acute anxiety about the future of their dynasty. In 1497 their heir and only son John had died, leaving his wife Margaret of Austria pregnant, but their child died almost immediately. This made Joanna's older sister Isabel heir to all the territories ruled by the Catholic Monarchs, but she too died in 1498, immediately after giving birth to a son – who followed her to the grave two years later. On 8 August 1500 a letter from the Catholic Monarchs reached Philip, 'announcing the death of the child, so that my lord was now prince'. Three days later, for the first time, Philip signed a letter *Yo el príncipe* ('I, the prince'), the official style used in Spain by the heir apparent.[19]

These events profoundly affected the infant duke of Luxemburg. In the long term, as the oldest son of Joanna and Philip he would eventually succeed his father in Spain as well as in the Netherlands and in Austria. In the short term, his parents abandoned him because although Spain had no coronation ceremony, each new heir to the throne needed to appear in person before the representative assembly (*Cortes*) of each constituent state (Castile, León and Granada together; Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia individually) in order to receive their allegiance. Initially, Philip exhibited little enthusiasm for his good fortune. He did not inform his subjects of his impending departure for Spain until December 1500, when he asked his Netherlands subjects to fund the costs of the voyage; and even then he suggested that he might travel alone. The archduke's ambiguity probably reflected both the fact that Joanna was pregnant with their third child, Isabeau (born in July 1501 and named after her grandmother, Isabella the Catholic), and also the hostility of his courtiers who, according to Fuensalida, 'would rather go to Hell than to Spain'. The new prince and princess did not begin their journey until October 1501, leaving their children under the care of Margaret of York in Mechelen (where Philip himself had grown up), assisted by a household of almost one hundred 'essential personnel'.[20] The children would not see their father again for two years, and their mother remained in Spain to give birth in March 1503 to another son, whom she named Ferdinand after her father. She did not return to the Netherlands until 1504.

As María José Rodríguez-Salgado has pointed out:

> It was not unusual in this period for princes to be separated from their parents, to whom they were bound as much by political as by personal ties. We should not therefore expect aristocratic and princely dynasties of the time to be equipped with the emotional make-up of the contemporary bourgeois family. But even by the standards of the day, Charles had been born into an extraordinary and dysfunctional family.[21]

Fuensalida's letters to the Catholic Monarchs documented that dysfunction. He reported that during Joanna's absence in Spain, Philip 'had lots of fun' with his children 'and saw them many times', whereas after Joanna's return to the Netherlands she ignored them. In addition, Philip's infidelities caused such serious tensions between Charles's parents that in July 1504 Fuensalida (unfortunately for historians) dared not entrust details to paper but instead sent a special messenger to describe the discord to his sovereigns in person. The following month Philip visited Holland without his wife, and the ambassador noted with regret that 'Her Highness [Joanna] does not write to her husband and he does not write to her.' The archduke made an effort at reconciliation after he returned, bringing Charles and his sisters from Mechelen to Brussels to see their mother, 'thinking that if he brought them she would talk to them', but (according to Fuensalida) she 'did not seem to enjoy their company much'. Philip then tried another tactic: 'that night the prince slept in his wife's bedroom' (presumably the night that Joanna conceived another child, their daughter Marie). Relations between the couple soon deteriorated again. They regularly screamed at each other, and Joanna periodically retreated to her rooms and went on hunger strike; but after she grabbed a metal rod to beat the attendants appointed by her husband, Philip confined her to an apartment under guard. Obviously she could not be trusted with her children.[22]

In October 1504 another unexpected letter arrived from Spain: Ferdinand of Aragon announced that his wife Isabella seemed near to death. Therefore:

> The prince, my son, must immediately and secretly put his affairs there in order, so that everything is as it should be (although no one must know or understand why this is being done). He and the princess, my daughter, must also secretly prepare themselves so that if I should send a messenger they could leave at once and come here by sea with no delay.

Once again, Philip showed extreme reluctance to travel to Castile, complaining to Fuensalida that news of the queen's illness had 'come at a bad time', because he had just begun a war against Duke Charles of Guelders, a resolute and resourceful enemy of the dukes of Burgundy, 'and this is a major obstacle if I have to go to Spain: although Spain is of great importance, this is my real homeland and I must not lose it.' Even news of Isabella's death, which arrived in December 1504, failed to change Philip's mind: although he immediately styled himself 'king of Castile', he continued the war with Guelders until he had occupied most of the duchy – only to hand it back in return for a promise from Duke Charles that he would remain at peace while he went to Spain. The new king and queen of Castile finally set sail from Zealand in January 1506.[23]

THE UNIVERSAL HEIR

Although Charles never met his Spanish grandmother, her lavish obsequies in Brussels in January 1505 were probably the first public event he could remember. He, his sisters and their courtiers all wore special black coats and hoods lined with fur 'as mourning for the late queen of Spain', while they watched their parents kneel before the altar in the cathedral of St Gudule and listened to the magnificent 'Mass for Philip the Fair' by Josquin des Prés, the most famous composer of his day, composed for this occasion. After the service they heard the heralds proclaim the new 'king and queen of Castile, León and Granada, and prince and princess of Aragon and Sicily', and watched their parents solemnly process through the streets of Brussels, preceded by shields and banners 'on which all the king's titles were written, so that no one could plead ignorance'. Shortly afterwards, Charles and his siblings met their grandfather Maximilian for the first time, when he spent more than a month in the Netherlands, and they no doubt

watched the numerous tournaments over which he presided ‘in the great hall of the palace and in the park of Brussels’, in one of which their father entered the lists with three of his courtiers, all dressed in yellow and red ‘in the Spanish fashion’.[24]

The children likewise enjoyed the exotic animals imported by Philip from Spain – four camels, two pelicans, an ostrich and some guinea fowl, which joined the lions and bears kept in the palace gardens of Ghent and Brussels. Surviving sources record that Charles baited the lions with a stick, and fenced with the figures portrayed in the tapestries that decorated his apartments. He also pranced around on the hobby-horses given to him by Maximilian and by Count Palatine Frederick of Bavaria (both of whom would play an important role in his life); he drove his sisters around in a small cart drawn by ponies; and he organized his pages into armies of Christians and Turks, in which the duke of Luxemburg invariably commanded the former and invariably won.[25]

The children also learned to read and write. At first, Charles, Eleanor and Isabeau studied together under the direction of Juan de Anchieta, who served Joanna as both priest and composer – a common combination at the time, because musicians needed to write their own scores, and so were deft with a quill, while children normally learned elementary literacy by reciting and reading prayers. Indeed in April 1503 (when Eleanor was four and a half, Charles just over three, and Isabeau not yet two), Philip paid one of his chaplains who was also a copyist of musical manuscripts just over £2 ‘for a parchment book which he had illuminated, containing the gospels and prayers that were read’ to the duke of Luxemburg and his sisters ‘every day after they had heard Mass’. Seven months later, probably as a present for her fifth birthday, Philip gave Eleanor a ‘book called “ABC”, composed of large letters, with lots of pictures and some gold letters’, which cost £12 – rather a lot for a child’s primer, but a good investment because one year later she was able to send a letter written in her own hand to her grandfather Ferdinand.[26] Charles made slower progress. In January 1504, when a letter in Spanish went out in his name to his grandfather, asking ‘Your Highness to excuse my discourtesy in not writing with my own hand’ (reasonable enough for a boy not yet four), the prince could not even write his own

name himself, instead copying the letters written on a separate sheet by Anchieta (Pl. 2).[27]

Anchieta returned to Spain and Luis Cabeza de Vaca, ‘a Spaniard of noble blood who excelled in letters and good conduct’, became preceptor to the royal children. He took immediate steps to create an environment more favourable to learning – a local carpenter supplied a special desk, with a cupboard for school supplies and seats, ‘so that the prince and his sisters could go to school’ – and for the next three years his three illustrious charges studied together (Pl. 1).[28] Still, Charles made slow progress. When, in September 1506, Maximilian expressed the desire that his grandson should learn some Dutch, his governor replied frostily: ‘I will deal with your request once he can speak properly and has learned to read.’ Perhaps illness delayed education, because in the course of 1505, a substantial quantity of ‘drugs, medicine and spices’ were ‘delivered by order of the doctors to the prince and his sisters during their illnesses’. Isabeau suffered the worst, because she ‘had an infection in her eyes’ that obliged her parents to pay a master surgeon, who ‘visited her every day for the nine months that she was ill’.[29]

In September 1505, just after the master surgeon had cured Isabeau, Joanna gave birth to Marie (named after her paternal grandmother), bringing the number of children in Mechelen to four; but this addition to Charles’s family circle was balanced by losses. Margaret of Austria, his aunt and godmother, left to marry the duke of Savoy in 1501, while his great-grandmother and first governess, Margaret of York, died two years later. Although Charles was too young to be affected, he certainly noticed the departure of his parents. They visited Mechelen in November 1505, just before leaving for Zealand where Philip had assembled a fleet to take them back to Spain. Because unfavourable winds confined his fleet to port, Philip paid one last flying visit to his children in Mechelen in December, but it was the last time: he died in Spain less than a year later. Isabeau and Marie would never see him or their mother again, nor would they ever meet their youngest sister Catalina (born in spring 1507), because although Joanna survived until April 1555 she never left Spain, while Catalina, who outlived all of them (she died in 1578), never left the Iberian peninsula.

Although of course the new king and queen of Castile did not realize that they would never return to the Netherlands, the normal risks and perils of travel in early modern Europe led them to take appropriate precautions. In June 1505, Philip met both his father and his sister in the expectation (according to Ambassador Quirino) that Margaret, once again a widow, would 'govern the Netherlands while [Philip] was in Spain; but they could not reach an agreement, and so she returned to Savoy.' Instead Philip named Guillaume of Croÿ, Baron Chièvres and head of his treasury, as regent and commander-in-chief during his absence with full powers to take military, judicial and administrative decisions, as well as 'to make treaties, alliances and agreements' with foreign powers, 'and in general to do or cause to be done each and all the things that we ourselves would and could do'. Philip also named the prince of Chimay, Chièvres's cousin (and Charles's godfather), to be guardian of his children, assisted by Henri de Witthem, lord of Beersel, with instructions that the prince and his sisters 'must be carefully protected and also taught good behaviour and all manner of knowledge'.[30]

Finally, Philip made a will that revealed profound uncertainty concerning the future of his dominions. He decreed that if he died in Spain, he must be buried in Granada beside his mother-in-law Isabella, whereas if death overtook him in or near the Netherlands, he wanted to be interred in Bruges beside his mother Mary; 'but if the duchy of Burgundy should be in our hands' at the time of his death, 'I wish to be buried in the Charterhouse of Dijon, alongside the dukes of Burgundy, my predecessors.' Philip's will also directed that each of his young daughters must be well and honourably maintained, in keeping with their status, 'at the expense of my oldest son', and that when they married each should 'receive a dowry of 200,000 gold crowns' – a wholly unrealistic provision, since each dowry far exceeded his annual revenues from the Netherlands. Most perplexing of all, he named his male children jointly as 'universal heirs to all my kingdoms, duchies, counties, lands, lordships and other possessions', directing that 'I wish each of them to inherit and succeed to the various parts and portions according to the customs and usages of the places where my said possessions are and may be situated'.[31]

Evidently, Philip envisaged a partition of the immense but awkward inheritance created by the marriages and deaths of his Trastámara relatives (a prudent move contemplated by his successors on several occasions), but few at the time considered this a likely outcome. Henry VII of England predicted that Charles 'will be the sovereign of all and will be able to rule the world'; while Ambassador Quirino declared that since Charles was now the universal heir to 'all the Netherlands, and will succeed his mother [Joanna] as ruler of Castile when she dies, and his grandfather as Archduke of Austria, he will be a great lord'. However, the ambassador added ominously, although Charles was 'a handsome and happy child, in all his deeds he showed himself wilful and cruel, like old Duke Charles [the Bold] of Burgundy'.[32]

'A HANDSOME AND HAPPY CHILD'

For some time, the future of the 'handsome and happy child' hung in the balance. Philip took more than 400 courtiers, over 100 guards and some 2,000 German troops with him to Spain, and his sudden death there in September 1506 left them all destitute. 'There was not a man among us who had a penny,' one of them later complained, adding that 'by the time the king died, he had spent all his own money'. Since no one in Spain would help them, and 'fearing that an order would be issued preventing them from returning to our own country', the desperate courtiers immediately seized as much of the late king's goods as they could, starting with his jewels, gold and silver, 'selling everything for far less than it was worth'. Later, they 'sold their own clothes, their horses, and their other precious possessions in return for bread' and a passage home. The Burgundian survivors henceforth harboured a deep resentment towards Spain.[33]

News of Philip's death arrived in the Netherlands while Chièvres was absent from Mechelen, directing operations against the duke of Guelders who, encouraged by Louis XII of France, had resumed hostilities. The rest of the regency council panicked because (as one of them put it) 'we do not yet know how the news will be received by either the subjects or by the neighbouring friends and enemies'. They feared domestic disorders similar to those that followed the death of Philip's grandfather Charles the Bold in 1477 and his mother Mary in 1482; while although the king of France sent

letters ‘full of fine words as usual, it would be very dangerous to place much trust in them’. In addition, the regents observed ominously, Philip had died so suddenly that ‘we did not even know he was ill’, leaving Joanna in Spain and Charles too young to rule.[34] With some trepidation, they therefore summoned delegates from the representative assembly of each of his Netherlands provinces to convene as the States-General.

Philip had convened the States-General twenty-five times during his decade of personal rule, to discuss matters of peace and war as well as his demands for new taxes. Delegations from the four largest and richest provinces (Brabant, Flanders, Hainaut and Holland) almost always attended the States-General, normally joined by those from Artois, French-Flanders, Mechelen, Namur and Zealand, and occasionally by those from Limburg and Luxemburg. On each occasion the various delegations discussed the matters referred to them in three separate ‘estates’: prelates, nobles and towns. The same was true of the assembly that gathered in Mechelen on 15 October 1506 ‘to meet our revered lord, the archduke, prince of Castile, and to see if they will (as we hope) agree to offer advice on affairs here’.[35]

Philip’s consensual style of government at home and abroad now paid dividends. Every community in the Netherlands gave vent to ‘the greatest sorrow and lamentation you ever saw’ on learning of his death, while both Henry VII and Louis XII offered their protection to the young prince. Indeed, for the rest of his reign Louis respected the neutrality of all Charles’s possessions (though he continued to provide clandestine aid to the duke of Guelders). Some of the regents (notably those with lands in the southern provinces, like Chièvres) favoured placing the Netherlands under French protection; but others, mostly those with estates in the maritime provinces (like Bergen), favoured an alliance with England. The States-General, however, deemed that Maximilian could best guarantee their future, and sent a delegation that included both Chièvres and Bergen to invite him to serve as guardian of his grandchildren and as regent.[36]

Maximilian had anticipated this decision: as soon as he heard of his son’s death, he commanded the council of regency ‘to continue to govern our Netherlands, as our late said son ordered you to do, in the name of ourselves and our very dear son Archduke Charles’ until he could return to take charge, ‘which will be in two to three weeks’. No doubt realizing that

this timetable was totally unrealistic, he also summoned his daughter Margaret to join him.[37]

The archduchess, now aged twenty-seven, had led an eventful life. In 1483, aged three, she went to France as the fiancée of Charles VIII and spent the next eight years at the French court, until the king brutally repudiated her and married another. After living for two years with her grandmother in Mechelen, Margaret went to Spain to marry Prince John, but he died after only six months, and in 1500 she returned to Mechelen. Eighteen months later she left for Savoy to marry Duke Philibert, with whom she lived happily until he too died young in 1504. Margaret now concentrated on constructing the magnificent mausoleum for Philibert that still stands at Brou, in southeast France, and apart from a brief journey in 1505 to discuss with her father and brother the possibility of serving as regent of the Netherlands, she remained in Savoy until Maximilian summoned her the following year. The two spent several months together, apparently discussing how best to cope with the emergency caused by Philip's unexpected death, until in March 1507 Maximilian signed letters patent formally accepting:

> The tutorship, guardianship, government and administration of our most dear and beloved [grand]children, Charles, prince of Castile, Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, and their sisters Eleanor, Isabeau, Marie and Catalina, all minors, as well as all their possessions, lands and lordships, as we are competent and entitled to do by right and by reason as their grandparent and their closest relative.

Since he could not yet exercise these powers in person, he appointed Margaret as his 'procurator' to receive an oath of obedience 'from our territories and lordships in the Netherlands', and he sent commissioners to swear an oath before the States-General by which he agreed to act 'irrevocably' as sole tutor and regent for Charles 'until the end of his minority'.[38]

This constituted a power grab of breathtaking proportions. Chièvres and his colleagues had governed the Netherlands successfully for eighteen months with minimal supervision: now Maximilian unilaterally dismissed them and claimed complete authority over the Low Countries and his

grandchildren at Mechelen. He also claimed authority over the other territories left by his son and over his other grandchildren, Ferdinand and Catalina, both of whom lived in Spain. Since the emperor had no authority in Spain, Charles's inheritance in effect remained partitioned, much as his father had envisaged in his will: Joanna's father King Ferdinand did his best to control Castile (as well as Aragon and Sicily, of which he was sovereign, and Naples, which his troops had recently wrested from the French), and he raised his younger grandson and namesake as a Spanish prince, while Maximilian struggled to control the Netherlands and to make sure that Charles grew up as a Burgundian prince.

The children at Mechelen learned of their bereavement in October 1506 when their governor informed them that their father was dead. 'They showed the grief appropriate to their age, and perhaps even more so', Maximilian learned, and 'they said that they were lucky to have a loyal parent like you'. Charles now referred to the emperor as 'my grandfather and father'.[39] Although Maximilian did not visit them again for another two years, Margaret arrived in Mechelen in April 1507 and started to take care of her nephew and nieces. The children warmed to her immediately: when she left shortly afterwards to carry out her political duties, they burst into tears (according to an eyewitness) because 'they would no longer see their aunt and godmother – or more accurately their new mother'.[40]

ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET OF AUSTRIA,
DOWAGER DUCHESS OF SAVOY

When Margaret returned to Mechelen two months later, she arranged solemn obsequies for her late brother in the cathedral of St Rombout, in which Charles appeared for the first time as a ruler. First she withdrew from the library of the dukes of Burgundy a magnificent illuminated manuscript prayer book, bound in black velvet and displaying the arms of Charles the Bold, and presented it to his young namesake, no doubt so that he could use it during the service. Next she arranged for Charles to lead a solemn procession 'mounted on a small horse' and 'flanked on both sides by the archers of his bodyguard'. After Mass the principal herald shouted 'Long live Charles, by the grace of God archduke of Austria and prince of Spain'. The other heralds present then called out in turn his numerous other titles –

duke of Brabant, count of Flanders and so on – after which Charles received the sword of justice ‘in his tiny hands, and holding it with the point upright he went to the altar’, where he briefly prayed before leading the procession back to the palace. There ‘the noble young prince dubbed a new knight for the first time’, thus demonstrating to everyone his new status. This detailed account of Charles’s first public appearance as a ruler, written by Margaret’s official chronicler Jean Lemaire des Belges, ended with the pious wish: ‘May God grant that he may henceforth do as much as Charlemagne to defend public affairs and Christendom!’[41]

The events of the following day cruelly revealed the hollowness of such grandiose visions. Margaret had ordered the States-General to reassemble ‘in the great chamber of the prince’s residence, still draped in black’, and there they listened as the chancellor requested new taxes to fund an effective defence against Guelders, to discharge the debts of the late king, and to ‘pay for the household of My Lord and his sisters’. Margaret made a brief speech of support before turning to Charles to ask: ‘“Isn’t that true, nephew?” And then my lord Archduke, aware of his princely responsibilities despite his young age, begged the deputies for their consent by making a short speech that was better understood by watching his facial expressions than by listening to the sound of his boyish voice.’ He spoke and gestured in vain: the assembly refused to vote any new taxes. Charles learned for the first time that paying for his enterprises required careful preparation.[42]

A few weeks later, Margaret introduced her nephew to the warriors who would absorb almost all the taxes provided by his subjects over the next half-century. She summoned her leading army officers to the great hall of the palace and pointed to Charles, saying: ‘My lords: here is the person for whom you fight. He will never waver. Serve him!’ The following day she and her nephew stood at the window while 500 cavalry troopers rode by the palace ‘with banners unfurled and trumpets sounding’ to defend the Netherlands against Guelders.[43]

When Maximilian named Margaret as his ‘procurator’ in 1507, he purchased for her a complex of buildings in Mechelen just across the street from the ‘Keizershof’ where his grandchildren lived. Soon refurbished, and known as the ‘Hof van Savoy’, it became Margaret’s headquarters until her

death in 1530. According to the account books of her household, more than 150 people sat down there to eat lunch every day, including visitors from all over Europe whom the archduchess wanted her nephew and nieces to meet. Some came from ruling families, like Count Palatine Frederick of Bavaria; others were related to Charles's ministers, like young Guillaume of Croÿ, Chièvres's nephew; but most came from less exalted families. One of them was Anne Boleyn, daughter of an English diplomat who desired her to become fluent in French. When she arrived in Mechelen in 1513, Margaret told Anne's father that 'I find her so refined and pleasant, despite her young age, that I am more indebted to you for having sent her than you are to me'. Anne stayed for over a year, learning the French that would later captivate Henry VIII and make her queen of England.[44]

Margaret's court soon became the foremost cultural centre in northern Europe. Her library contained almost 400 bound volumes, many of them exquisite illustrated manuscripts; she employed Bernard van Orley and Jan Vermeyen as her resident painters, and Peter de Pannemaker as her personal tapestry-maker; she also entertained the famous artists of her day, including Albrecht Dürer who in 1521 praised her paintings 'and many other costly things and a precious library'.[45] By the time of her death, the archduchess owned over 100 tapestries, over 50 sculptures and almost 200 paintings (including works by the finest Netherlands artists: Rogier van der Weyden, Hieronymus Bosch, Hans Memling and Jan van Eyck); and she took a keen personal interest in her possessions. She ordered a new hinge for van Eyck's great 'Arnolfini wedding' triptych, so that the wings would close properly; she summoned the celebrated painter Jan Gossaert to carry out expert restoration on her most valuable canvases; and an inventory of her possessions contains corrections and annotations written in her own hand that reveal her personal involvement in creating the collection. In the words of Dagmar Eichberger, who has studied Margaret's collections extensively, the archduchess 'could pride herself on having a comprehensive portrait gallery in her dining hall, a collection of ethnographic artefacts from the New World in her library, a painting gallery in her stately bedroom, and a beautiful array of small objects, scientifica and exotica in her two collection cabinets'. Margaret's example would inspire her young charges, each of whom later displayed exquisite artistic taste.[46]

Charles and his sisters became the family that Margaret had never previously enjoyed – and for the rest of their lives they would address their letters to ‘Madame my aunt and my dear mother’; declare that ‘the affection I bear you is not only that of a nephew towards his aunt but that of a good son to his true and loving mother’; and sign them ‘your humble niece and daughter’ (or ‘your humble son and nephew’).[47] Margaret’s surviving correspondence makes it easy to understand why the children adored her. When in 1507 Maximilian appointed a replacement for Friar Jean de Witte as confessor to his grandchildren, Margaret requested an exemption for Eleanor. Charles and his younger sisters, she reported, ‘do not yet have great need’ of spiritual direction, ‘except to lead and encourage them to obey the commandments of God and his Holy Church’, but Eleanor (then nine years old) ‘already has a good understanding of good and bad conduct’ and, since she liked Friar Jean, Margaret asked her father to leave him in post. Four years later, on hearing that their governor ‘had forbidden the young ladies to dance’, she informed him that ‘this causes them much tedium and sorrow. Therefore, taking pity on them, I think that they should be allowed to dance just as before.’ She taught her nieces sewing, needlework and the art of making preserves; and in 1514, when it seemed that Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII and also an orphan) would marry Charles and move to the Netherlands, Margaret sent her a pattern ‘of the clothes that ladies here usually wear, so that it will be easier for you to dress in the local style when you get here’.[48] What mother could have done more? Long after her charges departed, Margaret served as a clearing house for family news. When in 1518 she received a letter from Charles in Spain, she immediately wrote to inform his sister Marie, then in Hungary, that ‘every day he takes part in jousts and tournaments, and I bet he often wishes that you and I were there with him to enjoy ourselves’. Above all, as Annemarie Jordan Gschwend has noted, Margaret trained all members of the next generation ‘to respect and serve the dynasty they were born into, instilling in her young protégés one principle they would honor their entire lives: a deep loyalty to the Habsburg house’.[49]

The plethora of premature deaths among the Habsburg, Burgundian and Trastámara dynasties no doubt explains the obsessive anxiety concerning the health of Charles and his sisters. In 1508, when Maximilian returned to the Netherlands and suggested that ‘for his recreation’ his grandson should travel with him between Mechelen, Lier and Antwerp, a radius of no more than 18 kilometres, the prince of Chimay lodged a formal protest because of ‘the young age of my lord, who is vulnerable and delicate’. If the emperor nevertheless insisted, Chimay continued, then after every day on the road the prince must ‘stay put for a whole day, so that he will have two consecutive nights in which to rest and recover’. Six months later, it was Maximilian’s turn to be over-protective. He learned that Liberal Trevisan, the Venetian physician who had attended Joanna ‘for forty-nine days continuously’ after her son’s birth, planned to present Charles with a dog: ‘Be on your guard against this,’ he instructed Margaret, and keep both the dog and the doctor at bay ‘during the current state of war that exists between us and the Venetians’. Shortly afterwards, he instructed her to expel Trevisan from the Netherlands ‘because of our suspicions about him: since he is a Venetian we do not wish him to attend our grandson Charles any more.’[50] Margaret shared these fears. A few weeks later she insisted that her charges ‘must reside [in Mechelen] permanently, without leaving the city until I get back there’, because ‘these days one does not know whom one can trust’. She also obsessed about their health because (as she once confided to Maximilian) ‘even the slightest illness in people of such importance causes concern’. Thus when news arrived that the prince’s sisters in Mechelen had contracted smallpox, she kept Charles in Brussels ‘because the doctors say this illness is contagious, and that my nephew may catch it’ (he caught it anyway, and was incapacitated by the agonizing and dangerous disease for over a month).[51]

Margaret’s obsessions apparently did not extend to her nephew’s education. The surviving evidence of Charles’s early literacy suggests a very slow learner. ‘At the age of seven’, according to a courtier, Charles ‘wanted to learn and understand Latin letters’, but a surviving Spanish letter from 1508 contained only twelve words in his own hand and his signature as prince of Castile, while another in French ended with three words in his own hand and his signature as duke of Burgundy – and in both cases,

although now eight, Charles still wrote each character separately and made no break between words (Pl. 3).[52]

His script would always remain poor. In 1532, on receiving a set of holograph instructions, his sister Marie complained that ‘if I may say so, one or two words are so badly written that I was not able to read them, and I do not know if I managed to divine them correctly’. The description by a modern historian of the mature handwriting of their older sister Eleanor, taught by the same preceptors (Anchieta and Cabeza de Vaca), will sound depressingly familiar to all who have struggled with the emperor’s calligraphy. Eleanor:

> Normally joined together as many characters of a single word, and even of several words, as possible, as if trying to commit as many letters as possible to paper without lifting her hand. She never hesitated to leave erased words or to use every known abbreviation . . . She never really used punctuation, although she sometimes indicated the end of a sentence with an oblique stroke . . . She preferred efficiency to legibility.[53]

Charles and his siblings nevertheless came into contact at Mechelen with many cultivated men and women and their work. The accounts of the treasurer-general of the Netherlands recorded a payment of £10 in October 1504 ‘to Brother Erasmus of Rotterdam, a friar of the Augustinian Order, as a one-time gift from My Lord as charity to help support him at college in Leuven, where he is studying’ (almost certainly a reward for the *Panegyric* on Philip’s ‘voyage to Spain and successful return home’, delivered at court the previous January). Erasmus claimed that he also received an invitation to serve as Charles’s tutor and although he turned it down, he dedicated two of his books to the prince and corresponded regularly with both ministers and courtiers.[54] The court also patronized musicians, artists and craftsmen. In 1504, Charles’s father paid £15 to a bookbinder for ‘making wooden covers for five large books, and for repairing and re-gilding several other works’; and £36 to ‘Jeronymus van Aeken, called Bosch’ for ‘a very large painting measuring nine feet high and eleven feet wide which will show the Last Judgement, that is to say Heaven and Hell, which My Lord has ordered him to paint’. The following year, Philip paid £23 to ‘a man who played a

strange Spanish instrument, and to a young girl from Lombardy' who 'played several songs and performed acrobatics for him while he dined', as well as £25 to a painter who presented him with 'a picture of a naked woman' (payments that put the gift of £10 to Brother Erasmus of Rotterdam in perspective).[55]

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Just before his eighth birthday, Charles exchanged marriage vows – and not for the first time. In 1501 his father's diplomats had signed a treaty that betrothed him to Claude, daughter of Louis XII of France; but despite renewing that agreement on three separate occasions, Louis had no intention of honouring it, having already promised that his daughter would marry the heir presumptive to his crown: Francis, duke of Angoulême. As soon as the deception became public knowledge, Maximilian (in his capacity as tutor and guardian of his grandson) opened negotiations for Charles to marry Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, and in December 1507, Bergen went to England as Charles's proxy and placed a wedding ring on the princess's finger, after which the couple exchanged their vows. A triumphalist English tract celebrated 'the most noble aliaunce and gretest mariage of all Christendome, considering the sundry and manyfolde regions and countrayes that the sayde yonge prynce . . . shal enherite', and Charles signed obsequious letters to 'the princess of Castile' (as she became known), whom he addressed as 'your devoted husband and companion' (see Pl. 3). The letters patent creating a separate household for Charles's sisters instructed their treasurer to include 'our very dear and beloved spouse, Mary of England'.[56]

Although Charles never consummated the 'gretest mariage of all Christendome', he gained one immediate advantage: Henry VII made his new son-in-law a member of the exclusive Order of the Garter. In February 1509, in the presence of Maximilian, 'the English ambassadors presented the archduke with the insignia of the Order, which he received solemnly, dressed in a purple coat made of velvet with a scarlet hood' and (tactfully) the cross of St George on his shoulder. A week of celebrations followed, including jousts in the marketplace of Brussels in which Maximilian took

part, watched from the balcony of the city hall by his admiring grandchildren.[57]

Just before he left the Netherlands in spring 1509, Maximilian made two important innovations that affected Charles. First, he created a separate household for the prince, with up to twelve pages (who would later become squires and then knights) and between six and eight other young noble companions (‘enfants d’honneur’), as well as a host of other attendants. Second, he conferred on Margaret the title ‘regent and governor’ of the Habsburg Netherlands and authorized her to preside over a Privy Council composed of twelve Knights of the Golden Fleece (Burgundy’s exclusive chivalric order) who must accompany her at all times.[58]

According to the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, these changes meant that ‘never had a governess enjoyed such freedom of action’. Nevertheless, Margaret had hoped for far more: she urged her father to confer on her ‘the same full authority that [he] exercises, without exception’, and to grant that ‘she alone can exercise [his] authority’, but Maximilian insisted on retaining for himself control over finance, war, peace and patronage. ‘Since I am guardian and grandfather of my [grand]children,’ he chided her, ‘it seems to me that I should retain some powers, both to supervise you and to maintain my reputation’, and his correspondence with his daughter offers countless examples of decisions taken despite her opposition.[59] Above all, Margaret wanted to marginalize Chièvres, still in charge of the treasury. When the prince of Chimay wished to resign his position as First Chamberlain of the prince in favour of his cousin Chièvres, Margaret asked her father to appoint Bergen instead. But Maximilian ignored her plea: Chièvres began to draw salary as First Chamberlain on 27 April 1509. He now became the prince’s constant companion: the household accounts of that year record the purchase of matching fabrics ‘for the coverlet of the bed of my lord [Charles] and the bed of my lord of Chièvres, his governor’; and when Charles later decreed changes for the household of his brother Ferdinand, he ordered that a confidant ‘should always sleep in his bedroom as M. de Chièvres does in ours, so that when he wakes up he might have someone to talk with, if he wishes’.[60]

Although Maximilian prevailed on this important issue, he too had hoped for wider powers. In 1508 he announced to an assembly of the

Knights of the Golden Fleece ‘his intention of joining together his possessions, and unifying them into a single kingdom, to be called “Burgundy and Austria” for better defence against common enemies’. Although this initiative failed, two years later he announced his intention of taking Charles with him to Austria and ‘immediately afterwards making him king of *Austrasia*’ – a title virtually unknown since the days of Charlemagne – and in preparation, his advisers drew up ‘Instructions for the household of the future king of Austrasia’. Once again, the initiative failed.[61] Meanwhile Chièvres strove to improve relations between the Burgundian Netherlands and France, while Margaret worked hard to strengthen links with England and Spain. In 1508 she informed King Ferdinand (her former father-in-law) that little Charles, ‘despite his young age, on his own initiative asks about your health every single day and regards you (together with the emperor) as his true father who will, he knows, protect him from his enemies’. Henceforth these four powerful figures – Margaret, Maximilian, Ferdinand and Chièvres – competed ruthlessly for the heart and mind of the orphan prince.[62]

— TWO —

THE ORPHAN PRINCE, 1509–14

‘MAXI’

In 1855 the French historian Jules Michelet hailed Archduchess Margaret of Austria as ‘The real “strong man” of the family’ whose efforts, above those of all others, ‘made the House of Austria great’.[1] Rather like the eulogy of Henri Pirenne, this is an exaggeration: although the archduchess proved to be both a skilled administrator and a subtle diplomat, her father Maximilian achieved far more, for he not only prevented the French from annexing the Netherlands but also laid the foundation for four centuries of Habsburg domination in central Europe.

Even routine administrative documents revealed the archduchess’s subordinate status: she signed ordinary missives ‘by order of the emperor, Margaret’, while proclamations went out ‘By order of the emperor and of the archduke’. Her father also appointed all major officials, both clerical and secular, throughout the Netherlands. Although in 1510, ‘weary of the petitioners who ceaselessly pester him’, he promised to accept future recommendations forwarded by Margaret and her council, ‘Maxi’ (as he signed his letters) continued to bombard his daughter with orders – directly whenever he resided in the Netherlands and at other times by letter, many of them holograph.[2]

Periodically, the two clashed. In 1507, Margaret scribbled a note to one of her father’s advisers begging that the emperor ‘should tell me first what he has decided to do, and not do as he usually does – which is to write one thing to me and then do something else’. Two years later her father’s decision to cede to one of his creditors a part of Franche-Comté, a province

that he had given to her, provoked outrage. ‘My Lord, I find myself speechless,’ Margaret protested ‘because it seems to me that I, your only daughter, should be preferred to all others.’ Nevertheless, she continued angrily, ‘if you are determined to take these lands, then take them and do what you want with them – indeed don’t take just them, but take the rest of the Franche-Comté and everything I own, because I do not wish to disobey you in anything.’[3] Tirades like this sometimes provoked a counterblast. In 1508 the emperor claimed that his daughter’s letters ‘are so full of mysteries that it’s impossible for me to understand them or even to identify the subject’, and he provided her with a model of how to proceed in future (above all, ‘write three lines instead of ten’). Two years later, he sent back those of her ‘letters that we have not burned’ because they seemed so ‘unreasonable that I think you must take me for a Frenchman’ (evidently the worst insult in the emperor’s repertory). He then reminded her: ‘I appointed you to your post as governess of our dominions and our subjects, always saying and proclaiming good things about you’; but, he concluded with a palpable threat, ‘if you continue to write rude letters to me without cause, I think you will soon make me change my mind’.[4]

This was an empty threat, and Maximilian knew it: only his daughter could execute his policies effectively, and so he normally showed her both affection and consideration. Thus after telling her to drop everything she was doing and come to Luxemburg to receive his orders in person, he relented because, as he put it, ‘that would interrupt your daily efforts to make sure the 12,000 troops in the Netherlands receive their pay, which is currently the most important of all our affairs; so we will make the effort to come and see you.’ He also learned to accept her political advice. When Margaret discovered that her father intended to allow Ferdinand, Charles’s younger brother, to become Grand Master of Spain’s Military Orders she informed him crisply that it was a disastrous decision, ‘which nothing on earth could justify’, because ‘it would suffice to deprive Prince Charles of the kingdoms of Spain’. Maximilian immediately relented.[5]

Margaret found it harder to disagree with her father in person. He made four visits to the Netherlands after Philip’s death – between November 1508 and March 1509, in spring 1512, in summer 1513 and early in 1517 – and on each occasion, he spent much time with his daughter and his

grandchildren. The first surviving letter written by Charles's older sister, Eleanor, informed Margaret that 'because you take pleasure in our pleasure, I wanted to tell you that our grandfather has come to visit us, which brought us all great joy'.[6] The children's 'great joy' is easily explained: Maximilian was fun. He dined with them, danced with them, gave them money to play cards, and took them on trips in both boat and carriage to his various residences in and around Brussels and Antwerp. In 1509, just after Charles took the oath as count of Flanders, he and his grandfather made their way through the streets of Ghent 'shouting "Largesse" as they threw and scattered' coins among the crowd – something no nine-year-old boy would forget – and when Maximilian stayed in the ducal palace in Brussels he specified that 'our [grand]son should be in the room next to mine'.[7] He also gave the children thoughtful gifts. Once, after a day's hunting, he sent his granddaughters 'part of a deer that I killed today' so that it 'can be prepared for their dinner or supper'; and on another occasion he presented Charles with a pair of mounted knights made of brass with wooden lances, mounted on wheels and powered by a system of cords and pulleys so that he and his playmates could learn how to joust (Pl. 4).[8] In 1512 the emperor commissioned for the prince a suit of jousting armour decorated with gold and silver and displaying the insignia of the Golden Fleece. Maximilian also gave his daughter a 'large parchment book, full of sung masses' commissioned from a celebrated scrivener 'as a new year's gift' in 1511: the title page showed the emperor looking on benevolently while Margaret, Charles and his sisters sat at his feet – the epitome of a happy family (Pl. 5).[9]

Maximilian knew the value of such things. An only child, he had grown up in obscurity and relative poverty in east-central Europe until 1477 when, aged eighteen, he made a daring ride halfway across Europe to marry Mary of Burgundy. For the next fifteen years, he fought foreign and domestic opponents almost continuously in order to preserve her inheritance intact, and became so captivated by Burgundian culture that (according to his most eminent modern biographer, Hermann Wiesflecker) 'he became a Burgundian himself'.[10] Above all, Maximilian adopted the overarching Burgundian goal of 'rebuilding a Christian world empire'. This, he believed, required him to neutralize France as a prelude to leading a crusade

that would regain Constantinople from the Turks. His dreams of grandeur knew no bounds. He styled himself Pontifex Maximus and aspired to be canonized as a saint after his death (like some of his imperial predecessors, including Charlemagne); he acted as pope as well as emperor, dispensing benefices, appropriating monastic revenues and the yield of crusade indulgences; and he treated popes as if they were his patriarchs, never understanding why (as he complained) 'throughout my whole life, no pope has ever kept his word to me' – a complaint that Charles would repeat, almost verbatim, to his own heir nearly thirty years later.[11] Likewise, although Maximilian had to abandon his 'great plan of war' conceived in 1496 to conquer and partition France, in 1513 he led the imperial contingent in person at the battle of Guinegate, where he routed 'the French, the eternal and natural enemies of our House of Burgundy'. He boasted to Charles that the outcome 'should cast down the pride of the French for at least ten years' and lead to 'the reconquest of the lands that rightly belong to our dynasty. Having thus shown you the way, I leave things to you, so you can valiantly defend what you have, as our predecessors have done for over a hundred years.'[12]

No doubt Maximilian imparted similar advice in person whenever he spent time with his grandson. Although their conversations have left no direct documentary trace, much can be gleaned from the quartet of semi-autobiographical works that Maximilian composed and presented to Charles. His *History of Frederick and Maximilian* chronicled the accomplishments of his early years; *The adventures and heroic life of Sir Theuerdank* related in verse his success in claiming the hand of Mary of Burgundy and in hunting and hawking; *Der Weisskunig* (meaning in German both *The wise king* and *The white king*) rehearsed in prose his education, princely upbringing and military accomplishments; and *Freydal* documented and illustrated each of the sixty-four tournaments in which he had taken part. The emperor closely supervised the composition of these works by ghostwriters (as we might call them today) with the express intention of producing a personal testament that would teach his heir by example how to govern himself, his subjects and the world.[13]

By the time Charles received his presentation copy of *Der Weisskunig* in 1517, Maximilian could point to four major successes. He had protected

and reorganized the Burgundian Netherlands, whose political future had seemed bleak when he became their ruler forty years earlier. Likewise, he had overcome the obstacles posed by individual institutions, traditions and languages to forge the sub-Alpine lands he inherited from his father into a single state: ‘Austria’, ruled and taxed by a single administration that he created at Innsbruck. He had also reformed the chaotic central government of the Holy Roman Empire in ways that, though imperfect, would last almost until its demise three centuries later. Finally, by arranging strategic marriages for his grandchildren, he had established the House of Habsburg as the premier dynasty in central and eastern Europe, creating a polity that his successors would expand over the next four centuries. ‘The truth is,’ Maximilian observed to Margaret in 1516, ‘that after serving God, I place the advancement of our dynasty above all things.’ He repeated his boast a few weeks later (for the emperor rarely gave his opinion only once): ‘My dear daughter: I think day and night of the affairs of my heirs’.[14]

Many of Charles’s later actions closely reflected the goals and values of his grandfather, the only appropriate male role model available to him as an adolescent. He imitated Maximilian by marching at the head of his infantry ‘with a pike over his shoulder’; he was crowned king of the Romans in a ceremony at Aachen ‘designed according to archival research’ done under his grandfather’s supervision.[15] Charles challenged the king of France to meet him in a duel and invited the Ottoman sultan to participate in a tournament in order to settle their differences once and for all, just as Maximilian would have done; he schemed to regain the powers of Charlemagne, from whom the Habsburgs claimed descent; and he believed that he must neutralize France as a prelude to leading a crusade that would regain Constantinople from the Turks. When deciding how to punish Ghent after its rebellion against him in 1539–40, Charles studied the plans drawn up for his grandfather half a century before and then built a citadel in exactly the place proposed. Eventually he could echo Maximilian and claim that he had ‘used up, lost and consumed the flower and manhood of our youth’ in campaigning against his enemies and travelling around his dominions, despite ‘deprivation of sleep, with other pains that our body has so often suffered, beyond measure, and more than our nature could bear and endure’ (like his grandson, Maximilian left no heartstring unplucked).[16]

Charles also developed some of his grandfather's bad habits, such as pursuing policies that he could not afford. *Der Weisskunig* proclaimed that 'Every monarch fights his enemy with men and money, but a warlike regime and reputation count for far more than money': once again, words that Charles would pass on to his own heir. Both rulers, although punctilious about their honour, lacked all moral scruples where money was concerned so that, just like Maximilian, Charles left financial chaos when his reign ended.[17] Finally, Charles also imitated his grandfather by displaying (as Peter Burke has put it) an almost obsessional concern 'with his self-image and with the way in which he would be remembered by posterity'. Both rulers dictated their memoirs; commissioned over one thousand busts, portraits, medals and other images of themselves; compared themselves with the emperors of Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages; asked to be buried under the altar of a church; made (or allowed others to make) explicit textual and visual comparisons with Biblical figures, including Christ; and regarded themselves 'not just as the leader of the Christian faith, but rather as a sanctified, even saintly, individual, eminently qualified to consider taking [religious] vows'.[18]

EDUCATION

Maximilian devoted almost half of *Der Weisskunig* to princely education. Some chapters stressed that a wise ruler should be prepared to learn from anybody, 'whether ordinary peasants and soldiers or nobles and generals'; other chapters explained why successful monarchs read all outgoing letters 'on great or small matters' before signing them, and learned how to give dictation to many secretaries at the same time in order to ensure efficient administration. Above all, *Der Weisskunig* insisted on the need to learn many languages, devoting a chapter each to how Maximilian had become proficient in 'Burgundian, which he learned from his wife', and in 'Flemish, which he learned from an elderly princess', as well as in English, Spanish, Italian and Latin besides his native German. This meant that 'since his soldiers spoke all of these seven languages, when the commanders of the various units came to him for consultation and orders, he was able to speak to each of them in their own language'.[19] Another five chapters explained how to excel in different types of jousts and tournaments, while six more

described various methods of hunting, hawking and fishing. The emperor then paused to observe that:

> If someone who was not familiar with the subject read this, he might think that the young king [that is, Maximilian] did nothing else but hawk and hunt. That is not the case. The king did most of his hawking and hunting during great wars . . . Although he was the finest falconer, he was even better at making the mightiest kings, princes and lords do his will.[20]

Maximilian's distinctive pedagogic philosophy, which also suffused his letters, achieved considerable success. In 1506, and again seven years later, he expressed the wish 'that the Archduke Charles should soon learn Dutch'; and in 1515 Charles managed to take his oath as duke of Brabant in Dutch. He also eventually became fluent in both Spanish and Italian, and could carry on a limited conversation in German.[21] By contrast, Charles's command of Latin remained poor. At an audience in 1518 the English ambassador complained that Adrian of Utrecht, his former preceptor, constantly had to translate 'to the king in Frenche [what] I had spoken in Laten', while 'the said king catholyke answered forthwith his owne mowth in French'. Three years later another English ambassador complained that although Charles listened as letters in Latin were read out to him, because he knew 'not Latyn well' he 'commanded theyme [to be put] into Frenche, to the entente that he might better' understand them. 'La langue bourguignonne' would always remain his mother tongue: during his last years, secluded in a Spanish monastery, a member of his entourage reported that 'Here with His Majesty we speak only French.'[22]

Maximilian had more success in exposing his grandson to Humanism. Margaret extolled to her father 'the great and notable services rendered every day' by Luis Cabeza de Vaca, claiming that he had shown Charles 'how to behave, from which (given his age) he has profited greatly', as well as 'instructing him in letters' – a phrase that probably included the foundations of a Humanist education, rather than just 'reading and writing', since Cabeza de Vaca was a noted Humanist.[23] Two other members of Charles's entourage reinforced these efforts: Michel de Pavie, his first confessor and a former rector of Paris University (where he taught Erasmus,

among others); and Adrian of Utrecht, from whom Charles would later declare that ‘he had learned the little education and good manners that he knew’.[24]

Adrian was primarily a theologian. He first achieved fame in 1478 when, at the age of nineteen, he became top student of the year in the Faculty of Arts at Leuven University; and by 1491 he had attracted the attention of Margaret of York, dowager duchess of Burgundy, who paid for three days of celebration after he graduated as doctor of theology. By the time Adrian moved permanently to Mechelen to become the archduke’s preceptor (and court preacher) in 1509, he was dean of the university faculty and ‘the uncrowned king of the Leuven theologians of his day’, an eminence reflected in his salary, for whereas Cabeza de Vaca received 12 shillings daily, Adrian received 24 shillings.[25]

No doubt Adrian imparted the problem-solving approach to knowledge practised at Leuven, where he lectured on philosophy as well as on theology; and he certainly made sure that his pupil’s poor Latin did not deprive him entirely of Classical culture, providing French translations of the philosophical works of Aristotle and Seneca, the histories of Livy and Tacitus, and the military compendium of Vegetius. He also sponsored (and brought to his pupil’s attention) the work of contemporary Humanists, including Juan Luis Vives from Spain (who made the Netherlands his base from 1512), Erasmus from Holland (who exchanged letters of considerable warmth with Charles as well as with many of his advisers), and Thomas More from England (who wrote the first part of his *Utopia* in Antwerp and published it with Leuven University Press in 1516).[26]

None of Charles’s schoolbooks survive, but evidence of Adrian’s pedagogy appears in the letters he sent to his former pupil while regent of Spain between 1520 and 1522. Sometimes he wrote those irritating ‘I told you so’ letters that many former teachers find irresistible. ‘When we were in Santiago [in 1520] I told Your Highness that you had lost the love of all these subjects, but you did not believe me; but now I see it has come true,’ he chided Charles in January 1521, after the outbreak of the Comunero rebellion. The following year he wrote: ‘I’m glad that what you heard and learnt from me in school has not faded from your memory’, adding pointedly that ‘if others had absorbed the truth about this as diligently, I

believe we would not have found ourselves in the troubles and dangers we face today'. Sometimes Adrian referred to texts that he and Charles had studied together ('Aristotle says in his *Politics* that people with lands adjacent to those of enemies with whom we have to fight must not be allowed to sit on the council of war . . .').[27] At other times, he delivered reproaches ('on this point [Your Majesty] always orders me to respond in a way that will prove ineffective'), and treated the emperor as if he were still at school ('For the sake of Your Highness's honour and conscience, you should keep the promises you made to the Cortes'; 'I beg Your Majesty to order that justice be done . . . *because that is why Your Highness is king*'). Charles must 'do your duty to God so that He will not abandon or ignore you in bad times'; and not be 'managed by others, as if Your Highness were a child and lacked reason, prudence and care. *Your Majesty must pay close attention to everything I have written*.' 'Believe me, Your Majesty, *if you are not more diligent* in understanding these matters, instead of letting others take care of things, Spain will never truly love you or obey your royal authority and person as it should.' This 'tough love' approach continued even after his former pupil acquired the upper hand:

> I beg Your Majesty not to let all this prosperity make you conceited or proud, but that you rather thank our sovereign God, from whom you have received such benefits, and that Your Majesty humbly recognize your obligation to give thanks for this, and do not display ingratitude so that God does not reject you *as he rejected Saul when he failed to obey His holy commandments*.[28]

Some contemporaries accused Adrian of indulging his pupil, but these powerful reprimands suggest otherwise.

CREATING AN ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSE

Nevertheless Charles's education included serious gaps. An early biographer, Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, asserted that Adrian made his pupil 'read every day, as an adolescent, about the battles and victories of Caesar, Augustus, Charlemagne, Jason, Gideon, of ancient heroes, and of Dukes Philip and Charles of Burgundy'; and the books that

Charles plucked from his palace library in Brussels to take with him to Spain in 1517 reflected this narrow focus. He selected only ten works, all written in French and most of them illuminated manuscript chronicles and books of chivalry, including ‘The abridged chronicles of Jerusalem and of those who conquered the Holy Land with Godfrey of Bouillon’, a magnificently illustrated account of the deeds of Netherlanders four centuries before, which no doubt served as a constant reminder of his Burgundian crusading heritage.[29] Such manuscripts were central to the culture in which Charles came of age. His father had taken some of the same works to Spain in 1501 and 1506; and among the almost 400 books owned by his aunt Margaret, only twelve were printed – the rest were manuscripts, many of them lavishly illuminated, more appropriate for a Cabinet of Curiosities than a modern library. Most works related to a specific time and place: the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, described by the eminent Dutch scholar Johan Huizinga as a ‘dream world’, dominated by ‘a desire to return to the perfection of an imaginary past’, recreated ‘through conduct, customs, manners, costume and deportment, the illusion of heroic beings, full of dignity and honour, of wisdom, and, above all, of courtesy’:

> Imitation of an ideal past made this possible: the dream of past perfection ennobled life in all its forms . . . The actions of princes, even daily and common actions, all assumed a quasi-symbolic form and tended to be elevated to the rank of mysteries. Births, marriages, deaths were set in a carapace of solemn and sublime formalities. The emotions that accompanied them were dramatized and amplified.[30]

In the words of Georges Chastellain, chronicler to Charles’s great-grandfather Charles the Bold, a prince’s household ‘is the first thing that catches the eye: it is therefore vital to establish and run it well’; and he described in numbing details the complex rituals that accompanied every court ceremony, at which ‘as prince and ruler of all, [Duke Charles] was always dressed more richly and magnificently than everyone else’. Olivier de la Marche, Chastellain’s successor, provided even more numbing details in his ‘Description of the Household of Duke Charles of Burgundy’. All his

successors needed to do was follow this example.[31] La Marche, who served as preceptor to Archduke Philip, also promoted these values in his most famous work *Le chevalier déliberé* (*The resolute knight*), a melancholy verse epic delivered in the first person by a knight 'in the autumn of his life' as he prepared to fight his final tournament against Death, a female figure who had already killed Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, his son Charles the Bold and his granddaughter Mary. The knight was determined to avenge these deaths before he retired to a monastery to die, but first he sought out those who could provide advice, both spiritual (the need for devotion and piety before the final combat) and practical (never act in anger; forget nothing).[32]

The resolute knight impressed Charles V immensely. He recycled much of the advice received by the knight in the holograph instructions he prepared for his son and heir Philip in 1543; seven years later he began to translate the entire work from French into Spanish 'with due regard not only for the language but also for the poetry and the exact meaning of the words'; and when in 1556 he retired to Spain, he took with him two manuscript copies (one in French and one of his Spanish translation, with nineteen illustrations) (Pl. 6).[33] It is thus no surprise to find in Charles's life so many reflections of the world of *The resolute knight*: his eagerness in 1528 and 1536 to resolve complex political disputes through duels; his statement to an ambassador in 1538 'that death is vncertaine, aswell the place as the time, and that God reserueth that to him selff alone. And so shall he remitt that to Him, knowing well that the suretie of his sonn, yea, and his lief also, must stand in His prouision'; his confessor's recollection in 1552 of 'something that I heard Your Majesty say: that the day a man loses his honour he should die, because he is now useless.'[34] His Burgundian heritage also explains Charles's veneration of the Order of the Golden Fleece (founded by Duke Philip the Good); his aspiration to recapture Constantinople (attempted by Philip's heir, Duke John); his desire to acquire glory and renown 'before it is too late'; and his periodic displays of fatalism. As Federico Chabod observed: 'The most profound motives of Charles's inner life, both mind and soul, arose from the culture of Burgundy.'[35]

Charles’s limited scholarly prowess arose in part because he was a high-school dropout – his formal education ended when he was fifteen, and Adrian left for Spain as his special envoy – but long before then his preference for outdoor activities had become apparent. Juan de Zúñiga, a veteran courtier to whom Charles entrusted the education of his son, the future Philip II, once complained to him that his eight-year-old charge ‘learns very well once he is out of school’, adding mischievously, ‘so that he somewhat resembles his father at the same age!’[36] A German chronicler supported his assertion that Charles had always ‘loved arms more than books’ by citing an exchange between Charles and the celebrated artist Lucas Cranach in 1547:

> ‘In my apartment in Mechelen there is a portrait of me that you painted when I was a boy,’ the emperor told the painter, ‘and I would like you to tell me my age at that time.’ Cranach answered: ‘Your Majesty was then eight years old and Emperor Maximilian led you by the hand.’ He continued: ‘When I wanted to paint your portrait you had a preceptor who knew that, like other boys, you had a somewhat restless disposition, but loved to look at anything made of iron or steel. He therefore found a particularly fine iron crossbow bolt and placed it against the wall and turned the tip towards you. After that, you never took your eyes off it until I had finished my picture.’[37]

Important members of the prince’s circle believed that too much book-learning was counter-productive. According to the Protestant historian Gregorio Leti, writing almost two centuries later, on one occasion when Adrian urged his illustrious pupil to spend more time trying to master Latin, the prince snapped back: ‘Do you think that my grandfather wants to turn me into a schoolmaster?’ Although Leti (as usual) cited no source, in *Der Weisskunig* Maximilian made exactly the same point, rejoicing that his own preceptor ‘perceived that it would be neither good nor useful to burden him further with this instruction. If one wants to teach someone more than is necessary,’ the emperor opined, ‘it hinders other tasks.’[38] According to the

historian Gonzalo Illescas, writing shortly after Charles's death, 'Emperor Maximilian often said that although it was very bad if a prince did not know his letters, it would be much worse if he lacked the ability to keep his kingdoms in peace and govern them with clemency, showing neither pride nor cruelty.' Indeed, Illescas suggested, the emperor chose Adrian as his grandson's preceptor precisely because 'he would not spend as much time teaching him letters as in instructing him in praiseworthy and honourable customs'.[39]

In *Theuerdank* and *Der Weisskunig*, as well as in his correspondence, Maximilian extolled the virtues of physical activities, especially hunting. In February 1510, in a characteristically flamboyant phrase, the emperor crowed to Margaret 'that we are delighted that our grandson Charles takes so much pleasure in hunting, because otherwise one might think he was a bastard'; and he suggested that 'after Easter, when the weather is mild', she should take him to the royal parks and 'make him ride, for the sake of his health and strength'. He reinforced this message whenever he visited, teaching his grandson both to shoot game with guns and crossbows and to snare them with nets.[40]

Charles de la Poupée, lord of La Chaux, another passionate proponent of the chivalric ideals of the Burgundian court, instructed young Charles on how to excel in both horsemanship and marksmanship – and the success of these lessons became manifest when he went to Spain and everyone admired 'his amazing dexterity with weapons, and his elegance in the saddle'. He was also able to hit targets more often than anyone else, becoming 'king of the musketeers' of Mechelen, and 'king of the crossbowmen' of Brussels. In 1512, Margaret summoned the English ambassadors at her court to 'see the prince shote at the buttes' with the longbow, England's national weapon, and they deemed that he 'handled his bowe right well'. Unfortunately, two years later when Charles 'went to the castle of Tervuren to practise with his crossbow on Whit Monday, he fired a bolt that fatally wounded a local artisan'. In her nephew's defence, Margaret protested that the victim was 'drunk and in bad shape', and reflected that 'there is no known way to avoid such misfortunes'; but there was clearly more to the homicide. Because 'many people may tell you things that are not true', she sent Chièvres, 'who was present, to give you a

full account, so that you will know the truth'. He had, after all, just killed a man for the first time.[41]

By then, Charles played a prominent part in the annual cycle of court functions. Each New Year's Day he took £100 from his treasury 'to distribute and donate according to his noble pleasure'; he presided at the festivities on Mardi Gras and at Easter, pardoning some criminals on Good Friday; he lit a huge bonfire after sundown on St John's Day; he watched the jousts at All Souls; and he dined with the Knights of the Golden Fleece on St Andrew's Day.[42] Entries in his household accounts for 1512 indicate numerous other activities. A troupe of actors 'who in Lent staged several plays [*jeux de farches*] before my lord' received £13; 'some huntsmen and others who on several occasions furled and unfurled blinds made of cloth when my lord went hunting near Brussels' got £18 just for wine to sustain them as they worked; and 'a Dominican Friar who preached throughout Lent before my lord and his sisters in Mechelen' received £28 'in alms and charity'.[43] Charles and his sisters also played cards for money (especially when Maximilian was present to increase the stakes) and they enjoyed the company of jesters and Fools. In 1509 his treasurer purchased 'yellow, red and white cloth to make a fine costume for the little Fool, to make him look more respectable when in my lord's company', and Henry VIII thought it worthwhile to make a large payment to 'Master John, the prince of Castile's Fool'.[44]

Despite his lack of enthusiasm for reading and writing, young Charles enjoyed several other sedentary activities. In 1515, 'Jehannin the painter' received £100 'for teaching my lord the archduke how to paint', and Henry Bredeniers, 'organist of the archduke's chapel', received £200 a year in return for 'playing the flute, lute, clavichord, organ and other instruments for the leisure and entertainment' of the prince and his sisters 'each and every time they desired'. Three years earlier, Bredeniers had received payment (he claimed gracelessly) for teaching them '*with great difficulty and effort* the principles of music and how to play several different melodious instruments'.[45] A surviving songbook created for Margaret gives an idea of the vocal music that Charles would have heard at Mechelen. Among other melancholy tunes, the songbook included two compositions by Josquin des Prés, the most famous musician of his day: 'Plus nulz

regrets', composed in honour of Charles's betrothal to Mary Tudor in 1507–8, and the better-known 'Mille regretz', later known as 'The emperor's song' because Charles liked it so much.[46]

The prince also loved to dance. In 1512 he danced with 'his susters and the yong folke' of his court for several hours during the celebration of St John's Day; and when his sister Isabeau got married two years later (aged thirteen), Margaret reported that once again Charles 'took part in all the dances to perfection, and perhaps a little more than his constitution could stand, because the next day he went down with a fever'. Four days later, Margaret reported with alarm, he 'cannot yet shake off the fever'; and only after another week was he 'free of his fever and doing well, so that his only concern now is to have fun'.[47]

Increasingly, the prince had fun outside Mechelen. Perhaps the trigger for this change was a strange protest in Brussels early in 1511, when an exceptional fall of snow and prolonged frost prompted the construction of numerous ice sculptures throughout the city. One of them, right outside the empty ducal palace, depicted the Virgin Mary holding a unicorn in her lap, which everyone understood as a plea that Brussels, not Mechelen, should henceforth protect Charles. Whatever the reason, he spent increasing amounts of time in the Coudenberg palace, whose spacious rooms, fountains, labyrinth and zoo left the German artist Albrecht Dürer (writing in 1520) breathless: 'Anything more beautiful and pleasing to me and more like a paradise, I have never seen.'[48]

THE THRESHOLD OF POWER

Charles also went hunting in two parks near his new capital: Tervuren and Heverlee. These two locations represented part of competing agendas, since Margaret of Austria provided access to the former, a royal park (then as now), whereas Chièvres owned the latter. The sharpest difference between the two agendas concerned foreign policy. Margaret favoured an alliance with England, the most important trading partner of the Netherlands, and war against Guelders, whose duke constantly challenged Burgundian power. Chièvres, by contrast, wanted an alliance with France and peace with Guelders. For most of Charles's minority, Margaret prevailed. Henry VIII, Charles's uncle by virtue of his marriage to Joanna's sister Katherine of

Aragon, sent troops to assist Margaret against Guelders in 1511; the following year he sent a larger force to Spain to assist his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, against the French; and in 1513, Henry crossed the Channel in person at the head of a powerful army and joined forces with Maximilian to rout the French at Guinegate. The vanquished lost so many knights that the encounter came to be known (at least among the English) as ‘the battle of the Spurs’, and the French towns of Thérouanne and Tournai surrendered to Henry. Soon afterwards, Margaret took Charles on a visit to congratulate the victors. After attending Mass together, Henry led his nephew to Tournai, his new conquest, where together with Maximilian they watched the ‘jousts royal’ staged by the English to celebrate their victory. When Charles composed his autobiography four decades later, this, his first State Visit, was the earliest event he described.[49]

Henry professed himself ‘much delighted with the conversation’ of his nephew, and he persuaded Margaret and Maximilian that the marriage of the princess of Castile (as Mary Tudor had been known ever since the exchange of vows five years before) should take place within the next six months. The trio also agreed on a new regime for Charles’s household that deprived Chièvres of his place as ‘principal chamberlain’: in future, the position would rotate between noblemen nominated by Maximilian, Henry and Ferdinand of Aragon. The emperor’s nominee, Count Palatine Frederick, took precedence by virtue of his ‘consanguinity’ and his services to Charles’s father (whom he had accompanied to Spain): he now became ‘senior in all councils after Madame of Savoy [Margaret], and in her absence he would take her place in the said councils, for financial as well as for all other matters’.[50]

These changes seemed to mark the triumph of Margaret’s agenda for Charles, but Thomas Spinelly, Henry’s wily ambassador at her court, remained unconvinced. The archduchess, he noted, had only prevailed ‘by cause of the minorite of my lord prynce’ and he predicted that as soon as it ended (on Charles’s fifteenth birthday, 24 February 1515) Chièvres and his Francophile allies would ‘compelle’ the prince to abandon both the English alliance and his marriage with Mary Tudor. His prophecy came true even earlier, thanks to a sequence of totally unexpected (and unrelated) events.[51]

In January 1514, Louis XII's wife Duchess Anne of Brittany died, leaving him a widower in his fiftieth year with only two daughters, neither of whom could succeed him on the throne because France's Salic Law allowed only male succession. Charles's relatives reacted to this development in totally – fatally – different ways. Ferdinand of Aragon proposed that Louis should marry Charles's sister Eleanor, now sixteen and thus capable of producing a son who would become king of France; Margaret declared herself willing to marry the French king herself; while Maximilian insisted that Charles must delay his marriage to Mary Tudor because (according to the English ambassador in the Netherlands) 'he was cownseld by phisicians that in case they folowyd *cum copula*, than of all likelihood yt shuld be the distruction of the lord prince, or [else] he shuld by that means lose *spem proles* [the ability to sire children]'.[52]

Margaret warned her father repeatedly that procrastination would alienate Henry VIII, who had become personally involved in arrangements for the wedding (deciding what the bride would wear, who would accompany her, and where they would lodge) as well as spending heavily on the festivities to follow (including the 'tents, houses and pavilions' from which the royal party would admire the 'jousts royal to be holden' after the wedding). On 6 July 1514, Margaret anxiously – and presciently – told her father that unless he immediately informed Henry that he approved the English match, 'I fear he will abandon you and our dynasty and make a deal with the French'.[53] It was too late: Louis had already exploited his rivals' disorganization and proposed to Henry a treaty of mutual defence, to be sealed by his own immediate marriage to Mary Tudor. On 30 July the princess of Castile, now eighteen, solemnly repudiated Charles; one week later Louis signed a promise to pay Henry one million crowns in return for his sister's hand; and on 13 August, while Mary lay naked in bed, Louis's proxy placed one leg 'naked from the middle of the thigh downward' against hers, thus officially consummating the marriage.[54]

How did Charles react to these dramatic events? As late as 20 May 1514 (scarcely two months before Mary repudiated him), when a courtier asserted that Charles was 'in love with a damoyselle of the court', the archduke 'answered that on hys faythe yt was not so, nor never wolld be of her or any other, onlye my ladye Marye [Tudor] reserved'.[55] Perhaps his

younger sisters' tortuous path to matrimony contributed to this complacency. Maximilian had first arranged a wedding for Isabeau in 1510 when she was scarcely nine, but stipulated that she could only join her prospective husband, the duke of Guelders, when 'she reaches the age of sixteen, and then she can consummate the marriage'. After these negotiations fell through, in April 1514 the emperor signed a contract pledging Isabeau, now almost thirteen, to marry the king of Denmark – but refused to allow her to join him for another year.[56] That same month Charles's sister Marie, aged ten, left the Netherlands for the court of Maximilian, there to remain until he decided when she was physically capable of intercourse with her betrothed, King Louis of Bohemia and Hungary.

Maximilian was not alone in worrying that sex might kill or weaken his grandchildren: many of his contemporaries believed that excessive sexual activity had killed the heir of the Catholic Monarchs, Prince John, soon after his marriage – a falsehood that Charles himself would later use to regulate the sex life of his own teenage son after he got married (see chapter 14). Likewise, on hearing that Louis XII had married the eighteen-year-old Mary Tudor and, in a desperate effort to impregnate her, 'boasted of having ejaculated five times in their first encounter', a contemporary predicted that 'one must assume that he has just dug five graves with his hoe. If he manages to smell the flowers next spring, be assured that he will live to see fifty autumns' (and three months after her marriage, Mary Tudor was indeed a widow).[57]

Charles seems to have taken the collapse of the English match in his stride. A few months later he declared publicly that his new bride would be Louis XII's daughter Renée, who although only four years old was heiress to the duchy of Brittany. According to a courtier:

> One day his intimates [*mignons*] were joking with him and told him he was a cuckold [*coqu*] because he had lost his wife, and now needed a new one. They suggested to him either Madame Renée, or the daughter of the king of Portugal, or the daughter of the king of Hungary. I told these young gentlemen that he would prefer Madame Renée, and [Charles] replied at once: 'He is right, because

> the daughter of the king of France is the best prize – and if she should die first, I would be duke of Brittany.'

On 19 January 1515, Charles signed instructions authorizing a special embassy to discuss with the French king terms for his marriage.[58]

These documents reveal two things: that Charles had learned to subordinate his personal desires to political advantage, viewing his future wife primarily as a 'prize'; and that his minority had ended – indeed, signing the instructions was practically his first official act after his emancipation.

Although the minority of Archduke Philip had come to an end when he reached the age of fifteen, Margaret feared an earlier termination in the case of Charles. In November 1512 she begged her father to return to the Netherlands and assist her to face 'the extreme dangers' she perceived all around her, 'because I no longer know how to deal with them. The States are so hostile, and the common people so full of wicked words, that I greatly fear some evil will befall unless we find a remedy.' She begged Maximilian to 'take pity on me, because I no longer know which way to turn'. Many people, she continued, 'say that I am squandering everything just to please you', adding the colourful metaphor that she was 'so filled with regret about the situation' that 'I often wish I were back in my mother's womb'. Six months later, she repeated her appeal, reporting to Maximilian that posters had appeared on church doors 'deriding and condemning me', while some 'evil spirits' claimed that 'all I want to do is fight wars and ruin them', uttering 'other wicked words that might stir up the people'.[59]

She also found her nephew less malleable. By 1512 his court numbered more than 330 people (eighty guards, seventy-five nobles and knights, thirty-two members of his chapel, twenty-five 'valets, pages and young gentlemen-in-waiting' and so on), who between them drew salaries that totalled £180 a day (compared with only £37 a day a decade before). In September 1513 rumours that Charles 'was so masterful and headstrong that he can neither be controlled nor led' provoked a vigorous refutation from his chamberlain, the lord of Beersel. He began a long letter to Margaret, reasonably enough – 'If my lord, your nephew, were thus disposed I would know about it' – but then he counter-attacked:

> At all times and in all matters his lordship is entirely inclined, ready and prepared to comply with and carry out whatever he understands the emperor and you, Madam, might want and desire. As to other aspects of his actions, thus far I do not think I have seen or heard him do anything except comply and graciously acquiesce in all sound proposals and requests made to him. Indeed, Madam, all things considered, I do not think one could reasonably ask any more of him.[60]

Beersel was a controversial figure. A decade before, on his appointment as Charles's chamberlain, the Spanish ambassador in Brussels described him as 'a man who has the worst habits I have ever seen'; and perhaps now he protested too much, because a few months later Margaret and her nephew engaged in an unseemly public shouting match.[61] In January 1514, on the express orders of Maximilian, the regent arrested and imprisoned Don Juan Manuel, a Spanish supporter of Charles's father who had fled to the Netherlands because he feared the enmity of King Ferdinand; but Don Juan was a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and according to the statutes of the Order a knight could only be judged by his peers. Don Juan's relatives lodged a formal demand for due process with Charles, who would become Sovereign of the Order at his majority, and he led a deputation of seven knights into Margaret's presence to demand that she release the prisoner. Margaret angrily replied that since Maximilian (himself a knight) had ordered the arrest, she could not release Don Juan without his permission. Then, 'after expressing her annoyance that this assembly [of knights] had been convened without her permission', she rounded on Charles and 'told him that he should not be so ready to accept views opposed to the orders of the emperor, and to those who acted in his name' (meaning herself). Her scornful reply brought the meeting to an end, but four days later her nephew was back 'at the head of the knights' to protest once again that, according to their statutes, knights could only be judged by their peers. This provoked another blistering tirade. Margaret reminded Charles that he was still too young to be Sovereign of the Order, and then she told the knights that 'if she were a man instead of a woman, she would make them sing for their statutes'. Maximilian eventually defused the situation by transferring Don

Juan Manuel to his court under guard, but Margaret's authority had been seriously compromised.[62]

Charles made no mention of all this in the *Memoirs* that he composed many years later, but he did state that during his time with Maximilian and Henry in October 1513 'the emancipation of the archduke [Charles] was discussed and agreed'. No written trace of this agreement has been found, but since the three principals spent almost a week together they no doubt took such a sensitive decision orally. Whatever the trio decided, six months later Margaret reported to her father that the States-General had refused to vote the taxes she requested, 'on the grounds that the minority of my lord [Charles] will soon end'. The following month she added that 'some people say that my lord's minority will end once he is married. If that is the case, you should advise me to arrange everything, so that you do not find that this causes matters to turn out otherwise than you expect'. She also warned her father that many members of the Netherlands elite 'are grumbling about us, and planting ideas in my lord's mind that are not good either for you or for me'. Worse, they were using the 'complaints and arguments' as a smokescreen 'to end my lord's minority before you know it . . . If you want to prevent it', her father must return to the Netherlands immediately, 'otherwise you will never get here in time'.[63]

In the event, Maximilian himself triggered the emancipation by demanding that his grandson should 'leave the Netherlands to come and join us' in Innsbruck, 'so that we can arrange for him to receive the oath of allegiance in all the lands and dominions of our House of Austria, to better assure his succession, and that of his brother, after my death' (evidence that he still dreamed of creating a unified 'Austrasia': see chapter 1). He therefore instructed his daughter to convene the States-General in December 1514 and ask them for the funds required for Charles's journey.[64] Instead, the States of Brabant demanded as a precondition of any further grant that Maximilian should emancipate his grandson 'and end his minority, so that the government of all the lands and dominions of the House of Burgundy should be placed in his hands', to which Charles (who was present) replied graciously: 'Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour and strong affection that you show towards me. Be good and loyal subjects, and I will be a good ruler.' Meanwhile, Chièvres and his allies promised to pay

Maximilian 100,000 gold florins for his agreement. The emperor, always short of cash, immediately signed letters patent ordering a special session of the States-General to convene and authorize his grandson's emancipation.[65]

On 5 January 1515, in the presence of the elite of the Burgundian Netherlands assembled in the Great Hall of the ducal palace in Brussels, Count Palatine Frederick read out in Maximilian's name a formal declaration that Charles had come of age, and then 'they brought out the charters' on which Margaret's authority rested and 'in the presence of everyone tore them up. At the same time with sharp hammers they broke their seals into pieces' – a particularly brutal way of marking the transition of power. After that, everyone 'raised their hands, according to the custom of those lands, and swore to accept Charles as their lord'.[66]

— THREE —

THE DIFFICULT INHERITANCE, 1515–17

EMANCIPATION

On 8 January 1515, three days after ‘it pleased the emperor, my lord and grandfather, to emancipate me and free me from his ward and guardianship, placing in our hands the governance of our lands and lordships in the Netherlands’, Charles instructed all officials that ‘our affairs shall in future be transacted in our name’, and he helpfully appended a list of ‘the titles that we intend to use from now on’:

> By the grace of God prince of Spain, of Sicily and Naples, of Jerusalem, etc; archduke of Austria; duke of Burgundy, Lorraine, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelderland; count of Flanders, Habsburg, Tyrol, Artois, Burgundy and Hainaut; landgrave of Alsace; prince of Swabia; marquis of Burgau, Holland, Zealand, Ferrette, Kyburg, Namur and Zutphen; lord of Friesland, Sclavonia, Portenau, Salins and Mechelen.[1]

Some of these titles were premature – notably Alsace and the Austrian lands, still ruled by Maximilian; Franche-Comté, the personal fief of his aunt Margaret; and Friesland, administered by Duke George of Saxony – but in May 1515, George sold Friesland to Charles. It was the first expansion of his inheritance.

According to a chronicler, after his emancipation ‘my lord set off to take possession of his dominions, travelling from one town to the next’ as he swore to respect local privileges and received oaths of allegiance (Map 2).

His new subjects did their best to make him feel welcome. When Charles made his ceremonial entry into Bruges as count of Flanders, the first pageant that he encountered showed three angels presenting their new prince with a crown, a coat of arms and the keys of the city, just as the Three Wise Men had brought gifts to the Christ Child. Subsequent tableaux equated Bruges with Jerusalem, displayed the prince's descent from King David, and alluded to the various lands in Spain, Italy and Germany that he would soon inherit. It was heady stuff for someone scarcely fifteen, and Charles asked to see the whole show again the next day. He also commissioned a lavish manuscript record with thirty-two full-page coloured illustrations (Pl. 7), while the magistrates of Bruges prepared for publication a shorter illustrated version with woodcuts, printed in Paris, and a rhyming text in Dutch. This constituted the first systematic use of the media to glorify Charles.[2]

After his emancipation in January 1515, Charles set off on a five-month tour of the Habsburg provinces in the western Netherlands, making a ceremonial entry into the principal cities to be

acclaimed as ruler. He would later visit all the other hereditary provinces, and also Utrecht (acquired 1528) and Gelderland (conquered 1543); but he never managed to visit Friesland (acquired 1524), Drenthe and Overijssel (acquired 1528) or Groningen (acquired 1536).

The new ruler and his principal advisers now took several important decisions. In January 1515, ‘because we cannot by ourselves give sufficient thanks to God, our creator, for the grace, honour, health and success that He has granted us thus far, nor amass sufficient merit to secure the continuation of His grace in the future’, Charles ordered processions and public prayers throughout the Netherlands to beseech God to continue ‘to raise us in virtue and good customs, to govern our dominions and subjects in peace, union and concord, and to guide our affairs to His honour, our well-being, and the prosperity, utility and tranquillity of our said dominions and subjects’. He also started to issue legislation in both French and Dutch that began ‘By order of the prince’ and ended ‘because such is our pleasure’. One of them appointed Jean Le Sauvage, a prominent lawyer and minister, as ‘our *Grand Chancellor*’, a new office, and charged him to ‘administer justice to all’, and ‘to keep our seals and use them to seal and send all sorts of letters and provisions’.[3] Because the document did not limit Le Sauvage’s jurisdiction, it implied that his authority would extend to all dominions ruled by Charles – which is exactly what happened: the Grand Chancellor accompanied Charles everywhere, and intervened in the affairs of each new territory from the moment of its acquisition.

In March 1515, Charles signed an order revoking all pensions granted before his emancipation ‘in view of the great and weighty affairs with which we have to deal, which increase in number every day and crop up in many and various ways, and in view also of our great and excessive debts’. Seven months later he published a new regimen for his household, modelled on the instrument issued by his father in similar circumstances twenty years before (an event that many of his ministers could remember, since they had also served Philip):

> Ever since our emancipation and entry into the lordship and governance of our Netherlands provinces, we have constantly tried and strongly desired and wanted to create good order and sound policies in all our affairs, and end the disorder that has existed in the

> past, because of the wars and divisions that prevailed as well as for other reasons, and even in the organization of our own Household, on which the well-being, honour and tranquillity of ourselves and of our ministers, dominions and subjects largely depends.

The document detailed the duties of almost 700 officials and guards. The prince also began to attend meetings of the Privy Council where (as Margaret noted with disapproval) he made each minister give his opinion and then 'required them to submit it in writing, signed' – the beginning of the *consultas* that would become central to his style of decision-making.[4]

Who determined these policy initiatives? Certainly not Margaret. Scarcely three weeks after her nephew's emancipation she informed Maximilian that she no longer gave orders, but instead obeyed those issued by 'my lord and his council'. Therefore, she huffed, 'I do not involve myself in any affairs of state now' and so if the emperor wanted something, 'it will be necessary for you to write to the lord of Chièvres and the chancellor'. Margaret particularly resented the secrecy that had preceded her demotion. She told an English envoy, 'almost wepying', how Maximilian 'without her knowledge, with the lord Chevers [Chièvres], hath handled the puttyng oute of tutela of the prynce, to a gret preiudice to her honor and reputacion'.[5] Worse soon followed. In March 1515, Margaret informed her father that Charles had just 'told me that he had heard that Louis Maroton [her confidential envoy] has become involved at your court in all sorts of plots and dealings that cause him harm, regret and displeasure, and he therefore requires me to recall him'. Finally, in August, she confronted Charles in person because, 'having patiently put up with the situation for a long while, I am well aware that people have tried by various means and methods to make you distrust me'. She asked that criticisms of her 'be voiced in your presence, and I will reply, for I prefer that people speak to my face than behind my back'. Then, after offering a detailed justification of her policies, foreign and domestic, and noting that she had often used her own resources to fund them, she concluded defiantly:

> You can rest assured, my lord, that whenever it pleases you to make use of me, and to treat me and respect me as reason demands, I will serve you well and loyally, and risk my life and my goods (as I have

> done thus far); but if you are pleased to believe without verification what people tell you about me, and allow me to be treated as I now perceive, I would rather take care of my humble affairs and leave – something I have already asked the emperor to approve . . . So, my lord, I ask you to state your intentions about all this.

According to a note on the dorse of this document, Charles and his council responded lamely that 'Madame had done her duty well, with other fair words and promises'. Margaret thereupon commissioned an inventory of all her possessions, apparently as a prelude to leaving the Netherlands.[6]

Charles's emancipation also undermined Maximilian's authority. The emperor still expected his grandson to join him and tour his Austrian lands, where he would take the oath as heir apparent (chapter 2); but after that, he confided to Margaret, 'when I have him in my hands, it will be easy to make everything right'. Specifically, 'once he has left the Netherlands, you will govern them just as you used to do'. When Charles procrastinated, the emperor announced that 'he would travel soon to Worms and have the prince join him there . . . and should the prince not wish to come', he would 'go to the Netherlands myself and make trouble'.[7] As usual, Maximilian's other policy initiatives, combined with his perennial lack of money, thwarted these plans. Although the emperor optimistically empowered his personal bankers to receive the money promised for consenting to the emancipation, Charles did not authorize payment until May 1515 and did not start paying his grandfather's pension for another eighteen months.[8] Instead of travelling west, the emperor therefore stayed in Vienna, where he met with neighbouring rulers and concluded the double wedding of his grandchildren Marie and Ferdinand with the king of Hungary and Bohemia and his sister, thus laying the foundations of a new superstate on the middle Danube that would endure for four centuries.

Maximilian next attempted to regain his authority in the Netherlands by restoring Margaret's influence over his grandson. He informed her that he had written to Charles 'desiring him to keep you close to him and to treat you as a good nephew is obliged to treat such a virtuous and good aunt', and he ordered her 'to stay with our said grandson, and do not leave the Netherlands, because your presence there is essential *and will be of great benefit to me*'. The emperor also wrote to Charles that 'we have no doubt'

that he would consult Margaret ‘on all your greatest and most difficult affairs, and take and follow her advice’ because it would always be better ‘than that of anyone else’. He concluded that ‘by nature and nurture she cares for our interests and honour, and also yours: indeed we consider the three of us to be one and the same, united by a single desire and affection’.[9]

Maximilian was wasting his time. Foreign ambassadors began to refer to Chièvres and Le Sauvage as Charles’s ‘governors’ or as ‘the regents’, and for a while the Habsburgs virtually lost control over the affairs of the Netherlands. The ascendancy of the governors became immediately apparent in the deferential policy adopted towards France. The sudden death of Louis XII on 1 January 1515 created a delicate situation. As he had no male heir, he was succeeded by his cousin Francis, aged twenty, from the Angoulême branch of the House of Valois. At an audience two days after his accession Francis I informed Charles’s representative that ‘he would be a good relative, friend and lord [to the prince], because he is my vassal’; but, he added ‘he did not wish to be led by him as the emperor and the king of Aragon [Ferdinand] had led the late king’. Stung by this gratuitous insult, the envoy shot back that although Charles would live peaceably with France ‘as the king his father had done, I want you to know, sire, that you could never have a friend and vassal who could do you more harm’.[10] Charles’s governors hastened to disavow this defiant stance and instructed the envoys sent to represent Charles at Francis’s coronation to grovel. They must apologize that their master could not attend in person ‘on account of our busy schedule and our recent accession as lord of our Netherlands provinces’, and also convey his delight at the accession to the throne of France of ‘such a valorous and virtuous prince, in the flower and full strength of his age’. Charles instructed his envoys to beg forgiveness ‘in view of my young age’ if ‘anything had occurred during my minority that may have displeased’ the new king, and then express the hope that the two rulers ‘might do great things together for their own good, the public good, and the exaltation of our Holy Catholic Faith’. Finally, they must confirm Charles’s eagerness to conclude a treaty of alliance to be sealed by his marriage to Princess Renée, then aged eight, who was not only the daughter of the late king but also the sister-in-law of Francis. When Maximilian

wrote to urge the envoys to increase their demands regarding Renée's dowry, Charles and the governors quickly contradicted him:

> Although we want to please my lord and [grand]father, so that he will not have cause to complain and tell us that we have not followed his orders . . . you must do all you can to avoid giving the king [of France] and his people any cause or occasion to suspect or imagine that we have any wish to renege or risk breaking our alliance.[11]

The governors had good reasons for placating France. As an English diplomat observed, the emperor was now 'sikly, and the kynge of Arragon is of greet aage', and when they died Charles would inherit their lands and titles only if he could enforce his claims – and for that, it was imperative to guarantee the Netherlands against all risk of war. The treaty signed in Paris in March 1515 achieved this goal: Francis promised that he would not attack Charles's possessions, or assist any other aggressor (three weeks later he forbade the duke of Guelders 'to do any harm to the lands of the prince of Castile'). He also promised to support Charles's dynastic claims against all who challenged them. Concerning Renée, however, Francis stipulated that she would join her betrothed only in her twelfth year (which meant that Charles could sire no legitimate successor for at least four more years), and that she would renounce all claims to the strategic duchy of Brittany (which had first attracted Charles to her). Instead her dowry would consist of lands that would revert to France at her death. Moreover, if Charles reneged on his promise to marry her, he would have to forfeit all the territories he held as French fiefs. 'My lord,' Charles explained meekly to his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon, 'I really wish that this treaty had been more to my honour and advantage than it is, but I accepted what I could get, recognizing that at present a good peace is worth more to me than a war, however just. I beg you, my lord, to remember my situation and take all this in good part'.[12]

Francis scored other notable successes during his first year on the French throne. In February 1515 he facilitated the clandestine marriage of Louis XII's widow Mary Tudor, the former 'princess of Castile' now aged nineteen, to the duke of Suffolk, whom Henry VIII had sent to escort her

back to England. Thanks to Francis's complicity, Suffolk promptly boasted that he 'had lyen with' his new bride and that 'sche by wyet chylde' – which precluded her marriage to Charles (or anyone else).[13] Then, since the treaty of Paris obliged Charles not to attack him or to assist an attack by anyone else, Francis seized the opportunity to lead a large army across the Alps into Italy, and in alliance with the Venetian Republic he won a crushing victory on 13–14 September 1515 at Marignano over the forces assembled by the duke of Milan, assisted by his allies Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon and Pope Leo X.

French troops soon occupied both Milan and the adjacent republic of Genoa, and shortly afterwards Pope Leo surrendered to his former enemy the duchies of Parma and Piacenza (territories claimed by both the papacy and the dukes of Milan) and suggested, in his capacity as suzerain of the kingdom of Naples, that Francis might in due course succeed its present ruler, Ferdinand of Aragon. Almost immediately, the death of the Catholic King on 23 January 1516 offered an opportunity.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Ferdinand of Aragon's demise was not unexpected. At age sixty-three he was the oldest monarch in Europe, and yet (as the English envoy John Stile observed) he had 'wylfully schorteyd the days of hys lyfe, always in fayre wether or fowle laboryng in hawkeyng or hwnteyng, foloyng more the cownsayl of hys fawkoners than of hys fesecyans [physicians]'. Stile went on to relate how unpopular Ferdinand had become in Castile, strikingly reflected in the fact that only one nobleman accompanied his corpse to Granada for burial, with 'no grete obsqwyys don for sayd Kyng, nor murneyng made, never less seyn for any prynce'. He concluded that although everyone in Spain 'wyth oon voyse' supported Charles, 'and no maner of person spekeyth to the contrary', still 'there ys lytyl love or stedfastnys' among the late king's subjects, and he predicted 'alterracyions and moveyngys' unless the new ruler arrived swiftly to claim his inheritance.[14]

Stile's analysis and prediction could hardly be bettered, because Ferdinand left a complicated inheritance. To begin with, 'Spain' did not exist. Although his marriage to Isabella had created a dynastic union

between the crowns of Aragon and Castile, and their dependencies, it left intact the institutions, laws, currency and judicial structure of each component. The powers and policies of the crown differed in each area (Castile, Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia), and each state maintained its own tariff barriers and customs posts. They also retained different foreign-policy goals. Isabella and her advisers had shown great enthusiasm for attacks on Muslim north Africa, whereas Ferdinand, although also supportive of a crusade against Islam, favoured targets further afield (including the recovery of Constantinople and Jerusalem), and to this end he devoted far more attention to consolidating his hold over Italy.[15] He even spent the year 1506–7 in Naples.

Ferdinand's absence from Spain was not voluntary. His title of king consort of Castile had lapsed when Isabella died in 1504, and although under the terms of her will he became governor of the kingdom until Joanna and Philip returned to claim their inheritance, disagreements over policies and patronage multiplied. In 1505, Louis XII of France arranged for his niece Germaine de Foix to marry Ferdinand, and ceded to their offspring all of France's claims to Naples – offspring who would also inherit Sicily, Sardinia, Aragon and all of Ferdinand's other dominions. This development alarmed and infuriated Philip, who returned to Spain the following year with an escort of German soldiers as well as a large amount of cash to distribute as bribes. This combination of stick and carrot led most of Ferdinand's supporters in Castile to defect to his rival, and when the two monarchs met on 27 June 1506 the new king appeared with a huge armed entourage whereas his father-in-law came virtually alone. Ferdinand thereupon signed an undertaking to leave Castile (in return for a guaranteed income) as well as an agreement with Philip that deprived Joanna of all her rights, claiming that to do otherwise 'would mean the total destruction and loss of these kingdoms on account of her illness and temperament which out of discretion are omitted here'.[16] Later that same day, however, the wily Ferdinand employed a technique that would haunt his grandson: he swore before notaries that he had signed both agreements with Philip under duress, because 'trusting his word and oaths, I went in good faith' to the meeting, only to find that 'his armed might put my royal person in notorious and manifest danger'. He claimed he had only agreed to deprive

Joanna of her rights, and relinquished ‘the administration of Castile, which is mine by right’, because ‘I was compelled by the said dangers and by fear’. He therefore did not consider these commitments binding.[17] Unaware of this development, one month later Philip met for over an hour alone with his father-in-law, during which Ferdinand claimed he had ‘instructed and advised him in detail about what it seemed to me he needed to do for the sound government of these kingdoms, and to keep them in peace, and about other matters concerning our possessions and our friends . . . in all of which we remained in great harmony’.[18] Immediately afterwards he departed for Aragon, and on 4 September 1506, Ferdinand set sail for Naples. Three weeks later, Philip died.

Devastated by her husband’s sudden death, and pregnant again, Joanna seemed unable to handle the everyday business of government and so Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, convened a meeting of the leading supporters of both Philip and Ferdinand and persuaded them to sign a formal commitment to refer any disagreements between them to an independent tribunal, instead of resorting to arms, until the Cortes of the kingdom could assemble and decide what to do next. Cisneros also created a council of regency, with which he governed the kingdom until Ferdinand returned in 1507.

Ferdinand remained in Castile for most of the rest of his life, taking numerous decisions that would have important consequences for Charles. Abroad, Ferdinand sent an expeditionary force to north Africa in 1509–10, which conquered several Muslim-held port cities, and another to Navarre in 1512, which wrested the southern part of the kingdom from its rulers. Although both successes proved popular in Spain, they would provoke the lasting ire of the Ottoman sultans and the French kings respectively. Charles would devote immense resources of men, material and money to retain his grandfather’s territorial gains. At home, Ferdinand’s presence helped to preserve public order after the death of Philip, ensuring that his grandson would inherit Castile intact; but two of his domestic initiatives directly affected the young prince of Spain. First, after his return to Castile he persecuted those ‘anxious to see a new regime who wanted the prince or his grandfather the emperor to come to Spain’, or who ‘declared themselves to be exclusively servants of King Philip and sought to make King Ferdinand

leave Castile'. Before long, most of those affected 'decided to leave the kingdom and go to the Netherlands'.[19] Second, Ferdinand mistreated his daughter, called by many historians 'Joanna the Mad', now queen of Castile in her own right and his heiress in Aragon, Naples, Sardinia and Sicily.

Not all her contemporaries considered Joanna 'mad'. In 1505 a Venetian ambassador to Spain, Vincenzo Quirini, noted that Maximilian spent several weeks in the Netherlands 'mostly with the queen [Joanna], keeping her entertained almost constantly with fetes' and trying to reconcile her with her husband before they left for Spain. He 'has tried everything he can to make her happy, because he knows that all her problems have arisen because she is depressed [*tuto el mal suo procedava da melanchonia*]'. In Quirini's opinion, Maximilian succeeded. Henry VII, who met Joanna a few weeks later when storms diverted her ship to England on her way to Spain, agreed: 'When I saw her,' he later told the Spanish ambassador, 'she seemed fine and she spoke in a restrained and gracious manner, never compromising her authority.' Moreover, 'although her husband [Philip] and those with him made her out to be mad, to me she seemed sane; and that is what I believe now.' Ferdinand, too, apparently harboured some doubts. At their meeting one month after declaring Joanna incapable of governing, the king urged Philip to tolerate Joanna's behaviour 'just as he had tolerated the behaviour of Queen Isabella, her mother, who in her youth was driven by jealousy to far worse extremes than those of his daughter right now; and with his support she regained her senses and became the queen that everyone knew.'[20]

Bethany Aram, who has made an exhaustive study of the contemporary sources, endorsed these verdicts, arguing that Joanna's principal goal was to preserve her late husband's extensive domains intact for her son Charles. To this end the queen steadfastly refused to consider remarriage and instead retreated to a convent, first near Burgos and later at Tordesillas, taking the corpse of her late husband with her. She gave her father a free hand to govern Castile and to use its resources as he wished, which allowed him to control Joanna, and even to have her beaten: shortly after Ferdinand's death, Joanna's jailer at Tordesillas recalled wistfully that when she refused to eat as a protest, her father 'had given orders for her to be whipped in order to save her life, so that she would not die'.[21]

Ferdinand secured consent both from Maximilian (who had threatened to bring Charles to Spain and claim the regency for himself) and from the Cortes for his dual role as governor of Castile and as guardian of Joanna until she died, or until Charles turned twenty. So although Ferdinand did not solve the dilemma posed by Joanna's status as the sworn sovereign of the kingdom who refused to exercise her powers, he provided his grandson with a blueprint of how to control the queen in Tordesillas. But what of Aragon? In 1509, Queen Germaine bore Ferdinand's son, who immediately displaced Joanna as heir to all her father's kingdoms, including Aragon – but the infant soon died. The couple tried to produce more children, and (according to some) Ferdinand resorted to a 'potion' that would 'improve his potency', but (luckily for Charles) their marriage remained childless and the threat of disuniting the crowns of Castile and Aragon therefore abated.[22] Nevertheless, in 1512, Ferdinand signed a will that decreed that, in the event of his death, 'during the absence of Prince Charles, his brother Ferdinand should sign and enact all matters concerning the government' of Castile, while his own illegitimate son, Archbishop Alfonso of Zaragoza, would exercise similar powers in Aragon (as he had done during Ferdinand's prolonged absences). The following year the king went even further, proposing a partition of the territories that he and Maximilian would leave at their deaths, with young Ferdinand inheriting Milan and half of Austria.[23]

These developments alarmed Charles's governors in the Netherlands. In July 1515, Chièvres reassured King Ferdinand that Charles would do everything 'that a good and obedient son is obliged to do'; but, he continued (with more than a hint of menace), 'I humbly beg you, sire, that you will be pleased to reciprocate and not to give him [Charles] occasion to behave otherwise, which would make him deeply unhappy'. Three months later, another development alarmed the governors: they heard that the king's health was 'failing, so that it was feared that he could not last long'. Chièvres decided to send Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor and councillor, to discuss 'with the king of Aragon some important secret affairs that do not need to be explained here': namely that should Ferdinand die, Adrian must convoke the Cortes in Charles's name 'to declare our right to succeed in the two kingdoms'.[24]

Adrian eventually concluded a deal with Ferdinand. The king agreed to recognize Charles as his universal heir, and to persuade the Cortes of each kingdom to swear allegiance to him; he promised to send his grandson Ferdinand to the Netherlands as soon as Charles left them; and he undertook to restore part of the lands and income confiscated from the Spanish supporters of King Philip who had fled to Brussels. In return, Adrian affirmed that Charles would come to Spain promptly; that he would not bring with him foreign troops (as his father had done); that until then Charles 'would allow the king to hold the reins of government in Castile'; and that he would expel from his court those whom Ferdinand deemed to be his enemies.[25] In December 1515, Adrian boasted to a friend that he had served Charles 'better than most persons of my condition and state could manage', and promptly retired to the monastery of Guadalupe to celebrate Christmas, taking young Ferdinand with him. The king set out for Seville to raise an amphibious force that he planned to lead to north Africa on a new crusade.[26]

Suddenly, Ferdinand's health deteriorated, and 'having just and urgent cause to provide for the good government' of his kingdoms, on 22 January 1516 he dictated and signed a new will. Although he recognized Joanna as his universal heiress, with Charles as her successor, he stated that 'according to everything we have been able to ascertain, she is quite unable to understand the government of kingdoms, and lacks the necessary disposition for it'. Therefore, he continued, 'we name the most illustrious Prince Charles, our very dear grandson, as governor-general of all our kingdoms and lordships to rule, preserve, guide and administer them in the name of the most serene queen, his mother'. In addition, until Charles arrived, Ferdinand appointed his son Archbishop Alfonso of Zaragoza to govern Aragon and Cardinal Cisneros to govern Castile, both empowered 'to do the things that we did, and could have and should have done, during the time of our government'. The king died the next day.[27]

Ferdinand thus reneged on the deal concluded with Adrian the previous month. Instead of declaring Charles to be his successor as king, he merely named him governor-general in Joanna's name; moreover, until he came to Spain, agents whom Charles did not know would wield executive authority. To complicate this situation, as soon as he heard of his grandfather's death

and ‘not knowing the change that had been made in the Catholic King’s testament [of 1512], believing that he had become governor’, young Ferdinand summoned the royal council to join him at Guadalupe and started to issue orders in his own name. Adrian immediately enlightened Ferdinand about his grandfather’s change of mind, and announced that Charles had empowered him, not Cisneros, to govern Castile should Ferdinand die; but the arrival of Cisneros at Guadalupe complicated the situation yet further. The cardinal immediately objected that the laws of Castile (like those of Aragon) stipulated that no prince could govern until he reached the age of twenty and that, in any case, Charles was as yet unaware of the restrictive terms of his grandfather’s will. ‘Many discussions took place concerning this discrepancy’ until ‘it was eventually agreed to consult the prince, so that he could order what he wanted’, and that meanwhile Cisneros and Adrian ‘should govern and sign documents jointly, which is what they did for the time being’. As José Martínez Millán has noted, the cardinal’s actions at Guadalupe amounted to ‘a genuine coup d’état’. Afterwards, accompanied by Adrian, young Ferdinand and the council of Castile, Cisneros set off for Madrid, which for the next twenty months would serve as the kingdom’s administrative capital.[28]

THE INTERREGNUM

News of King Ferdinand’s death, and a copy of his last will, arrived in Brussels on 8 February 1516. Charles immediately called for ‘six weeks of continual mourning’ in every church in the Netherlands, ‘just as was done after the death of the late king my father’. He also wrote to the brother he had never met, Ferdinand, commiserating on the ‘solitude and sadness’ that he must feel and assuring him that not only ‘in us you have gained your only brother, but also (as you will see) a true father’.[29] These were the easy parts: the real challenge was how to respond to Cisneros’s coup. At least his grandfather’s bad faith allowed Charles to disregard the promise to expel from his court any of the Spanish refugees, known as *Felipistas* because they had supported Charles’s father, Philip. At this point they numbered scarcely fifty, almost all of them junior members of urban patrician or aristocratic families (such as Juan de Zúñiga, to whose care Charles would later entrust the upbringing of his son and heir, Philip). None held a noble

title, and only one held a see: Alonso Manrique, bishop of Badajoz, an outspoken supporter of King Philip whom Ferdinand of Aragon had imprisoned for three years, until he escaped to the Netherlands and joined Charles as his chaplain. Sensing that the time for revenge had come, the Felipistas now pressured Charles to take the title 'king of Castile' – a suggestion at which (Manrique reported) 'the prince, although he signs as "prince", laughs and smiles when they call him "king"'.[30]

On 14 March 1516, Manrique officiated at a funeral Mass for King Ferdinand held in the cathedral of St Gudule, Brussels, which closely resembled the exequies for Queen Isabella twelve years before (chapter 1). A procession of Knights of the Golden Fleece bearing Ferdinand's insignia preceded Charles into the cathedral and stood around the catafalque, on which lay 'a golden crown and a sword'. Thrice the chief herald listed the late king's titles and summoned him, but a mournful voice from the nave of the church answered 'He is dead.' After the third iteration, the herald proclaimed that Charles and Joanna had 'inherited these realms'. Then Manrique 'took the crown from the catafalque and went to Charles . . . and said: "Sire, this belongs to you as king". He then took the sword, and gave it to him saying: "Because you are king, here is the sword you will use to administer justice."' As the new king turned to face the crowd in the cathedral, trumpets rang out and choirs sang his praises. A week later, Charles signed a series of letters claiming that the pope and emperor, as well as many 'prudent and wise noblemen' and 'some provinces and lordships', had urged that 'together with the Catholic Queen, my mother, I should take the name and title of king. And so I did.' Then, apparently for the first time, he affixed the traditional royal signature that he would use for all his Spanish correspondence for the next forty years: *Yo el Rey* – 'I, the king'.[31]

These developments appalled Cisneros and the regency council in Madrid. A few days earlier, they had signed a letter to Charles stating that 'we understand that some people, out of zeal for the service of Your Highness, have urged you to take the title "King" now', but they disagreed: 'It seems to us that Your Highness should not do this, nor is it in the interest of God or the world to do so, because as Your Highness's kingdoms are peaceful . . . during the lifetime of the Queen our Lady, your mother, there

is no need to call yourself king.' They also reminded him that 'wicked people in these kingdoms have always complained about whoever is ruling, and tried to make friends with whoever is about to succeed, so as to create discord and more easily tyrannize the kingdom'. Therefore:

> If Your Highness calls himself king now, it might cause difficulties and greatly damage Your Highness's interests, challenging (as it would) the title of the queen our lady . . . Those who are discontented in these kingdoms and those who are enemies of peace and unity would exploit this, using the language of loyalty as a disguise, with some claiming to serve Your Highness and others your mother.[32]

They wrote in vain, and after receiving news of the events in Brussels, Cisneros and his council had little choice but to acquiesce. On 3 April 1516 they authorized the ceremony of 'raising the royal standard', the traditional manner of marking the accession of a new monarch in Castile. Several cities immediately proclaimed 'Castile, Castile, Castile for Queen Joanna and King Charles, our sovereign rulers'; but others dragged their feet. Zamora did not raise the royal standard until 18 May, Plasencia not until 25 July. As the English ambassador John Stile noted, many Castilians 'do take grete dysplesure and dysdayne that the Flemyngys have proclaymeyd thayr prynce Kyng of Castyl wyth oute the[ir] asent'.[33]

Such uncertainty, coupled with the desire to win favour with their new ruler and his advisers, prompted several of Charles's new subjects to migrate from Spain to Brussels. In April 1516, according to the English ambassador in the Netherlands, there 'dayly cometh soo meny Spaniards that the court is full of theym', and three months later, according to Cisneros's agent in Brussels, 'they celebrated the festival of Santiago in the Spanish fashion: 24 knights attended Vespers and Mass.'[34] This marked an important development, because these knights came from the elite of Spanish society and therefore outranked the Felipistas. Other newcomers, later known as the 'Fernandinos', had served the late king but lost their posts when Cisneros took over. One of them was Francisco de Los Cobos, who had worked in Queen Isabella's secretariat since the 1490s and received rewards from Ferdinand since 1503. He thus boasted familiarity

with the intricacies of the fiscal as well as the secretarial system of Castile and its American colonies: on 31 October 1516, Charles ordered Cisneros to pay Los Cobos's salary from the treasury of Castile, 'because he came here to serve us, and has been and is now in our service'. Six weeks later, Los Cobos took the oath as royal secretary and until his death thirty-one years later he would open, read and summarize thousands of letters addressed to Charles on almost every aspect of the government of Spain and its overseas possessions, and prepare responses for his master's approval and signature. In 1543, in the confidential holograph Instruction written for his son, Charles would devote more space to evaluating Los Cobos than to any other minister – noting, among other things, the enduring antagonism between Fernandinos like Los Cobos, who had entered his service relatively late, and Felipistas like Juan de Zúñiga who had fled from Spain a decade earlier.[35]

One of the few matters on which both factions agreed was the urgent need for Charles to return to Spain. As early as March 1516, Bishop Manrique reported that 'in a meeting of the council where everyone spoke and voted, it was decided that the prince our lord should leave for Spain' that summer. Manrique nevertheless harboured the same misgivings as those entertained about Charles's father a decade before (p. 10) – and for the same reason: although 'the prince spoke fine words about his determination to go,' he observed, 'people here are very fickle, and what they decide today is forgotten tomorrow'. He feared that 'if they do not set sail this summer, since winter is a dangerous time for navigation, the voyage will be postponed until next summer'. Manrique proved an excellent prophet. Six weeks later, Charles informed his brother Ferdinand that 'you cannot imagine the desire and enthusiasm I have' to come to Spain, and promised that 'you will be the first to know the place or port where we will disembark'. But for now, he added, 'we cannot yet be certain: God and the weather will decide.' In October 1516 he apologized again to his brother that 'certain matters of great importance have come up, so that for the security of all the other kingdoms and lordships ruled by the Catholic Queen, our mother, and by me, I must delay my voyage until the spring'. He therefore ordered a fleet to assemble in March 1517 in

Middelburg, the same port from which his parents had set sail for Spain eleven years before.[36]

Manrique surmised that the main cause of delay was the need to protect Charles's patrimony against invasion while he was absent in Spain, and he identified three potential enemies: England, France and Guelders. The first proved easiest to placate. In April 1516, Henry VIII's diplomats in Brussels signed a treaty that settled outstanding trade disputes and promised English assistance in case anyone attacked the Netherlands during Charles's absence. Henry also promised to welcome Charles, should his fleet seek a friendly port as it carried him to Spain. Concluding a similar arrangement with France proved more difficult. Negotiations at the town of Noyon in May broke down over the parties' competing claims to Naples, but they resumed in August. Francis (who now styled himself 'king of France, duke of Milan and lord of Genoa') released Charles from his obligation to marry Renée but replaced it with a commitment to marry his own infant daughter, Claude, who would bring as her dowry the French claim to Naples. Until the wedding, Charles would pay 100,000 crowns annually as tribute for that kingdom – thus explicitly recognizing France's claim to it. The treaty of Noyon, signed in August, also obliged Charles to 'satisfy' Francis's ally, the king of Navarre expelled by Ferdinand, 'to the extent that he considers just, after studying his claims' within eight months of arriving in Spain. In return, Francis swore not to provide assistance to any enemy of Charles. No doubt Chièvres and Le Sauvage (who conducted the negotiations in person) considered concessions regarding distant Naples and Navarre a small price to pay for a guarantee that the Netherlands would be safe while Charles consolidated his authority over Spain and its overseas possessions. On paper, the obligation to marry Claude de France seemed more of a risk, since the princess was scarcely one year old, which meant that Charles might be unable to sire a legitimate heir until the 1530s – but perhaps the governors assumed that they could later renege on this part of the deal, just as Louis XII had reneged on his commitment to marry his daughter to Charles.[37]

The treaty of Noyon astonished and appalled Charles's English allies. 'The king of Castell, whiche is the gretyst prince by inheritaunce that hath ben thes five hundredth yeres,' Henry's diplomats observed, 'is like to be at

the comandement of the Ffrench king.' Moreover, 'the said Ffrenche king is of that ambicion that he will suffer noo man to be in Italy of equalle or superior degree', so that both Naples and the papacy seemed likely to fall under his sway. Worse, Francis had 'affirmed' that 'the corone of th'empyre ought of right to be in the house of Ffraunce, which thinge he wolde attayne if he coulde' – and the new treaty made this outcome more likely. The English ascribed this adverse scenario to the fact that Charles had 'suche men about hym' (namely Chièvres and Le Sauvage) as 'had lever lose part of his right then displease others', and they saw little prospect of any change: instead, they predicted, the dominance of his governors would 'contynue until the king of Castell [see] the faulte hymself, which ys not like to be unto he come into Spain – and whether it shalbe then or noo, God knoweth'.[38]

Charles still needed to placate one more enemy before he could leave the Netherlands: Guelders. Philip I had faced an identical problem in 1506 (chapter 1), and although he had defeated Guelders and imposed a harsh peace, Duke Charles later used diplomatic and occasionally military means, sometimes with covert French assistance, to regain the influence he had lost. According to Bishop Manrique in March 1516, 'there is much to fear from the duke of Guelders' because 'the French tend to favour him in such times . . . It would be shameful, given how powerful the prince is, if [Charles] does not provide for this.' The bishop even urged Cisneros and the council in Spain 'to provide [aid] for the conquest of Guelders'.[39] Although that would prove the ultimate solution – in 1543, Charles used Spanish troops and treasure to conquer and annex Guelders – for the time being the urgent need to depart for Spain led the governors to prefer a peaceful settlement. At Noyon, they persuaded Francis to induce the duke of Guelders to guarantee a ceasefire while diplomats discussed the reconciliation of all competing claims, and they also dangled the possibility that the duke might marry Charles's youngest sister, Catalina. Although this came to nothing, for the time being it sufficed to neutralize Guelders.[40]

Still, Charles procrastinated. Perhaps the reassuring messages sent by Cisneros lulled him into thinking that Spain could wait. In August 1516 the cardinal had written:

> All these kingdoms enjoy the greatest peace they have ever known . . . and without doubt one must give thanks to God that in all these kingdoms, large as they are, there is not the slightest movement or suspicion of disturbances: not only the cities and towns but also the grandees, without exception, are so obedient and so peaceful that one could not ask for more.

A month later Cisneros repeated that 'all things in these kingdoms are peaceful and calm, as they always have been'.[41] Charles's leading Netherlands subjects also offered reassurance. In November 1516 he presided over an assembly of the Knights of the Golden Fleece for the first time. Having taken the oath as Sovereign of the Order, Charles proposed that the number of knights should increase from thirty-one to fifty-one, in view of the expansion of the territories ruled by the House of Burgundy since the foundation of the Order; and he proposed to reserve ten places for his most illustrious new Spanish and Italian subjects. The assembly agreed, and then exercised their unique privilege: a public review of each other's failings. After censuring a few knights for avarice, drunkenness and gambling, the assembly turned to Charles. Recognizing that his youth exempted him from most criticisms, they complained that he rarely consulted them about policy. The new sovereign promised to do better in future.[42]

Everything now depended on finding the necessary funds for the voyage to Spain. Charles explained to Cisneros that 'to leave everything here in a suitable state, so that I can come safely', he would need at least 100,000 ducats from Spain, while he asked the States-General to authorize taxes worth £400,000. Although this was the same amount that his father had requested for the same purpose a decade earlier, the delegates demurred. 'A vast sum of money is being demanded from the people, and, what is more, immediately,' Erasmus noted, and then added waspishly: 'The request has been accepted by the nobility and the prelates – that is, by those who will pay nothing. The cities are considering the question now.' He also reported that Maximilian, 'who is normally unarmed, is now here with a body of troops splendidly equipped, and the country round is full of bands of soldiery'; and he wondered why.[43]

The answer was simple: the emperor had returned to the Netherlands in January 1517 in a final attempt to regain control of the provinces and of his grandson. The previous month, Margaret's agent at the imperial court had assured her that the emperor aimed 'to drive Chièvres and his colleagues from power' and 'would not leave until [Charles] had embarked, taking the government of the Netherlands in his own hands in order to place them in yours'.[44] It was uphill work. In April 1517, having exacted a promise from his grandson that he would make 'all hast and departe within iij or iiij wekes' from Zealand, Maximilian made enquiries 'to see what preparacons wer made, and repport was brought hym that ther had ben non, nor no mony laide out therfor'. Furious at the deception, Maximilian wrote 'a sherpe letter to the king his grandson puttyng hym in remembrance of his promyse', and he spent the first week of May in Zealand, assessing the 'preparacons' for himself. He then met Charles again in Lier, the city where Philip and Joanna had married two decades before, and although some detected coolness between the two men, Charles commissioned two huge stained-glass windows to commemorate their encounter. He would never see his grandfather again.[45]

Maximilian's nagging seems to have worked, because in June 1517 Charles announced his imminent departure to the States-General. According to an eyewitness, as Chancellor Jean Le Sauvage assured his audience how much their sovereign loved them, and how reluctant he was to leave them, many of the delegates started to weep, 'and even though the chancellor was a strong man, not easily reduced to tears, seeing the people all around cry' he first 'pretended to cough, and then wiped his nose with his handkerchief, to disguise the fact that his eyes were full of tears'. When he had regained his self-control, Le Sauvage made several promises in Charles's name: that he would return within four years; that he would arrange an effective government in his absence; and that he would send his brother Ferdinand to the Netherlands, so that a prince of the blood royal would live among them. Charles also repeated his request for money – but anticipating that it would not arrive in time, he persuaded Henry VIII to lend him 100,000 gold florins specifically to pay for the ships and crews assembled in Zealand to take him to Spain.[46]

Now, at last, Charles and his court travelled to Middelburg, and there he finalized his plans for the ‘effective government’ of the Netherlands in his absence. First, he appointed his closest confidant, Count Henry of Nassau, as commander-in-chief of all troops, with considerable latitude to decide how to deploy them. Then he declared that ‘we have resolved that this time we will not appoint a regent’ but instead ‘we are establishing a Privy Council’ of fourteen prominent nobles and ministers to handle civil affairs, specifying the numerous issues of policy, justice and patronage that they must refer to him. According to Charles, Maximilian (now back in Germany) had promised to return ‘if any extraordinary situation should occur in the Netherlands . . . and then he will become superintendent of the council’. Although Margaret’s name headed the list of council members, she received no special powers except for custody ‘of the stamp [*cachet*] we have made to print our name on all letters issued in our name with the consent of the council’. Although Chièvres and Le Sauvage would both accompany Charles to Spain, they clearly had no intention of losing control of the Netherlands.[47]

THE LETTER

Charles now issued an Ordinance for the Household he planned to take with him to Spain, which numbered over 600 members – almost twice the size of his father’s entourage a decade before. They included a strong Iberian contingent, with eighteen senior officials, many of them already prominent figures (Alonso Manrique, now bishop of Córdoba, and Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz; Juan de Zúñiga, Luis Cabeza de Vaca and Juan Manuel). Several German princes also appeared on the list, including Count Palatine Frederick, who continued to receive his annual pension of £5,000 as first chamberlain.[48]

Charles’s older sister Eleanor also accompanied him. Initially, the complaints of his Netherlands subjects that her departure would remove from their midst the last child of Philip the Fair (Isabeau was now in Denmark, Marie en route to Hungary) led Charles to decree that she would remain in Brussels; but Eleanor sang songs of protest in the palace gardens ‘and her ladies-in-waiting responded, until the king her brother took notice. His Highness came to console her, because he loved her very much, and

promised to take her with him to Spain.'[49] There was more to the 'songs of protest' than met the eye. Charles's emancipation had also liberated his sister Eleanor, now nineteen, from the seclusion of Mechelen and both now made the Coudenberg palace in Brussels their base, living in adjacent suites of rooms. When Charles travelled around his dominions, Eleanor accompanied him and his courtiers – including the 'first prince of the blood', Count Palatine Frederick.

Born in 1483, and thus fifteen years older than Eleanor, Frederick had accompanied her father on his first journey to Spain, after which he fought alongside Maximilian in Italy. He also kept in touch with Charles: in 1505 he sent him a hobby horse, and no doubt other toys followed, while in 1513 he became one of the three chamberlains appointed to keep the prince constant company (chapter 2). Many credited him with curing Charles of a tendency towards anorexia.[50] Two years later, Maximilian appointed Frederick one of the commissioners empowered to emancipate his grandson, and over the next two years the Count Palatine accompanied the royal party on all its travels. Late in 1515, according to his biographer, Frederick became Eleanor's 'lover while they danced at balls, while they walked in the park that surrounded the royal palace, and while they went hunting; and when they could not exchange words, they communicated with signs and gestures.' By these means, he 'solicited and told the noble lady Madame Eleanor of Austria that he wanted to marry her'. Small wonder, then, that she sang 'songs of protest' when she feared that Frederick would leave for Spain without her.[51]

Charles also had a hidden agenda: he did not change his mind about leaving his sister behind because of her laments. In March 1517 their aunt María died, leaving King Manuel of Portugal a widower; and, now aged forty-eight, he sought a new bride. Charles offered him Eleanor's hand. This threatened her secret romance, and while waiting in Zealand for a favourable wind she promised Frederick that the next time 'she was alone with the king in our oratory', she would ask his consent to marry. Unfortunately for their plans, Frederick doubted her determination and wrote a passionate love letter that began: 'My darling, you can be the cause of my happiness or my misery . . . I am ready, and ask nothing more than

that I should be yours and you be mine . . . Sweetheart, don't be angry if I burden your mind with so many irritating letters.'[52]

Eleanor never read his declaration of love. One of her ladies had observed the delivery of Frederick's 'irritating letters', which the princess hid in her bodice until she could read them in secret. Chièvres somehow found out, and informed Charles. Eleanor had just received Frederick's last desperate letter, and hidden it in the usual place, when her brother entered her apartments, as he did every morning, to exchange greetings:

> 'How are you,' he asked, to which she replied 'Well' . . . 'But I see,' the king responded, 'that your breasts seem bigger than usual today'; and on saying this he plunged his hand in and brought out the compromising letter. Eleanor, blushing, tried to regain this evidence of her secret love, but Charles prevailed and said as he left: 'Now I will find out what you have been doing.'

The king stormed back to his apartments, where he read the love letter before giving it to Chièvres, who forced each party to provide full details of their affair under oath before a notary. After reading the transcript, Charles immediately banished Frederick from his court and confined Eleanor to her quarters: there would be no chance to claim that 'sche by wyet chylde', as the duke of Suffolk had done to gain Mary Tudor, Charles's prospective wife.[53]

These dramatic events stunned the diplomats in Zealand waiting to sail with Charles for Spain. Cuthbert Tunstal marvelled at 'the soden departure hens off the Counte Palatine, which had al his stuff shypped to have gone with the kinge, and was off al the noble men next to the kinge at al tymes'. He also remarked with surprise that 'the kinge was inflexible' – but, he added, 'whedyr al that came off his own mynd or not I know not'. Tunstal, like many others, detected the hand of Chièvres, who bitterly resented the fact that Frederick was now 'depe in the king's favor' and may therefore have engineered his rival's downfall. By contrast Thomas Spinelly considered that the abrupt disgrace and dismissal of a close adviser revealed for the first time that Charles had a 'good stomak and cowrraggy, and that he shall not lyghtly forget the offences'. He predicted that the young king 'wyll be fast in his determynacions'.[54]

Nevertheless, unfavourable winds continued to prevent the royal party from leaving Zealand, and on 11 September, in Spain, an associate of Cisneros admitted that he, like many others, was ‘hopeful that His Highness will not desert us in the year 1517, because we have bet more than 1,000 ducats on his arrival. I pray that God brings His Majesty safely to these kingdoms.’[55] He was already well on the way to winning his bet: four days earlier, the wind in Zealand suddenly changed and Charles, Eleanor and their entourage hurriedly confessed before boarding the ships waiting to convey them to Spain. The episode of the letter had demonstrated that Charles would trample over even those he loved if it suited his plans. It remained to be seen whether he also possessed the ‘stomak and cowrraggy’ to make difficult political choices and then ‘be fast in his determynacions’.

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR AS A YOUNG MAN

Sancho Cota, a poet who fled from Spain to the Netherlands after the death of Philip the Fair and became secretary to his daughter Eleanor, provided an intimate portrait of Charles on the eve of his departure for Spain:

> Now let us speak about what King Charles was like when he was sixteen. He was of medium height, with a long face, blond hair, beautiful light-blue eyes, a narrow but well-proportioned nose, his mouth and chin not as beautiful as his other features . . . He was a graceful man in very good shape; an upright man in his life, eating and drinking in a measured fashion; very clever for his years; liberal and magnificent and very virtuous.[1]

Almost all accounts of Charles noted that distinctive ‘mouth and chin’. The Italian diplomat Antonio di Beatis, who visited Charles just before he left for Spain, noted that although ‘he is tall and splendidly built, with a neat, straight leg, the finest you ever saw in one of his rank . . . he has a long, cadaverous face and a lopsided mouth (which drops open when he is not on his guard) with a drooping lower lip’. Another Italian envoy at this time reported that Charles ‘is fair and tall, does not talk much, always has his mouth open, and instructs others to speak for him’. Francesco Corner, the first permanent Venetian ambassador at Charles’s court, provided more detail: ‘Although he is not deformed, his mouth is always open, which makes him look very unbecoming . . . He is very prone to catarrh, and since his nostrils are constantly blocked he is forced to breathe through his

mouth. His tongue is short and thick, which means that he speaks with great difficulty.'[2] Almost all contemporary sculptures and paintings show him with his mouth open and a prominent lower jaw.

Everyone agreed on another characteristic: the young man's piety. According to di Beatis, 'each day he usually attends two masses, said and then sung', and he usually went on a Retreat in Holy Week. Thus at Easter 1518, his first in Spain, Charles retired to a monastery accompanied by 'a very small entourage, to escape from all temporal affairs and to be almost alone, the better to examine his conscience and make a meaningful confession'. Afterwards he 'went to visit all the holy sites in the vicinity to gain pardons'. Two years later, the king again 'went to a monastery for Holy Week to perform his devotions', and refused to transact any official business.[3]

Some observers expressed concern about his health. One of the few matters on which his grandfathers agreed was that Charles's marriage to Mary Tudor, scheduled for May 1514, 'must be delayed because Nature did not endow him with much physical strength'. Three years later his physicians warned that he seemed 'soo feble that he cannot lyffe past two yere', which led his Netherlands ministers to request a postponement of his departure for Spain because he would have better 'helth in his natyfe contre'.[4] Such concerns contradict reports of Charles's prowess and endurance when hunting and jousting, and may simply betray the same prejudices displayed by the ministers of his father Philip, who 'would rather go to Hell than to Spain' (chapter 1), or of Erasmus, who turned down the offer of a Spanish bishopric because 'I do not care for Spain'.[5] Nevertheless, a dramatic event in January 1519 suggested that young Charles did indeed lack physical strength. According to the French ambassador, an eyewitness, 'while on his knees during High Mass, [Charles] fell to the floor and lay there for more than two hours, without moving and with his face contorted, as if he were dead. He was carried to his bedroom' and stayed there for several days. 'Everyone here is talking about this,' the ambassador stated, not least because Charles 'fell ill in the same way less than two months ago', while playing tennis.[6]

Yet although 'everyone' may have been 'talking about' this alarming episode (perhaps an epileptic attack) only one other eyewitness, the

historian and royal councillor Peter Mártir de Anglería, seems to have recorded it – and even he played down its significance: ‘While the king heard Mass he fainted and fell down, although he immediately recovered.’ Mártir continued: ‘Some say it was brought on in part by eating a huge meal the previous day; and a few attribute it to an excess of sex.’[7] The ‘huge meal’ explanation seems implausible: most of those who observed young Charles commented (like Sancho Cota) on his abstemiousness in food and drink. As for ‘an excess of sex’, after spending four years at Charles’s court Francesco Corner stated categorically that Charles ‘is not much of a womaniser’.[8] In this, however, he was mistaken.

In February 1517 an English diplomat in Brussels reported (without giving a source) that ‘the Lord Chevers hath begun to satisfy the king’s pleasure, and suffered him to play in the garden of Venus’. This suggestion might simply reflect the expectation that Charles would follow the example of his grandfathers, both of whom had sired illegitimate children (Maximilian left so many that ‘he could not remember all of them’); or it might stem from the eternal interest of diplomats in sexual exploits at the courts where they resided.[9] But Charles himself provided some details in his earliest surviving holograph letter, written in January 1518 to Henry of Nassau, commander-in-chief of his troops in the Netherlands (Pl. 8). The opening greeting (‘Henry’) revealed an easy familiarity between the correspondents, as did the protest that he had received ‘so many letters from you’ that he had not been able to reply to all of them ‘with my own fair hand’ despite Nassau’s threat that ‘if I do not do so, I will be handed over to the devil’. Charles therefore declared that he would ‘reply first to your silly letter [*fole lettre*], because everyone likes to talk about what they like best’, and he joked about the amorous adventures of some of his courtiers. Next he unleashed a barrage of complaints about Spain: how much he missed the fish delicacies of the Netherlands; how he yearned for decent wine; and how ‘I am very annoyed that I no longer see my Henry [*je suis bien mary de ne plus voir mon Henry*]’. Above all he missed ‘pretty ladies [*belles dames*] because you scarcely find them here – although I believe I have found one who pleases me . . . She does not amount to much, since she wears about a finger’s width of makeup,’ he continued unchivalrously, but ‘if the lady is willing, I will get her more easily and more cheaply than over

there’. Evidently he succeeded, because according to Laurent Vital, who had served as his valet for over a decade, at this time Charles ‘conquered and possessed a lady through love [*avoit conquis et fait une dame par amour*]’. Who could the lady be? Only Ambassador Thomas Spinelly provided even a partial answer, informing Charles’s uncle Henry that ‘the king was amoreux of a goodly gentlewoman of the queen of Aragon’, Germaine de Foix (Charles’s step-grandmother).[10]

No other diplomat, minister or chronicler seems to have mentioned the lady, and their silence may seem surprising – but few of them found much of note to report about young Charles. Sancho Cota’s *Memoirs* included only one example of Charles taking the initiative before he left for Spain: one day, almost certainly during the winter of 1515–16, he ‘decided that he wanted a motto like other princes, and he used his dagger to write one on a window in his chambers in Brussels. The motto was “Plus oultre”’: *Still further*.[11] The device, almost immediately linked with the twin columns of Hercules, had the double meaning that Charles would surpass not only the geographical limits of previous empires but also the valour, fame and glory of the heroes of Antiquity. It soon spread: in October 1516, Charles’s doctor and adviser Luigi Marliano featured the device in his speech to a chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, calling on the young king to be ‘a new Hercules, a new Atlas’, and a year later both motto and columns featured prominently on the mainsail of the ship that carried Charles to Spain.[12] A Latin version, *Plus Ultra*, appeared on the back of the stall where the emperor sat at the next chapter of the Fleece, in Barcelona, and later in a thousand other locations. Although Cota did not reveal where Charles got the idea for his motto – at once personal, heroic and chivalric – it probably came from the epic romance *The histories of Troy*, commissioned by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. Charles the Bold owned a magnificent illustrated manuscript copy, which entered the ducal library, and his wife Margaret of York, Charles’s first governess, liked the work so much that she commissioned an English translation. By 1516, Charles would have heard the text read out several times, including the French inscription allegedly found on one of the columns of Hercules: ‘Go no further if you want to acquire new lands’, which included both the words ‘plus’ and ‘oultre’.[13]

Like Cota, Laurent Vital found little memorable to write about the young Charles. He devoted a whole chapter of his chronicle of his ‘First voyage to Spain’ to ‘The good customs that God has conferred on the Catholic King Our Lord’, but offered few specific examples except that he ‘could not abide swearing’, that ‘he was truthful in speech and just in deeds’ and that ‘he hated flatterers and tell-tales’. Moreover, Vital offered only one example in support of even these ‘good customs’: how at age twelve Charles rebuked ‘one of his old servants’, who had spoken ill of another in an attempt to get him dismissed.[14]

This absence of evidence no doubt reflects the fact that young Charles rarely did or said anything memorable. Vital included only one extended conversation in his detailed account of the long journey from Ghent to Zaragoza, which took nine months: an inconsequential exchange about sharing food and drink among the various ships of the royal fleet as they lay becalmed on their way to Spain. Di Beatis, writing just before the sea voyage, recorded that ‘immediately after lunch or dinner His Majesty graciously gave audience to anyone where he sat, at the head of the table’, although ‘His Majesty did not speak’. Corner, too, noted that Charles ‘speaks little in audiences and meetings’. Instead ‘he gets the Grand Chancellor or some other minister present at the audience to respond, and when he does speak it is to say that he will refer the matter to the Grand Chancellor, to M. de Chièvres, or to someone else, according to the importance of the matter’.[15]

Corner and other ambassadors repeatedly referred to Chièvres as ‘*alter rex* [an alternative king]’, while Erasmus noted that Chièvres’s ‘lightest word is law’. Vital justified Charles’s willingness to ‘favour and esteem the advice of older people’ by invoking an Old Testament parallel: the example of ‘Jeroboam, who was expelled from his kingdom because he ignored the old and wise and listened to the young and ignorant’.[16] Others were less charitable. A Spanish envoy in 1516 reported that Charles was ‘being bossed around and does not know how to be any other way, or to say anything except what he is advised and told to say. He follows his councillors and is very bound by them.’ The following year a Venetian diplomat asserted that ‘he spoke little and was not a man of much intelligence’; two others stated that ‘having been thrice in his presence they

never heard him utter one single word, all matters being regulated by his councillors'; and an English diplomat opined with cruel simplicity that 'The king of Castell is but an idiote and hys counsail is corruptyde.'[17]

This was manifestly unfair. Laurent Vital knew exactly why Charles and his governors behaved as they did: they had to 'make a virtue out of necessity' and approve unpalatable concessions in order to avoid war and thus 'preserve the assets of this orphan prince' until he reached an age when he could successfully 'defend his rights' for himself. Chièvres carefully and consciously prepared the prince for that day. Martin du Bellay, a French diplomat with no reason to praise his master's principal rival, observed that during his visit to Charles's court in 1515: 'All the dossiers that came in from all the provinces were presented to the prince, even at night, and after he had seen them he reported their contents himself to his council, where everything was discussed in his presence.' When one of Du Bellay's colleagues expressed surprise that Chièvres 'should burden the spirit of the young prince, when he had the means to spare him', Chièvres replied: 'My cousin, I am his tutor and guardian while he is young . . . If he cannot handle his affairs by the time I die, he is going to need another tutor because he has not been properly trained in the work of government.'[18]

Nevertheless, the micro-management by Chièvres, and before him by Margaret and Maximilian, seems to have stifled Charles's self-reliance and independence; and this probably explains his dependence on much older men – not only on Chièvres and Adrian of Utrecht, Maximilian's exact contemporaries, but also on Count Palatine Frederick and Henry of Nassau, both of them twice Charles's age. To be sure these men, together with the other surviving councillors of Philip the Fair, formed an important link with the world of his father, which explains some often overlooked continuities in policy; but Charles later came to realize the perils of placing too much trust in individual ministers. The secret instructions that he wrote in 1543 for his son Philip, then almost the same age as he had been when he first arrived in Spain, contained a strong warning against precisely the kind of dependence that characterized his relations with Chièvres:

> Always discuss your affairs with many, and do not become tied or obliged to any one of them, because while it will save you time it is not in your interest, especially at first, because they will

> immediately say that you are being governed – and that may be true. Anyone who receives such favour from you will become excessively proud and will elevate himself in such a way that he then causes a thousand problems; and in the end all the others will complain.[19]

Wise words indeed, yet the emperor only added them as an afterthought on a page that contains more emendations than any other in his instructions – a curiosity that may reflect his sense of shame and embarrassment that his own failure to follow this advice had provoked rebellions which almost deprived him of his Spanish inheritance (Pl. 9).

PART II

GAME OF THRONES

‘*When you play the game of thrones, you win or you die. There is no middle ground.*’

Cersei Lannister to Eddard Stark, *Game of Thrones*, series 1, episode 7 (2011)

— FOUR —

FROM KING OF SPAIN TO KING OF THE ROMANS, 1517–19

SPAIN AT LAST

A few weeks after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon in January 1516, Ambassador John Stile wrote from Madrid that unless Charles came to Spain ‘thys somer, wythoute fayle here wyl encreas many enconvenyentys and trobyllys’. For a time, it seemed that Stile exaggerated. Not only did Cardinal Cisneros send the new king a stream of reassuring messages about the state of Castile but in Aragon the *Justicia Mayor*, the kingdom’s senior law officer, recognized Charles as both heir apparent and as legal guardian of Joanna for the duration of her ‘illness, mental alienation and dementia’. Meanwhile the viceroy of Naples reported that ‘the entire kingdom is as peaceful and lawful in obedience to the prince-king, my lord, as it was in the time of His Late Majesty’; and although some Sicilian barons rebelled when they heard of Ferdinand’s death, the viceroy soon restored order. The stream of optimistic reports encouraged Charles to revive his grandfather’s plan for a new campaign in north Africa: in May 1517, from Brussels, he ordered Cisneros to launch an amphibious assault on Algiers.[1]

By then Castile was spinning out of control. Despite the ambiguity of his position, at first Cisneros held his own with relative ease. When a delegation of grandees came to enquire ‘by what powers do you govern’, the cardinal ‘pointed to a patio where, as in other commanding locations, he had placed and prepared many pieces of artillery, and said to them: “These are the powers that the king left me, and with them, and with the permission

of the prince, I shall govern Castile until His Highness comes here or until he orders something else."' Such crude tactics could not work indefinitely. Looking back, the chronicler Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola grumbled that 'the cardinal settled matters imperiously'. In particular, 'he deprived many people who had served him well of their offices, he took salaries from others, and rents and tax receipts from important people'. Many of those affected travelled 'to the Netherlands, to take refuge with the prince', which undermined the authority of Cisneros because 'one heard nothing in that court but complaints about the situation in Castile'.[2]

Many of those who remained in Spain also complained. Some nobles and cities openly opposed Cisneros's policies, and although the cardinal continued to accentuate the positive in his letters to Charles – 'everything is in peace and quiet' he claimed again in March 1517 – the leading cities of Castile threatened to convene the Cortes of the kingdom in October if Charles had not arrived by then. He just made their deadline, setting foot on Spanish soil for the first time on 20 September 1517.[3]

The new ruler came well prepared. Charles had sponsored books that promoted his legitimacy (including a new edition of *Decades of the New World* by Peter Mártir and the *Chronicle of John II*, Charles's great-grandfather); and he had secured copies of the daily accounts of his mother's household during her journeys to Spain a decade before, presumably to estimate how much he himself would need to spend.[4] Thanks to a loan from his uncle Henry VIII, Charles brought with him 40,000 ducats in Spanish coins newly minted in Antwerp with which to pay his way – but at first he found little to buy. The pilots aboard his fleet failed to identify their landfall correctly, and Charles, Eleanor and a few courtiers came ashore at the tiny Asturian port of Villaviciosa, which lacked the facilities to handle baggage and supplies. According to a member of the royal entourage: 'In 200 personnes – lordys, gentylmen and gentylwomen – was not 40 horses, and for to purvey any there was no way, ffyrst by cause that comonly for the great montaynes and manerre of the contray the princypaulles goyth afoute, and secondly that the chief places warre infected of the sicynes.'[5] 'The sickness' – bubonic plague – persisted throughout Charles's first visit to Spain, affecting his decisions and disaffecting his subjects.

Laurent Vital, who landed with his master, tried to put a positive spin on events: ‘The king and his lords made a virtue of necessity,’ he claimed, ‘lending a hand’ to whatever needed to be done ‘pretending they were in some bucolic fantasy, feasting on omelettes and pancakes made with local eggs and flour’; but the pretence wore thin after ‘a great part of them had to sleep on straw’, and it vanished after they had eaten up all the local food. This compelled the royal party to move on, but because they found only a few oxcarts, in which the ladies travelled, and some packhorses and mules on which Charles and some others rode, the rest had to follow on foot.[6]

After struggling along the ‘terrible and tiring coast road’, braving torrential rain and ‘a cold black fog’, the bedraggled travellers eventually reached the port of San Vicente de la Barquera, where somewhat better accommodation and fresh food restored their spirits. Charles boasted to his aunt Margaret that ‘along our route all the princes and grandees of the area have greeted us, triumphantly bringing many people with them, full of good will and obedience’. Indeed, he added pompously, ‘We believe that never was a king here so universally welcomed and adored by everybody, as we are’; but almost immediately, he fell ill and took to his bed, scarcely eating while his doctors plied him with various drugs, ‘often adding powdered unicorn horn’. He became so ill that ‘even his jesters failed to make him laugh’.[7]

The doctors concluded that ‘the sea air was the culprit’ and so instead of pressing on to Santander, where his fleet had landed the rest of its supplies, the king and his small entourage set out directly for Castile over mountains that towered almost 2,000 metres above sea level – a foolish decision in any situation, but especially given Charles’s fragile health. Villages where even ‘in the king’s lodgings bearskins replaced tapestries’ gave way first to hovels with ‘nothing but bare walls’, and then to a place ‘where we could not find a house that did not stink and was not full of diseases from the livestock that normally slept inside’. The royal party therefore pitched tents and prepared to sleep outside, but almost immediately another ‘cold black fog’ descended, followed by high winds, torrential rains and snow, forcing them indoors to spend the night surrounded by malodorous and flea-ridden livestock. Even the normally irrepressible Vital felt discouraged: ‘Twenty-

six days have passed since the king disembarked and arrived in Spain,' he wrote sadly, and yet they had travelled only 80 kilometres.[8]

Conditions improved somewhat once the royal party rejoined their supply train near Palencia, but their ordeal was by no means over. On 31 October they passed 'several villages where one saw only the church, because the houses and dwellings of the inhabitants were buried in the earth, in hidden and shadowy places, rather like rabbit warrens'; and after Charles made his solemn entry into the tiny town of Becerril de Campos, late on Halloween, 'he ordered Vespers to be solemnly sung in his lodgings but did not eat that night' – because there was nothing to eat.

The four months between Charles's departure from Ghent in June 1517 and his arrival at Becerril on Halloween were probably the most miserable of his life, and also the least productive: he transacted virtually no business during this period, despite dramatic developments elsewhere. In Africa, the Muslim defenders of Algiers destroyed most of the expeditionary force sent against them, causing dismay and anger throughout Spain. Further east, Sultan Selim supervised the conquest of Egypt and the Arabian peninsula, and claimed the title of Caliph. According to the Ottoman historian Andrew Hess, this 'not only catapulted the Ottomans into a position of leadership within the vast Muslim community, but it also gave the Istanbul regime resources sufficient to project its power north to the gates of Vienna and west to the Strait of Gibraltar'. In both places they encountered Habsburg defenders. So began 'the sixteenth-century world war' that would demand Charles's attention and consume his resources for the rest of his reign.[9] No less important for the future, Martin Luther, an obscure professor of theology at the university of Wittenberg in Saxony, prepared a list of objections to the theory and practice of indulgences, issued by the Church to those who made donations to pious causes. On 31 October, as Charles began his involuntary fast in Becerril de Campos, Luther published his *Ninety-five theses on the power and efficacy of indulgences* in Wittenberg. By year's end hundreds of printed copies had become available in German and Latin. Another 'sixteenth-century world war' had begun.

Charles had arranged for the Cortes of Castile to assemble and acclaim him as king in Valladolid, and his courtiers now made their way there; but he and Eleanor went to Tordesillas instead. As he explained to his brother Ferdinand: ‘My main reason for coming to these kingdoms was to see, serve and console Her Highness [Joanna] as much as I possibly could. To this end, I have decided that before doing anything else concerning the kingdom, I shall go straight to Her Majesty and kiss her hands.’ On 4 November 1517, Charles and Eleanor rode into Tordesillas to visit the mother they had not seen for twelve years. After retiring briefly to the apartments prepared for them, each splendidly furnished with the tapestries that Joanna had brought with her from the Netherlands, Charles and Eleanor, accompanied by Baron Chièvres, entered the queen’s presence to pay their respects. As he knelt before her, Joanna ‘asked the king three times if he was really her son’, adding ‘How big you have grown in such a short time.’ She then ‘kissed him on the cheek, and likewise Madam Eleanor. Then she said “Go and rest now: you must be tired.”’[10] Her children obediently retired to their apartments, but Chièvres stayed on and talked to the queen ‘for a good half hour’. Joanna claimed to remember the baron well from her time in the Netherlands, and he exploited this advantage to suggest that ‘you would be well-advised to grant [Charles] sovereign power now, so that during your lifetime he can learn to rule and govern your people’.[11] She agreed (or so his ministers would later claim). This critically strengthened Charles’s authority in Castile, since the Cortes had recognized his mother (and only her) as their lawful sovereign. Henceforth, although she remained ‘queen proprietress’ of Castile until her death in 1555, and although her name appeared together with that of her son on all coins and official documents, Joanna never challenged Charles’s right to rule in both their names.

In addition, Joanna did not claim the title ‘queen of Aragon’ – initially because those around her acted as if Ferdinand of Aragon still lived. The deception began when Cisneros and the council of regency decided, just after Ferdinand’s death, that the news would upset the late king’s daughter and therefore resolved not to tell her. The situation worsened after March 1518, when Charles appointed Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, marquis of Denia, as governor of both his mother’s household and of the town of

Tordesillas because, in the words of Bethany Aram, ‘with the king’s approval, Denia invented a fictional world’ for Joanna.[12]

This fictional world depended on creating a double wall of silence around the queen. Denia forbade her to enter any room with a window, to prevent her from seeing or speaking with anyone outside: instead he ‘locked her up in her chamber where no other light entered except candlelight’. He also allowed only hand-picked female attendants, supervised by Denia’s wife, to attend the queen, while hand-picked guards excluded everyone else. They too were prisoners, forbidden to leave the palace or to communicate with anyone outside, not even with Charles’s other ministers, because (as Denia put it) ‘everything that happens here ought to be secret from everyone, especially from members of the council’. Denia also insisted that only he and his wife should converse with Joanna, and whenever it became unavoidable for an outsider (for example a doctor) to visit her, he made each one promise to say nothing that contradicted the fictional world that he had created.[13] When one day Joanna summoned Denia and ‘complained much of me because I denied the death of the King, her lord [Ferdinand], and insisted that I tell her whether he was alive because it was very important to her to know. I answered that I had told and would always tell her the truth. If it were otherwise, I said, Your Majesty [Charles] would tell her so.’ When news of Maximilian’s death arrived, Denia immediately added another level of lies:

> I told her on this occasion that Your Majesty is emperor owing to the renunciation of the emperor, and a new election of the princes electors, and that her Highness ought to give thanks to our Lord. She answered, ‘Is it so, is the Emperor alive? for I believed that he was dead.’ I assured her that he was alive.[14]

Why tell such lies? Why confuse and humiliate the queen, Charles’s mother? Gustave Bergenroth, who published for the first time part of the heartless correspondence between Charles and Denia, surmised that they hoped to perpetuate the myth that Joanna was mad, and thus incapable of ruling; but this ignores the fact that no one outside the fictional world knew of its existence. It seems more likely that they fostered Joanna’s belief that

her father was still in charge because, as Denia explained, deception made her easier to control:

> I have told the queen our lady that the king my lord, her father, is alive, because whenever anything that is done displeases Her Highness, I say that the king orders and commands it so; for the love she bears him makes it easier for her to endure it than it would be if she knew that he is dead.

In addition, the deception allowed Denia to assure Joanna that her son 'had come to Spain principally with the intention to see that satisfaction be given to Her Highness', but so far 'you have not succeeded' because 'King Ferdinand' refused.[15]

These advantages no doubt explain why Charles did not merely tolerate the multiple deceptions but expanded them. In October 1518, when plague threatened Tordesillas, and prudence suggested evacuation to a safer place, Charles instructed Denia that if his mother refused to leave her palace, since 'Her Highness fears death, especially from the plague, you must tell her that the plague is so intense that those afflicted die in two days or even less; . . . and to this end it would be good if you could arrange for the clergy to pass in front of the palace carrying their cross several times a day, pretending that they are taking someone for burial.' Charles also reaffirmed his full support for the fictional world: 'As you say, no doubt it would be best if no one spoke to Her Highness about anything beyond what you judge appropriate. It seems best to me that whenever Her Highness asks about anyone, she should be told that they got the plague and were moved outside the town.' He also commanded all those in attendance on Joanna to obey the marquis 'as if I myself in person gave the order'. Charles never seems to have considered the harm that the lies and the prolonged confinement might do to his mother.[16]

Charles also treated his brother badly. Shortly before leaving the Netherlands, Charles received a report that some members of young Ferdinand's household were plotting to appoint their master 'governor of those kingdoms in the name of my lady, the queen'. He therefore sent an express courier to Cisneros and Adrian with instructions to dismiss and exile over thirty of his brother's officials. According to an eyewitness, 'The

plan was executed in a single day, a daring move that surprised everyone because at present His Highness [Charles] has no heir or successor except' Ferdinand.[17]

Subsequent investigations allegedly revealed a conspiracy to spirit Ferdinand away to Aragon, and other plots too 'diabolical' to be mentioned; and, with the benefit of hindsight, Prudencio de Sandoval observed that 'all or at least most of those who served' Ferdinand in Castile 'joined the Comuneros when they rebelled two years later'. But that lay in the future: at the time, Charles concentrated on making sure of his brother's loyalty, writing a personal letter assuring him that 'everything is being done for your own good, and you should always keep in mind the love I have for you'. He promised that 'I will send a letter and make sure that orders are given concerning where you can join me. In the meantime, enjoy yourself and have fun.' Charles also urged Cisneros to make Ferdinand understand 'that the measures we have ordered are for his good and well-being, because the great love I have for him is always paramount. He must see me as a brother and a true father.'[18]

The cardinal was not convinced. Knowing that Charles planned to send his brother to the Netherlands, Cisneros begged that 'it is done in a way that leaves the kingdom content, that is: do not send him away poor and hopeless.' Perhaps, the cardinal suggested, 'he might be promised Your Highness's share of the lands that will be vacated when the emperor [Maximilian] dies'.[19] Cisneros died before he could meet Charles in person, which made it easy to ignore his advice – advice that was irreplaceable, since the cardinal had worked closely with both Isabella and Ferdinand as well as governing Castile on four separate occasions (1506–7, 1510, 1512 and 1516–17). He therefore knew from personal experience the strengths and weaknesses of every component of the kingdom, but these insights died with him. The cardinal's death also provided Charles with a poisoned chalice, for it left vacant the see of Toledo, worth 80,000 ducats a year. He decided to nominate as Cisneros's successor Guillaume de Croÿ, Chièvres's nephew and Charles's former page, and now at age nineteen a priest studying at Leuven university. It was the new king of Spain's first major error.

Perhaps because he had no children Chièvres always strove to advance the career of his nephew, persuading Charles to nominate him abbot of two of the richest convents in the Netherlands as well as archbishop of Cambrai, bishop of Coria (in Castile) and finally cardinal. Chièvres now begged Charles to name his nephew archbishop of Toledo.[20] According to Vital, 'at first the king did not grant it or withhold it, saying that he would think about it', because others had also expressed an interest. He therefore 'asked his council to consider on whom he should confer this post, because he wanted first to hear their opinions'; but, Vital continued, 'the diversity of applicants left the king and his council really perplexed'. This reflected bitter divisions within the royal council. Erasmus later claimed that he had declined Charles's invitation to accompany him to Spain primarily because 'I saw the Court divided into so many factions, with sects of Spaniards, Jews and Frenchmen, supporters of Chièvres and the emperor [Maximilian], Neapolitans, Sicilians and who knows what'. In choosing a new archbishop of Toledo, perhaps predictably, the 'supporters of Chièvres' prevailed.[21]

Charles had already nominated foreigners to Castilian sees – Luigi Marliano as bishop of Tuy, and Croÿ himself as bishop of Coria – in clear breach of Queen Isabella's will, which declared that only natives of the kingdom were eligible for secular and ecclesiastical positions. Since this provoked some hostile comments, before nominating Croÿ archbishop of Toledo Charles took the precaution of signing papers that declared him to be a naturalized Castilian, but the appointment still proved controversial. Sancho Cota, Eleanor's secretary, reported that when news arrived that Alfonso de Aragón – King Ferdinand's illegitimate son, archbishop of Zaragoza and regent of the crown of Aragon since his father's death – was on his way to Tordesillas to ask for the see of Toledo, 'the king sent a message that he should not come, because he had named someone else as archbishop'. This insensitive response naturally alienated Alfonso: Charles would later plead in vain for his assistance in winning over the Aragonese. In Valladolid, according to Peter Mártir, 'everyone is saying that the king had behaved discourteously and rudely' towards his uncle Alfonso. Mártir also realized that the appointment of Croÿ 'contravened the laws and customs of the kingdom more blatantly, so that one day it may stir things

up’. He predicted that ‘time will tell what fruit will grow from these seeds’.[22]

While the seeds grew, Charles took care of some family business. At Tordesillas he and Eleanor spent time with their sister Catalina, now aged ten, and also arranged a belated funeral for their father, whose corpse Joanna kept in Tordesillas. The tomb itself was modest, since Charles intended to move Philip’s body to Granada to lie beside the Catholic Monarchs, but performing the funeral rites for the late king before meeting the Cortes highlighted Charles’s legitimacy as sovereign. Charles and Eleanor now left Tordesillas to meet another sibling: their brother Ferdinand, now aged fourteen. The king embraced him, dubbed him a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ‘explained several fine, worthy and chivalrous things concerning the Order’. Then, accompanied by an entourage that numbered 6,000, the three grandchildren of Queen Isabella made their ceremonial entry into Valladolid. According to Vital, even ‘elderly burghers and merchants’ of the city claimed that no one in Castile ‘had seen the entry of such a noble and triumphant king as this one’.[23]

The Cortes of Castile almost immediately voted a subsidy of 600,000 ducats – substantially larger than any previous grant – and recognized Charles as king, jointly with his mother, but they also presented almost one hundred grievances for redress. Some were traditional and non-controversial (‘that Your Highness prohibit games of dice’; ‘that you order the minting of copper coins and other small change, because this kingdom does not have enough’). Others, though more critical, posed no threat (‘they beg Your Highness to do us the honour of speaking Castilian’ and ‘grant a public audience at least twice a week’). Only a few displayed concern about recent developments: ‘We beg Your Highness . . . to grant that Infante Ferdinand should not leave these kingdoms until you are married and have heirs’; that no office in Castile, whether secular or religious, ‘should be conferred on foreigners’; ‘that letters of naturalization should never be granted to a foreigner, and that any already granted should be revoked’; and that ‘the archbishop of Toledo should come and reside in these kingdoms’.[24]

Charles addressed some of these complaints immediately, including his inability to speak Spanish. By spring 1518, according to a Burgundian

minister, the king ‘speaks with his nobles in Castilian, and has now mastered the language and the customs of the country’. Mártir concurred, informing some correspondents: ‘The king has suddenly started to speak Spanish, and expresses himself as if he had been born and raised among you. It seems his apprenticeship was very short.’ Charles also began to speak for himself at audiences – albeit in brief and often formulaic sentences – instead of relying on his governors to speak in his name.[25]

On Ferdinand’s fifteenth birthday, Charles created a separate court for him and then, accompanied by Eleanor, the three siblings set off for Zaragoza to meet the Cortes of the kingdom of Aragon. En route, however, and apparently without warning, Charles defied the express wishes of the Cortes of Castile and ordered his brother to leave the land of his birth and travel by sea to the Netherlands and reside with their aunt Margaret. This, of course, fulfilled the promise Charles had made to his Netherlands subjects before his departure (chapter 3); but its abrupt execution reflected fear. According to Charles’s chronicler Alonso de Santa Cruz:

> While talking to members of the Cortes in Valladolid, Chièvres and the Grand Chancellor [Le Sauvage] learned . . . that King Charles was hated by many and that his brother Ferdinand was loved by everyone . . . They therefore recommended that Ferdinand should be sent away from the kingdom, so that if one day some Spanish vassals should rise up they could not choose Ferdinand as their leader. His Highness considered this a good idea.

Sancho Cota, still travelling with the royal party, recorded that the infante’s sudden departure ‘greatly affected every Spaniard, lords and commoners alike, because they all like Ferdinand very much’; while the French ambassador echoed that ‘people here are not very happy about it’.[26]

Even the normally obsequious Laurent Vital noted the growing hostility. While in Valladolid, several clerics refused to lodge the king’s entourage and excommunicated the royal officials charged with finding accommodation. Posters appeared on church doors expressing frustration that foreigners now ruled the kingdom, and just after the king left the city a friar delivered sermons that contained ‘scandalous words’ against the Netherlanders who had ‘imprisoned’ the new ruler and had overturned the

laws of Castile by appointing foreigners to office. The king instructed the magistrates to arrest the offending friar 'and make his punishment exemplary, so that in future others would preach only the truth'. The dislike was mutual. According to Mártir, Charles's Netherlands advisers – many of whom had been forced to flee from Spain so ignominiously a decade before (chapter 1) – 'held the Spaniards in contempt, as if they had been born in the sewers'.[27]

Perhaps these observers exaggerated? According to Lord Berners, an English diplomat at Charles's court, writing in September 1518, 'all the matteres in Spaine be in good trayne' except for 'a lytle jelosy and mistruste betweene the Spanyards and Burgunyanes'; and he expected the king's dexterity in 'dayly tryumphes, fightynge at the barres, justes and juga de kanes [the cane game]' to win the hearts of all who watched him.[28] Nevertheless, Berners grumbled, the Aragonese are 'the moste prowde obstinat people of the world' and although 'they have swoorne him their kinge, and they swoorne his subiects, they nether give him obedience nor money'. Two months later, another frustrated diplomat predicted that the Cortes of Aragon would be 'infynyte and, as I suppose, without ende (for all that the king in his owne person is thayre twyse or thryce a weke)'.[29]

These delays had deep roots. As Manuel Rivero Rodríguez has pointed out, after King Ferdinand's death:

> Aragon regarded Charles only as prince, and the authorities did not open his orders, edicts and warrants, but instead saved them until he had been accepted as king. His orders issued as king rather than as prince were returned . . . Since the law of succession did not accept inheritance through a female line, they treated both the oath to Joanna and to Charles as provisional.[30]

As Charles travelled slowly towards the Aragonese frontier in March 1518, he ordered his uncle Alfonso to meet him and swear allegiance; but, bruised by his treatment over the see of Toledo, Alfonso failed to appear. The royal party waited impatiently for a week, until a letter arrived from the magistrates of Zaragoza stating that before they could take the oath to Charles, they must first swear one to Joanna – in person. Although the Cortes eventually accepted that this was impossible, and reluctantly agreed

to accept Charles's oath to respect all the laws of the kingdom, they refused to call him 'king' during his mother's lifetime; and even when he overcame that objection, the Cortes demanded permission to recognize Infante Ferdinand as 'crown prince'. Fighting broke out in the streets of Zaragoza between Castilian and Aragonese courtiers, and although Charles managed to reconcile them, negotiations with the Cortes dragged on for the rest of the year.

The prolonged power struggle in Zaragoza allowed the diplomats accredited to Charles's court to evaluate for the first time how decisions were taken in the new Habsburg state. The Venetian ambassador Francesco Corner repeatedly asserted that Chièvres was 'another king' at Charles's court, while Mártir began to call him 'the Goat' (a pun on the French word *chèvre*: goat), and (shamelessly mixing metaphors) asserted that Chièvres was 'the chain that imprisons' Charles. The French ambassador echoed that 'few people are involved in directing the affairs of this young prince', adding that Chièvres's influence remained undiminished. He was right: late in 1518, Charles named Chièvres marquis of Aarschot, count of Beaumont and baron of Heverlee – an unmistakable sign of continuing favour.[31]

Many considered Grand Chancellor Le Sauvage to be as powerful as Chièvres, but he died in June 1518. Some expected Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara, who took over as Grand Chancellor four months later, to challenge Chièvres but instead he became the marquis's biggest booster. Born in Italy and a lawyer by training, Gattinara had served Maximilian as a diplomat, and Margaret of Austria as a confidential councillor. According to the English ambassador, when 'Maister Mercurius' arrived at Charles's court, he was 'a man of 60 yeres, of muche gravite, of good lernyng and good Laten'. A Venetian envoy went further: the new chancellor was 'prudent, very learned (they say), just, and he understands Latin, Spanish, French and German', as well as his native Italian, 'and everyone welcomes him because of his languages' – a veiled criticism of Charles's other largely monoglot advisers.[32] Gattinara had attracted some attention at court in December 1516 through a curious manuscript addressed 'To the divine Charles the Great, Catholic King' and entitled: 'A supplicatory oration, including a dream of the last world monarchy and the triumph of Christianity, broadly stated, with the means of accomplishing it'. Although

written in Latin, and therefore beyond the recipient's comfort zone, Gattinara took the precaution of giving the treatise to his countryman Luigi Marliano, Charles's physician as well as his councillor, in the hope that it would reach 'the ears of a certain adolescent'. After many pages narrating a dream in which Charles appeared as the Messiah who would pacify Italy, reform the Church, unite Christendom and bring universal peace, Gattinara noted the superior resources available to Charles in both Europe and America, and compared them with those available to other Christian states, to suggest how the dream might become reality. Gattinara would devote the rest of his life to making it come true.[33]

A few Spaniards also joined the team advising Charles. Francisco de Los Cobos now drafted most letters of state about Castile (including those to the marquis of Denia about perpetuating the fictional world that surrounded Queen Joanna). Early in 1519, in preparation for a proposed face-to-face meeting with Francis I to discuss outstanding issues, Charles 'convened four or five of the foremost clerics of Castile and Aragon to debate his right to the kingdom of Naples' (they advised him to surrender nothing – advice that he would follow).[34] But almost all those in charge of making policy decisions shared the Burgundian values of Charles, Chièvres and Gattinara.

Eventually, Charles left Zaragoza and led his entourage towards Barcelona, where he hoped to persuade yet another assembly of restless subjects, the Catalans, to recognize his succession and to provide funds. By the time he arrived, he had lost two more members of his family: his sister Eleanor and his only surviving grandparent. In October 1518 he sent Eleanor, his constant companion since birth, to join her future husband King Manuel of Portugal. (As with the exile of young Ferdinand, her departure 'was badly received by the whole court and the whole kingdom'.)[35] Four months later, while approaching Barcelona, Charles learned of the death of Maximilian, an event that transformed both his personal situation and the balance of power in Europe.

'BUY YOURSELF AN EMPEROR'[36]

Maximilian had first contemplated securing the imperial crown for Charles in 1513. His relative and confidant, Count Palatine Frederick, later recalled

the emperor's exact words:

> You see that I have expended my blood, my money and my youth for the Empire, and got nothing for it. If we turn our hand to it, I would like this young lord, my grandson Charles, to be elected emperor, because as you can see there is no one with the capacity or the power to uphold the reputation of the Empire except him. If the Electors are willing, I would like to lay down this office.

According to the constitution of the Empire, such a change required the positive votes of at least four of the seven princes known as Electors (*Kurfürsten*) – the archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Cologne; the Elector Palatine; the margrave of Brandenburg; the duke of Saxony; and the king of Bohemia – at a special meeting convened to choose a 'king of the Romans' on whom the pope would later confer the title 'Holy Roman Emperor'. Shortly after his conversation with Frederick, Maximilian met with four Electors (including the Elector Palatine, Frederick's older brother) to test the waters, but they flatly refused his offer: 'None of us want you to lay down your office'.[37]

The subject seems to have remained dormant for the next three years, but then it became a 'fierce and prolonged poker game', with immensely high stakes, whose outcome remained uncertain until the final vote. Serious play began in November 1516, when the Elector of Trier sent an envoy offering to vote for Francis I as the next king of the Romans, as soon as Maximilian abdicated or died. In June 1517 the Elector of Brandenburg followed suit, pledging his vote in return for a promise that his son would marry Princess Renée (formerly promised to Charles), plus 150,000 crowns in cash and a pension for himself. As Robert Knecht has noted, 'Francis failed to see that the German Electors were interested less in his success than in promoting a contested election' that would allow them to sell their votes to the highest bidder. 'That he should have allowed himself to be thus exploited says little for his political judgment.'[38]

Nevertheless, the threat of a French candidacy terrified the Habsburgs. Charles heard rumours while waiting in Zealand for a favourable wind for Spain, and claimed that 'ever since we took leave of the emperor our grandfather, and received his blessing':

> We have given much thought to the imperial succession, and several times we have discussed the matter with our principal and most trusted advisers who are informed on the subject. We have increasingly realized how important this is to us, and wondered how best we could place the kingdoms, dominions, lordships and subjects of the emperor and ourselves in Germany, Spain and Italy as well as here in the Netherlands in permanent safety, peace and repose, so that no one could harm them; and that if any ruler, however powerful, should try to oppress, attack or invade, we would be strong enough to resist.

By contrast, Charles opined, if another ruler became emperor it would cause ‘trouble and division, and risk total ruin’ for him. He therefore informed his grandfather that he stood ready to distribute up to 100,000 florins in cash to the Electors who voted for him, with annual pensions to follow, as well as elevation to the Order of the Golden Fleece and other material rewards. Three months later, Charles reminded Maximilian of the need to ensure ‘that after your death the Empire should not fall into the hands of the king of France’, because it would ‘greatly harm the House of Habsburg’. He therefore exhorted his grandfather ‘to spare neither gifts nor promises of pensions, benefices, or anything else’.[39]

It was almost too late. In October 1517, while Charles shivered in the mountains of Asturias, the Elector of Mainz (brother of the Elector of Brandenburg) also sold his vote to France, and six months later the Elector Palatine followed suit, giving Francis the majority he needed to secure election. Now it was Maximilian’s turn to highlight the urgent need to match this outlay, but his grandson protested petulantly that ‘it should not be necessary to buy the Empire’, because thanks to his Austrian roots ‘the entire German nation will be more favourable towards us than towards the king of France’. In April 1518, Chièvres, who now controlled the public finances of Spain as well as the Netherlands, grudgingly sent letters of credit to Germany equal to the 100,000 florins already promised, but warned that ‘this is as much as His Majesty can reasonably manage at present’, adding loftily: ‘Sometimes one must be content with what is possible, and find ways of filling the gaps by other means.’ Maximilian was impervious to such arguments. ‘If you aspire to gain this crown,’ he

informed his grandson, ‘you must not hold back any resource’, and he supplied a long list of the ‘resources’ required, including not only money but also the marriage of Charles’s sister Catalina to the young margrave of Brandenburg with a substantial dowry (to prevent him from marrying Renée of France). Above all, Charles must ‘leave all the decisions to me’ because ‘you are too far away for us to be able to tell you everything and ask for what we need: by the time we get your answer, everything may have changed’.[40]

In case the seriousness of the situation still escaped his grandson, a week later Maximilian wrote a passive-aggressive letter (an epistolary technique that Charles would later perfect): unless his grandson paid everything demanded, and unless he delegated full powers, Maximilian warned that:

> We see no way of conducting this matter as the desire and honour of both of us requires; and if there is any fault or negligence, we will feel greatly displeased that we have gone to so much trouble and effort throughout our life to aggrandize and exalt our dynasty and our posterity, and yet by your negligence everything should collapse and jeopardize all our kingdoms, dominions and lordship, and thus our succession.

‘Take this matter to heart for the good of our dynasty, as we are doing,’ he chided Charles in a holograph postscript.[41] A few days later Jakob Villinger, Maximilian’s treasurer, sent a similarly reproachful message to Chièvres. If Charles ‘really wants the empire’, Villinger insisted, then he must send another 100,000 florins to Germany immediately, with no restrictions on how Maximilian chose to spend them. ‘You already know the importance of this business,’ he continued relentlessly, ‘but let me refresh your memory’. The election of Charles would allow the House of Habsburg:

> To subjugate our enemies and those who wish us ill, while the reverse would plunge us into total misery and confusion, which we would always bitterly regret. We need to remember that just a small confrontation or conflict, wherever it may occur, will soon make us

> spend and dissipate just as much – if not more – than this business will cost us. In addition, as you know, winning the Empire will solve many of the problems that might otherwise befall us.

'Pay attention to what I have just said,' Villinger concluded rudely, 'otherwise we will be lost. Don't fall asleep on this! . . . Don't even think of delaying matters!'[42]

After this unaccustomed verbal spanking, Chièvres meekly endorsed the letter 'Received at Zaragoza the 10th of June' and started to raise more money for Germany. He also overcame his rivalry with Archduchess Margaret, recommending to Charles that she should be granted at least some of the powers removed at his emancipation. She now became 'superintendent of all our finances in the Netherlands'; received sole authority to sign all official documents in her nephew's name (which must be obeyed 'as if we had signed the said documents with our own hand'); and acquired extensive powers of patronage.[43]

Charles now affirmed that 'he wanted to become king of the Romans, whatever it cost, without sparing any expense'; and Maximilian, confident that his grandson would underwrite all the promises he might make, convened a full meeting of the imperial Diet in Augsburg in July 1518.[44] For the next three months the city became the centre of international attention. Albrecht Dürer, the most famous artist in Europe, came to paint members of the German elite; Martin Luther arrived to explain to a papal legate his criticisms of church practices; and five Electors eventually promised that they would vote for Charles as the new king of the Romans. In return, Maximilian promised the Electors (in Charles's name) 500,000 florins on election day, as well as more than 70,000 florins a year in pensions and sundry tapestries, gold, silver and other bribes. Yet Maximilian's scheme had a fatal flaw: although he was universally styled 'emperor', he had never secured a papal coronation and was therefore still king of the Romans. As a French ambassador noted with glee, 'there could be no election until he himself has been crowned' emperor. Although he and Charles now tried to persuade the pope to rectify this oversight by authorizing a coronation at Trent, on the border between Germany and Italy, it was too late. Maximilian died on 12 January 1519.[45]

‘Matters over here are very different now’, one of Charles’s envoys in Germany observed gloomily just after Maximilian’s death: the late monarch ‘knew how to take decisions, and was both loved and feared’, whereas Charles ‘is far away and is little known in Germany’. In addition, ‘the French have said many malicious things about him’. They did not just spread rumours. As soon as he heard of Maximilian’s death, King Francis instructed a special envoy to remind the Elector Palatine of the need to choose an emperor capable of protecting Germany against a possible Turkish attack, and to contrast ‘the immaturity and poor health’ of Charles with his own ‘strength, wealth, love of arms, expertise and experience in war’. The envoy must also exploit ‘the insult done to Frederick [the Elector’s brother] by the Catholic King, who expelled and exiled him from his household and would not let him wed his sister [Eleanor], even though she very much wanted to marry him’. Francis also began to make military preparations because, as he reminded his agents in Germany, ‘In times like these, if you really want something – be it the papacy, the empire or anything else – you can only get it by using bribes or force.’ Shortly afterwards, the pope promised Francis his support in the forthcoming election.[46]

In mid-February 1519, Margaret and her council in the Netherlands reluctantly concluded that Francis would prevail and therefore proposed to Charles a radically different strategy: he should abandon his own attempt to become king of the Romans and instead secure the election of his brother Ferdinand, who was now in the Netherlands and could easily travel to Germany, where he could secure Habsburg control over the dynasty’s hereditary lands as well as negotiating directly with the Electors. Moreover, Charles should nominate an acceptable German prince, such as Count Palatine Frederick, as a compromise candidate if the Electors refused to elect another Habsburg. Margaret and her advisers informed Charles that unless they heard from him on or before 13 March – a mere three weeks away – they would implement their plan.[47]

Dividing the unwieldy Austrian-Burgundian-Trastámara inheritance between Maximilian’s two grandsons made good sense, and Charles would eventually acquiesce; but in 1519 the suggestion provoked a furious rebuttal and rebuke from the young ruler, conveyed to the Netherlands both by

letters and by a special envoy. After reaffirming that ‘we are absolutely committed to spare nothing and to do our all to secure our election, which is the thing we desire most in this world’, Charles stressed that he was not only Maximilian’s ‘eldest grandson but also the one whom [Maximilian] had chosen’ to succeed him. Withdrawing his candidacy now ‘would forfeit not only the Empire but also our honour and the money we have already spent’. He further claimed that splitting the inheritance with his brother ‘would make it easier to break apart our common strength and entirely destroy our dynasty’, because without direct access to the resources of Spain and the Netherlands, Ferdinand would not be able to defend himself. Charles even speculated that those who had suggested the partition ‘are the same people who tried in the past to create difficulties between the king of Aragon and my father [Philip], and later with me, and now feed continual disagreements and divisions between me and our brother’. Finally, since couriers seldom covered the distance between Spain and the Netherlands in less than two weeks, he found Margaret’s threat to implement her initiative within three weeks utterly outrageous.[48] Charles also conveyed his discontent in other ways. Margaret informed one of those involved in the discussions that ‘God knows, he is angry about what we advised him, judging by the private letters he has written to me’ (apparently now lost); and Charles’s holograph postscript to another letter to her included the threat: ‘Do what I have just told you, because otherwise you will displease me.’[49] The king nevertheless recognized that he needed to reassure and placate his brother, and so he made two important concessions: once elected king of the Romans, he promised to cede at least some of the Austrian lands to Ferdinand; and ‘once we are crowned emperor, we can easily and without danger get [Ferdinand] elected king of the Romans, so that the empire can stay for ever in our dynasty’.[50]

Margaret responded coolly to her nephew’s angry reproaches: ‘We see only two ways for you to succeed in this election. One is through money’, because each Elector now demanded far more in return for his vote than Maximilian had offered at Augsburg. ‘The second way, sire, is to use force’, which meant mobilizing troops in the Netherlands and Spain to deter armed French intervention, as well as in Germany to overawe the Electors – which of course would also cost money. Either way, she continued, since in order

to win ‘you intend to spare nothing [did that formula contain a hint of sarcasm?] you must give discretion to your ambassadors to offer and to pay more than the sums already promised, depending on how they find the situation . . . without the need to refer everything to Your Majesty, because the long wait for your response may cause harm’. Specifically, Margaret insisted that Charles must authorize Jakob Fugger of Augsburg, the richest banker in Europe, to guarantee all his commitments, since that alone would surpass ‘the prodigality of the French in this matter, which is unbelievable’. When her nephew vainly protested ‘that the horse he seeks to ride is very expensive’, Margaret replied crushingly: ‘We are well aware that the horse is expensive, but it is of such a sort that if you do not want it, another buyer stands ready’.[51]

His aunt’s logic left Charles no alternative, and so in May 1519 he reluctantly authorized his confidant Henry of Nassau to make all the payments that Margaret deemed necessary to improve his chance of election, and he asked Fugger to guarantee them. In addition, he forbade all bankers in the Netherlands to provide credit or transfer money outside the country without Margaret’s express consent for the next six months, and he began a charm offensive – laboriously copying friendly messages to each Elector in German, character by character, in his own hand (Pl. 10).[52] He also recognized the need to make peace with the Elector Palatine’s brother. According to Louis Maroton, the agent in charge of the charm offensive, Frederick ‘has heard that [Charles] is not happy with him because of the queen of Portugal [Eleanor] and he told me this: “If I thought the king was still angry with me, Monsieur Louis, I would take steps that are not to his advantage.”’ A month later, Frederick repeated the threat: although he assured Maroton that he would work to procure Charles’s election, ‘it was conditional on keeping the promises made to him; and he wanted a firm assurance of this, reminding me of the rough treatment [*rude traictement*] that he had received once before’. Frederick also wrote directly to Margaret, assuring her that he would do his best to secure Charles’s election ‘unless someone gives me occasion to reconsider’, and he closed his holograph letter, surely not by accident, by asking her ‘to take in good part *my irritating letter*’ – the exact phrase with which he had ended his last love letter to Eleanor two years before. Charles swallowed his pride: he wrote

‘two nice and gracious letters with my own hand’ to assure Frederick of his affection, he reinstated the count’s hefty pension, and he promised further rewards after the election.[53]

Charles also courted other important German supporters, including Jakob Fugger who not only cashed letters of credit in Charles’s favour issued by other bankers, and loaned him almost 550,000 florins from his own funds, but also refused to honour letters of credit received from France. Fugger made no secret of his position. In February 1519 he wrote a holograph note to the Elector of Brandenburg announcing that letters of credit had just arrived from Charles, ‘of which I have orders to pay Your Grace 100,000 florins’, and he attached copies of letters from Spain describing the arrangements being made for the marriage of Charles’s sister Catalina to the Elector’s son.[54]

No doubt the substantial unpaid loans made by Fugger to Maximilian, which only the king of Spain could repay, contributed to the decision to throw his full weight behind his candidacy, but he also supported Charles because he feared what Francis I might do if elected. He was not alone. In March 1519 the Elector of Mainz begged his brother the Elector of Brandenburg ‘to consider in this matter the honour of the Empire, of yourself, of our dynasty and of the entire German nation’, because if the French won, ‘they would try to put everything beneath their feet and make themselves lords and masters for ever’. A few days later a spokesman for the nobles of the Rhineland declared that ‘we will give everything, up to the last drop of our blood, to prevent a French success’. Margaret did her best to fan these flames, telling her agent in Germany: ‘I rejoice that you find the people there disaffected towards the French, and beg you to find all possible ways of turning them even more against them, whether through preachers, town magistrates, or otherwise.’ And indeed many sermons and illustrated broadsheets demonized King Francis and portrayed the ‘servitude’ of his subjects in damning colours, while exalting the liberty enjoyed under the House of Austria.[55]

Nevertheless, greed had become the principal if not the only factor for many. As a French diplomat in Germany observed: ‘Matters have reached the point where whichever of the two kings gives and promises more will carry the day.’ The Elector of Mainz switched sides six times in the two

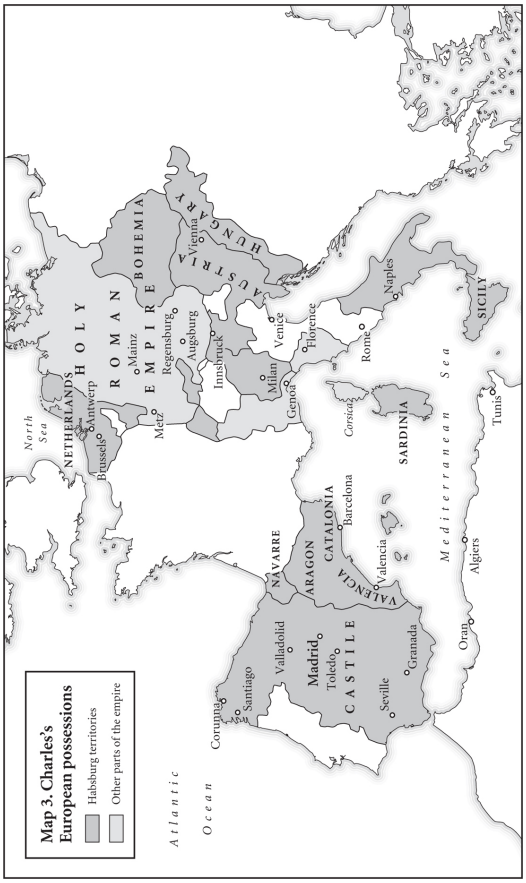
years leading up to the election, each time in return for a promise of greater rewards.[56]

Such venal behaviour made Charles more philosophical. In May 1519 he advised Margaret that ‘since the election date will soon be upon us, we need to resign ourselves to God and wait and see what he will decide, while nonetheless always persevering to do my best’ – a reflection of the stoic values he had learned at her court in Mechelen. He also became more belligerent, hiring an army of mercenaries and directing them to camp close to Frankfurt, the city where the Electors would meet. The combination of stick and carrot eventually triumphed: on 28 June 1519 the seven Electors unanimously chose Charles as the next king of the Romans.[57]

PLANNING FOR EMPIRE

Was it worth it? Henry VIII’s envoy in Germany calculated that Charles had paid, in all, 1.5 million florins in cash, including 500,000 to the Electors and their advisers in return for their votes (the Elector Palatine did best, receiving 147,000 florins, with an additional 37,108 to his brother Frederick), plus lavish pensions and gifts to follow; the imperial troops raised and deployed near Frankfurt cost more than 250,000 florins; and so on.[58] These were huge sums, and they formed just a beginning: his election forced Charles to spend heavily in Germany against both foreign invaders (the Turks and the French) and domestic enemies (the Lutheran states). Nevertheless, the election victory in 1519 proved an excellent investment. In the long term, it secured the imperial title for the House of Habsburg without interruption for four centuries; and even in the short term, Charles and many of his contemporaries felt that whatever the cost of winning, the cost of losing the election would be far higher. Just after Maximilian’s death, the English ambassador Thomas Spinelly spelled out the escalation of potential disasters that would follow the election of another candidate: if Charles lost to Francis, he predicted, ‘grete adversitie and domage shal unto hym ensue’. Specifically, the dukes of Bavaria would become hostile, given ‘the ancient and late querrels they have with Austriche’; and the Swiss, the Venetians and ‘al other his neighbors and borderers, by them selfs and by like instigacion, wil folowe sembable way, so that *oon losse shal lead [to] many others.*’ Moreover, as emperor, Francis would not only retain his

recent Italian conquests but might also in time acquire Naples, Austria and even the Netherlands, whereas Charles would never regain the Burgundian territories lost to France forty years before. In short, ‘in this elecion consisteth his prosperitie and, for the defaulte of that, his [downfall]’.[59] The Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara agreed. According to his *Autobiography*, some ministers called on Charles to renounce the chance of gaining the imperial title. ‘They complained that the election would bring more harm than good to Charles’s kingdoms and lands in the future’; but the chancellor swiftly enlightened them:



Charles inherited the Habsburg lands in east-central Europe from his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, and the Netherlands and Franche-Comté from his paternal grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. He inherited Castile and its American possessions from his maternal grandmother, Isabella; and Navarre, Aragon and its Mediterranean outposts from his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand (although until her death in 1555 he nominally shared sovereignty in Castile and Aragon with his mother Joanna, confined in Tordesillas). He added the Holy Roman Empire in 1519 and Milan in 1535. In 1522 he ceded most of his eastern inheritance to his brother Ferdinand, who acquired Bohemia and much of Hungary in 1526. Between them, the brothers ruled almost one-half of Europe.

> Under the shadow of the imperial title, not only could [Charles] serve his own hereditary lands and kingdoms, but he could also gain greater ones, enlarging the empire until it encompassed the monarchy of the whole world. However, if he rejected it, the empire might go to the French . . . [and then] Charles would not be able to maintain his hereditary lands in Austria and Burgundy, nor even the kingdoms of Spain itself.

'Charles heard this willingly,' Gattinara continued, 'and the opinion of all his council having been changed, he settled the matter' by sending the funds required to secure his election (Map 3).[60]

The need to avoid such escalations of potential disasters would become a staple of Habsburg Grand Strategy. A second staple, also advanced in 1518–19 in favour of the imperial election, involved the issue of prestige – 'reputation' to use the contemporary term. Enforcement of claims and titles, however remote, formed the cornerstone of early modern international relations, and any ruler who did not press a claim, however tenuous, earned the contempt of contemporaries. The House of Habsburg had already held the imperial title for three generations: if Charles failed to retain it, he would imperil not only his own reputation but also that of his entire family. 'Take this matter to heart for the good of our dynasty, as we are doing,' Maximilian had once chided him, and Margaret agreed: the election of the king of France 'would be a permanent disgrace and reproach' to the entire Habsburg dynasty.[61]

The dramatic expansion of Charles's dominions affected the practice as well as the theory of his government. On the ceremonial level, when in March 1519 he presided over another chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he conferred knighthoods on one Neapolitan, two Aragonese and eight Castilian nobles at a splendid ceremony in Barcelona cathedral. The Order had thus expanded its geographical reach in step with the dynasty. On the ministerial level, the 'fierce and prolonged poker game' to secure Germany forced officials and supporters in Charles's various dominions to work together as a single team. Foreign ambassadors in Spain noted (with a combination of envy and anxiety) the ease with which bankers anticipated the yield of Spanish taxes and transferred it to Augsburg, where an efficient team of ministers headed by Henry of Nassau and Jakob Villinger worked

in unison to handle the distribution of funds and favours. Meanwhile the governors of the hereditary Austrian lands, although only just inherited by Charles, obeyed the orders of the absentee master they had never met ‘to put everything to pledge’ in order ‘to accomplish his desire’; and in the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria sent letters of credit drawn on local revenues to Charles’s agents in Germany, reminding them: ‘Gentlemen, we know this is a large and substantial sum, but one must remember the quality and importance of the matter for which it will be used, and that if we fail for lack of money, we will suffer worse and much more harm.’[62]

Such integration transformed the transaction of business at Charles’s court. Before the election, foreign ambassadors already complained about the delays in getting an audience and (even more) a decision. ‘For the moste parte, what they saye shalbe done this daye is not done in 6 dayes following’, an English envoy lamented from Zaragoza in 1518, while his French colleague added maliciously that ‘if Barcelona and Valencia detain him as long as this town, he will be there for three years’. By February 1519, however, the same French ambassador noted that ‘Not a day goes by without the arrival of a courier from Germany’, and no doubt the volume of mail increased in the following months, because the historian Marino Sanuto recorded in his diary the arrival in his native Venice of almost 200 documents about the imperial election between February and July, more than one a day – and the letters received from Spain (he commented) ‘speak of nothing but the Empire’.[63]

His election forced Charles to recognize that ‘the great and continual tasks that face us and increase, as we try to bring order and transact the business of our kingdoms, dominions and subjects’, required him to introduce major administrative changes. In particular, because ‘for some time we will not be able to return to our Netherlands to deal with their affairs in person . . . by virtue of our personal knowledge, our own will, authority and power’, he expanded Margaret’s authority once again, naming her ‘regent and governess’ empowered to do everything ‘as we ourselves do and cause to be done as long as we remain in Spain’ with only a few restrictions, ‘giving our word as a king to approve and maintain for ever whatever our noble aunt shall have done’. This would become the standard pattern of devolution for his empire.[64]

Six days after news of Charles's election arrived in Barcelona, Gattinara presented him with a blueprint for reforming the central government. After enjoining his master to give thanks to God, and to respect his mother, the pope and his confessor (in that order), Gattinara turned to the exiled Infante Ferdinand: 'you must honour whatever rights of succession, partition or appanages belong to him,' Gattinara stated, and also 'take him with you on your travels, and instruct him and employ him in major undertakings', because then 'you will be able to place more trust in him concerning major enterprises than in anyone else'. In addition, the chancellor warned, with 'so many and diverse kingdoms and provinces, and now the Empire, you may find a greater shortage of men than money'. Moreover, 'given the number of great matters with which you will have to deal, from the Empire as well as from your kingdoms and lordships in Spain, Austria, Flanders and Burgundy, it will not be possible for you to sign all dispatches with your own hand'; and so Charles should create a small council to travel with him at all times to give advice on issues that affected the entire monarchy, while delegating routine matters to the established local institutions in each dominion. The key was to distinguish 'matters that need speedy resolution' from those 'that can be considered and decided at leisure' – a permanent dilemma that would face both Charles and his successors. Gattinara offered a wealth of practical suggestions on how to separate them (for example: 'To speed up business and avoid keeping those who need a decision waiting, Your Majesty must listen to three or four items of business every morning as you arise and get dressed, because by doing so business will not build up as it does now').[65]

Such measures were doomed to fail because, as Karl Brandi observed, 'The unification of so many different states and people under one ruler inevitably produced almost insoluble problems.'[66] These manifested themselves almost at once in elementary administrative errors and oversights. For example, soon after Maximilian's death Charles signed a commission to the ministers trying to persuade the Electors to vote for him that omitted one name, that of the lord of Zevenbergen. The forgotten minister felt both frustrated and hurt, since he now lacked authority to act, and Margaret sought to comfort him by asserting that 'this does not stem from the king's displeasure, but from the fault, ignorance and stupidity of

the secretary who drew up the documents'.[67] It nevertheless took Charles several weeks to rectify the error. Zevenbergen had already expressed resentment at the delays of 'the people in Spain' charged with executing policy decisions, asserting that 'if the king really cared about the affairs of the Empire, he would show greater diligence'; and another of Margaret's experienced advisers, Jean Marnix, complained that 'I find His Majesty's letters somewhat strange and ill-conceived'. Henry of Nassau was even more outspoken. When in March 1519 he received orders to raise troops in Germany to serve for only one month, he informed Margaret that this was a pointless exercise, since the election would not take place until June. He continued: 'I believe that their contracts should be made out for three months' – and coolly informed her that he had already begun to act accordingly. Perhaps anticipating a critical reply, Nassau added: 'Madame, you will issue the necessary orders as seems best to you, but if I were the king' – an unsubtle reminder that Charles called him 'my Henry' – 'I would not look at such matters too closely. The only things that might annoy His Majesty are negligence and deception.'[68] A successful outcome would excuse all deviations from the sovereign's commands.

Nassau was right. Charles managed to mobilize troops within Germany whereas Francis did not, and the Habsburg credit network delivered regular instalments of cash to the Electors whereas France's did not, thus fulfilling the sycophantic prophecy made by Erasmus in 1516:

> You, noble prince Charles, are more blessed than Alexander [the Great], and will, we hope, surpass him equally in wisdom too. He for his part had seized an immense empire, but not without bloodshed, nor was it destined to endure. You were born to a splendid empire and destined to inherit one still greater, so that, while he had to expend great efforts on invasion, you will have perhaps to work to ensure that you can voluntarily hand over part of your dominions rather than seize more. You owe it to Heaven that your empire came to you without the shedding of blood, and no one suffered for it; your wisdom must now ensure that you preserve it without bloodshed and at peace.[69]

Charles had indeed succeeded spectacularly at the game of thrones, becoming king of Castile, Aragon, Naples and Sicily, and now king of the Romans – and all ‘without bloodshed’. In late July 1519 letters arrived from Francis offering his congratulations, and the two monarchs renewed their promises to keep the peace. This meant, wrote Francesco Corner the Venetian ambassador, ‘that all Christian princes have now sent their congratulations either to the king directly, or via their ambassador’.[70]

What next? As soon as certain news of the imperial election reached Barcelona, Corner realized that Charles needed to assemble a fleet large enough to transport him from Spain; yet although he ‘has mortgaged all the revenues and the taxes voted by the Cortes of Castile’ as well as ‘spending the subsidies granted by these kingdoms’ of Aragon, ‘for six months the members of his court have not been paid’. To claim his new throne, Charles urgently needed to raise more money, and Corner wondered presciently how, where and when he would do so without provoking (as his English colleague John Stile had put it three years earlier) ‘many enconvenyentys and trobyllys’.[71]

— FIVE —

FROM PEACE THROUGH REBELLION TO WAR, 1519–21

THE RACE TO REACH ENGLAND

Charles's election as king of the Romans changed the European balance of power. Francis's victory at Marignano in 1515, followed by the occupation of Milan and Genoa, had made him the most powerful prince in Christendom – and also the most feared. One English diplomat claimed that 'The Frenche exaltacion is not to any cristen prince beneficial, because of their excessive ambicion and insaciable wil', while another asserted that the 'chief, principall and almost only cause' of all the troubles in Europe was 'the arrogant and supreme pryde and the insaciable appetide of the governaunce of the kingis of Ffraunce', who aspired to be 'the monarche of Christendom'. Now, in the words of a French diplomat, as 'emperor, [Charles] will think little of the other kings of Christendom because he considers himself the greatest'.[1]

Such fears were not unfounded. Some weeks before the election, one of Margaret's ministers in Germany predicted that although the Empire 'will prove an expensive commodity [*une chière merchandise*] for His Majesty', afterwards he 'can lay down the law to all of Christendom'. Grand Chancellor Gattinara agreed. As soon as news of the election arrived, he informed Charles and his council 'that the title of "empire" legitimizes the acquisition of the whole globe'. These sentiments duly appeared in Charles's acceptance speech to the German delegates who brought news of his election. He told them that after his initial delight, he worried that 'the

distance that separated Germany from his kingdoms of Spain would prevent him from visiting Germany with the frequency that the Empire and his responsibilities might require'. Then, 'after thinking over and over again if he should accept or reject his election', he realized how the resources of 'the Empire were most valuable for the conservation of Austria' in case of a Turkish attack, and also of 'the Netherlands, which are adjacent to the Empire, and as a base from which to recover his duchy of Burgundy' – a clear challenge to Francis. Finally, if he declined the honour, 'the king of France, would surely gain it' and would become intolerable.[2]

Such reasoning reflected the new political geography of Europe. A generation earlier, five major powers – England, France, Spain, Burgundy, and the Empire – had competed for the upper hand: now the same ruler controlled the last three. An English diplomat pointed out the consequences to his master with exemplary clarity: either Henry and Charles, 'which nature haath joynyd togedyr by blood, and alsoo the aunciente amyte that hath long contynuyd betwyne boothe youre howses', could become firm allies, and then 'withought fayle ye twayne shall sett all Crystendome in good ordyr and peace to the augmenttation of boothe your honours'; or else the 'thre yonge pwyssante prynces' – namely Henry (born 1491), Francis (born 1494) and Charles (born 1500) – would bicker, and then 'Crystendom shalbe drawin in pecis and maryed to warre infynyte, which weere to greett harme . . . and also greett blame to such as might have sett remedy in tyme.'[3]

For a while the 'thre yonge pwyssante prynces' recognized the dangers of 'warre infynyte' and upheld the peace treaties they had already signed. When, in September 1518, Charles heard of the death of the daughter of Francis to whom he was betrothed, he immediately sent condolences to his 'good father' and promised to marry her sister instead, as agreed in the treaty of Noyon (chapter 3). The following month, Henry's chief minister Cardinal Thomas Wolsey persuaded the representatives of Francis, Charles and many other Christian rulers to sign the treaty of London, which bound the signatories both to refrain from aggression against the others and to attack any state that broke the agreement. Nevertheless, distrust lurked close to the surface. When Francis suggested a personal meeting with Charles to settle all outstanding matters, Chièvres opposed the idea in

‘remembrance howe the duk John of Burgoyne was handled’ (a striking example of institutional memory, because Chièvres referred to the murder of Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy while conferring with a French prince one century before).[4] Instead, Chièvres, Gattinara and other senior ministers set out for the city of Montpellier to debate and resolve all differences with a French delegation led by Arthus Gouffier, Grand Master of France, preceptor and principal adviser of Francis. Since Gouffier had also led the French delegation that negotiated the treaty of Noyon, hopes were high; but his sudden death on 13 May 1519 halted all discussions.

Looking back, the perceptive French diplomat Guillaume du Bellay saw this as a fatal turning point: ‘The death [of Gouffier] caused great wars, as you will learn, because if [he and Chièvres] had completed their talks, it is certain that Christendom would have remained at peace for the time being. Those who conducted public affairs afterwards did not care for the peace of Christendom as Chièvres and the Grand Master had done.’ At least one of Francis’s generals agreed. Since Chièvres and the Grand Master ‘held all the affairs of their masters in their hands’, wrote the lord of Florange, some ‘two hundred thousand men, whom I am sure would have survived had he lived, perished after his death’.[5]

For some time Charles continued to appease Francis – in June 1519 he paid an instalment of the annual tribute required by the treaty of Noyon in respect of French claims to Naples; he and Francis exchanged holograph letters promising to keep the peace whichever of them gained the imperial crown – but Charles’s election reduced his need to appease the French, even as it increased his need to appease the Germans.[6] The Electors, no doubt mindful of Charles’s premature use of the title ‘king of Spain’, stipulated that he could not use the title ‘king of the Romans’ until he had been crowned, and that his coronation would take place only after he had sworn to honour the agreement (*Wahlcapitulation*) accepted in his name just after the election by the imperial commissioners in Frankfurt.

Did Charles realize the significance of the agreement? Admittedly, when he notified his Spanish subjects that a delegation from the Electors had arrived in Barcelona ‘to request our departure, and to accompany us until we are in Germany’, he acknowledged that they had also presented to him ‘the decree of election in our favour, *together with the concessions*

required in return' – but he provided no details on these concessions, perhaps because they were couched in ornate German, a language that 'he does not yet readily speak'.[7] Many of the agreement's clauses were routine (to respect the rights and privileges of the German princes, prelates and cities; to maintain justice; not to alienate any part of the Empire), while some reflected concerns about the potential consequences of electing a foreign ruler (Charles must employ only Germans in the imperial administration and issue all official documents in either German or Latin; he must not convene the Diet outside the borders of the Empire or arrive with foreign troops). By contrast, a few other clauses seemed likely to cause problems. Charles must swear never to involve the Empire in any alliance or conflict without the consent of the Electors, and never to allow any German ruler or subject to be summoned before a foreign jurisdiction. In addition, he must make Germany his habitual residence, and in his absence create a council of regency that included only Germans (some of whom must be Electors and princes); and he must swear to abolish everything the papacy had done contrary to the established practices of the German Church.[8]

The requirement that he travel immediately to Germany for his coronation presented Charles with a dilemma: he had promised to travel from Catalonia to Valencia to meet the Cortes of the kingdom and receive their oath of allegiance (and another subsidy). Chièvres argued that he should honour this promise, then sail from Spain to Italy and travel from there to Aachen to be crowned, even though it meant petitioning Francis for permission to pass through his new possessions, Genoa and Milan. Gattinara vigorously opposed this itinerary, largely because of a recent rapprochement between France and England. In October 1518, Francis had made three commitments to Henry: that his son and heir would marry Princess Mary Tudor when he turned fourteen; that Henry would immediately restore Tournai to French control; and that the two sovereigns would meet in person to resolve all outstanding issues. Initially, these agreements did not cause alarm among Charles's ministers – although Tournai soon changed hands, the betrothed children were both infants, and neither monarch announced plans to meet – but this changed early in 1520, when Francis suggested to Cardinal Wolsey that the two royal families

should take part in a spectacular ‘feat of arms’ near Calais the following May.[9]

Gattinara now urged Charles to retrace his steps through Aragon and Castile to the port of Corunna in Galicia, where he would board a fleet and ‘intercept the English king before he met with the French king . . . and if possible, prevent their meeting’. He would then travel through the Netherlands for his coronation in Aachen. Gattinara’s plan required asking the Cortes of Castile to vote new taxes to pay for the fleet – a high-risk option given the existing tensions in the kingdom – but on 22 January 1520, Charles announced that instead of going to Valencia he would travel to Galicia, and thence by sea to the Netherlands and Germany. He left Barcelona the following day.[10]

Peter Mártir de Anglería, awaiting his master in Valladolid, warned Gattinara (to whom, as his compatriot, he wrote candidly):

> It is said that upon the advice of the Goat [Chièvres] and the Spaniards who are with His Majesty, Castile will be asked for two things: first, that the Cortes assemble in Santiago de Compostela with the requirement that procurators for the cities with voting rights in the Cortes come with instructions to obey all the king’s orders. It is whispered that these conditions will destroy liberty, and that such laws are imposed only on slaves bought in a public market. I see many who are inclined to refuse. The second request consists of a demand for a new tax, which Spaniards call a *servicio*, even though the previous one has not yet been collected. I see that the two requests have not been well received.

On 4 March 1520, as Charles attempted to leave Valladolid after a brief stay, alarm bells rang out and crowds ran to the gate through which they expected Charles to leave, planning to remonstrate with him. Although he got out first, the angry citizens ‘began to rail against those who had voted the taxes’ in the last Cortes.[11]

Charles ignored these dangerous developments, instead spending four days at Tordesillas with his mother and his sister Catalina on his way to Santiago, where (as usual) he ‘spent Holy Week at his devotions in a local monastery’. He opened the Cortes on 31 March with a demand for another

large *servicio* to pay for his journey to Germany.[12] According to Gattinara, Charles's council divided over this: 'Chièvres wanted to require a new *servicio* from them. Mercurino opposed it. He pointed out that the *servicio* from two years ago had not yet been collected, thus it did not make sense to require a new one. He predicted that doing so would provoke a popular rebellion.' Adrian of Utrecht shared the chancellor's fears, later reminding Charles that 'When we were in Santiago, I told Your Highness that you had lost the love of all these subjects, but you did not believe me.'[13] Instead Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, once a *Felipista* exile at Charles's court, gave an eloquent address 'by royal command' to the Cortes, announcing that:

> The glory of Spain, dormant for many years, has now returned. Those who have sung its praises say that whereas other nations sent tribute to Rome, Spain sent emperors [Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius]. And now the Empire has come to Spain in search of an emperor, and our king of Spain, by the grace of God, has been made king of the Romans and emperor of the world.

The bishop reminded the procurators that 'Just as retaining what you have won is no less worthy than winning it in the first place, so failing to follow up a victory is no less unworthy than being defeated'; and he reassured them in Charles's name that 'with God's help he will return within three years – at most – of his departure'. He also promised that in future 'no office in these kingdoms will be given to a person who is not a native'. 'Immediately after the said address', the official record of the assembly continued, 'His Majesty himself gave to the procurators assembled in the Cortes' solemn confirmation of the promises Mota had just made.[14]

The speech soon achieved wider circulation in published form. Gattinara oversaw its metamorphosis into a Latin tract entitled *The Address of Charles, king of the Romans, in the Spanish Cortes, immediately before his departure*, in which Charles boasted that:

> Anyone who believes that the empire of the entire world falls to anyone by [virtue of] men or riches, or through unlawful solicitation or stratagem, is wrong. Empire comes from God alone. I have not sought this responsibility of such extent for myself,

> because I would indeed have been content with the Spanish empire [*Hispano imperio*], with the Balearics and Sardinia, with the Sicilian kingdom, with great parts of Italy, Germany and France, and with another, as I might say, gold-bearing world [*pene alio aurifero orbe:* America].

But, Charles added, a ‘fatal necessity’ compelled him to accept:

> [The] decision must also be taken out of proper respect for religion, whose enemy [the Turks] has expanded so much that neither the repose of Christendom, nor the dignity of Spain, nor finally the welfare of my kingdoms are able to withstand such a threat. All these are hardly able to exist or be maintained unless I link Spain with Germany and add the title of emperor to king of Spain.

To achieve all this, he needed just 500,000 ducats.[15]

It was fine rhetoric but, as Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora has noted, to many in the audience it seemed that ‘the new crown that had descended on the head of Castile was actually a crown of thorns’. Unlike the representative assemblies of the Netherlands, Germany, and even Aragon, the Cortes of Castile – now by far Charles’s richest possession – ‘scarcely possessed any “constitutional” means of defence (whether institutional, democratic or fiscal) against a young monarch who viewed his new kingdom as the goose that lays golden eggs’. Several urban delegations refused to cooperate. Toledo sent no procurators at all: instead, two prominent citizens presented ‘a petition that the laws of the kingdom should not be broken in such a blatant way’ – but (according to Mártir) Charles ‘listened to them in a very disagreeable way’.[16] Then, desperate to see Henry before he met Francis, he ordered the vexed procurators to follow him from Santiago to Corunna, where his fleet awaited. He also announced that he had chosen Adrian of Utrecht to serve as ‘administrator and governor’ of Castile, the Canary Islands and the Americas in his absence. He justified this decision by invoking ‘our own initiative, reasoned consideration and absolute royal power, which we wish to use and do use as a king and lord who recognizes no earthly superior’ – no doubt because the appointment broke the solemn oath he had recently given to the Cortes that

‘no office in these kingdoms will be given to a person who is not a native’.[17] Almost immediately, a group of Castilian noblemen angrily ‘reminded him that, according to the laws of Castile, when the king was a minor [*pupilo*], it was necessary to entrust the government to someone from Spain, not a foreigner’, but the king snapped back that ‘he was not a minor, and this is what he wanted to do’ (the first recorded example of Charles speaking out for himself).[18] Although a combination of bribes and concessions persuaded the procurators isolated in Corunna to vote the *servicio*, some cities refused to contribute, on the grounds that ‘it is not just that his imperial majesty should spend the revenues of this kingdom in his other dominions’. They also complained that Charles had accepted his imperial election ‘without asking the advice or consent of these kingdoms’.[19] In April and May 1520, rioting in several cities of Castile forced royal officials to flee, giving way to communal governments (hence the name *Comunero*); but even though he spent six weeks waiting for a favourable wind in Galicia (almost as long as he had waited in Zealand three years before), Charles paid little attention to these developments. Instead, he and his ministers concentrated on the affairs of northern Europe.

The fleet finally set sail on 20 May, and after a voyage of only seven days it dropped anchor in Dover where Wolsey welcomed Charles ashore, and after supper led the way to the bedchamber prepared for him in the castle. When Henry heard the news, he impetuously mounted his horse, rode to the castle and entered ‘the chamber where his imperial majesty was sleeping, and there they embraced and exchanged other demonstrations of mutual affection’. The next morning Charles met for the first time his aunt Katherine of Aragon, as well as Henry’s sister Mary, the former ‘princess of Castile’. The royal party dined and danced, interspersing the festivities with serious policy discussions that laid the basis for a closer alliance, and after three days, Charles re-embarked and sailed to the Netherlands.[20]

Henry, by contrast, left for Calais to meet Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a lavish event that lasted for almost three weeks, with many jousts and banquets. But it was not a success – in part because during an impromptu wrestling match, Francis humiliated Henry by hurling him to the floor; in part because Chièvres and Wolsey had secretly arranged for their masters to meet again immediately afterwards to continue their political

‘conversation’ (the word used by a Venetian diplomat: *abochamento*). On 14 July 1520, near Calais, Henry and Charles rode off alone and for a long time ‘talked face-to-face, with the king of England speaking almost in the ear of the emperor’. Then ‘they embraced very affectionately, their hats in their hands’, and parted.[21]

The two monarchs had every reason to be both secretive and affectionate: they had just agreed to maintain a resident ambassador at the other’s court; to hold another conference within two years to discuss their foreign policies, and until then to conclude no further alliance with France; and above all ‘to succour the other if his dominions are invaded by an enemy’. Henry had become the arbiter of international affairs; Charles had gained the advantage over his principal adversary in northern Europe.[22]

SPAIN IN FLAMES

Charles’s position in southern Europe, by contrast, had become perilous. Although his visit to Spain had lasted only thirty months, two major revolts broke out before he left: one in Valencia, known as the *Germanías*, and the other in Castile, known as the *Comunidades* or *Comuneros*. Lesser rebellions also broke out in Mallorca and Sicily. How did a sovereign whose presence had been so eagerly awaited in 1517 manage to alienate so many of his subjects so fast?

Probably no ruler could have satisfied all the expectations and tensions that faced Charles in Spain in 1517. First, bitter rivalries divided his councillors. Many Burgundian servants of his father Philip, forced to flee Spain ignominiously and impoverished after his sudden death (chapter 1), longed to seek their revenge and recoup their losses. The *Felipistas*, Spaniards who had remained loyal to King Philip and his heir, such as Juan de Zúñiga and Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, also longed for revenge on those who had stayed on to serve Ferdinand of Aragon, and they bitterly resented the favour shown by Charles after 1516 to *Fernandinos* like Los Cobos, who arrived in Brussels flaunting their wealth and experience after ten years in office. Furthermore, within Castile, several groups possessed incompatible aspirations. The city of Burgos, for example, enjoyed close and cordial relations with the Netherlands, and its merchants grew rich from exporting the wool produced by Castilian sheep to the clothiers of Flanders. The

merchants bitterly resented a law of 1462 that required one-third of all wool sheared to be retained in Castile and sold to local clothiers. By contrast the clothiers, with their headquarters in Segovia, also resented the law, protesting that retaining one-third was not enough to secure their livelihood. No ruler could have pleased both Burgos and Segovia. Many other irreconcilable rivalries divided Charles's Castilian subjects, exacerbated by scarce harvests and a severe plague epidemic between 1517 and 1519.

Further east, in the kingdom of Valencia, torrential rains and floods that reduced harvest yields, followed by a plague epidemic, also exacerbated existing domestic rivalries. Above all, the urban guilds complained about the 'tyranny' of their magistrates 'some of whom are so exalted that they treat us like their prisoners'. In addition, the kingdom suffered frequent raids by Muslim corsairs, which meant that the guildsmen of all major towns needed to bear arms. This menace came to Charles's attention in May 1519, soon after he reached Barcelona, when a galley squadron from north Africa 'crossed in plain sight of His Majesty and his court', heading south. It was the new ruler's first direct contact with the military and naval might of Islam, and he ordered the militia of Valencia to mobilize. When the orders arrived, however, 'there were no gentlemen left in the city [of Valencia]: they had all left because of the plague', and so 'the common people took control of the city' and started to prepare for war. According to the detailed chronicle of the Germanías compiled by Martí de Viciana, an eyewitness, the guild leaders immediately saw a chance to 'free the population of Valencia from their servitude' because 'right now we have a new boy king who is governed by his ministers; and because his administration is new he will hear everyone, in order to learn what injustices are being committed and who are the victims, so that he might remedy matters for his vassals'.[23] Although the guildsmen were correct that the 'boy king' was 'governed by his ministers', they did not yet realize that those ministers were foreigners who would ignore their advice. They discovered their error in May 1520, when Charles appointed as his viceroy a Castilian nobleman (not a Valencian as local custom required). Citizens now rampaged through the streets shouting 'Long live the king! Death to the viceroy!' but Charles reacted by issuing contradictory orders to various protagonists. The revolt therefore spread.[24]

The first historians of the Comuneros of Castile also saw Charles's reliance on foreign advisers as a critical precipitant. Juan de Maldonado, writing in 1545, blamed the revolt above all on the fact that 'most of the grandees were very offended that after the king arrived in Spain he had scarcely informed them of important matters, and had not asked for their advice; and when he was preparing to leave he had not entrusted any part of the administration to them'. Three years later, Pedro Mexía asserted that the elite 'complained that the king seemed distant and aloof and it was not as easy to communicate with him as they would have wished'; and according to Alonso de Santa Cruz, in 1552, Chièvres 'managed to keep the king so withdrawn that few people could speak with him, so the Spaniards hated him and thought he was distant and poorly educated . . . In short, everyone hated the king.'[25]

Although all three historians had lived through the trauma of the Comunero revolt, none of them had participated directly: their accounts of Charles's responsibility, and of his reactions, were therefore second-hand. Nevertheless, many protagonists felt the same, including Adrian of Utrecht, who while Governor of Castile filled over one hundred letters to his master with complaints.[26] 'They say here that the Netherlanders have not left anything that they could take with them,' he informed Charles in June 1520, adding a few months later that everyone in Spain believed that 'Your Highness pays no attention to the matters of these kingdoms and that everything is handled by others, as if Your Highness were a child without reason, prudence, or concern.' In January 1521, he warned: 'Believe me, Your Majesty, if you do not start being more attentive in understanding matters, and cease delegating to others, Spain will never truly love you or obey your royal person and authority as it should.'[27]

Adrian articulated two other major complaints. He repeatedly criticized his master's silence. 'I am amazed that Your Majesty has not replied regarding what I wrote about these uprisings, and the delay in your letters is very dangerous,' Adrian wrote in June 1520; six months later he claimed that 'the whole world is shocked and amazed' that Charles had not yet answered any of his nine previous letters; and in January 1521 he protested that he had received no communication from the king for ten weeks. It is surely significant that scarcely any of the 105 original letters sent by Adrian

to Charles during the Comunero crisis contain annotations or comments by the recipient and his advisers.[28] Adrian also rebuked his former pupil for failing to keep his promises: 'They say here that "The king makes promises but does not deliver."' In future, he chided, 'although it might later have negative consequences, for the sake of Your Majesty's honour and conscience you should keep the promises that you made to your subjects in the Cortes'.[29]

Above all, Adrian urged the king to return to Spain immediately. In April 1521 he informed Charles presciently that 'the resources of Spain can always be used to sustain the Netherlands and Germany, but their resources cannot sustain Spain'. Three months later he issued an extraordinary ultimatum:

> Everything has become greatly confused and is on the road to total and irreparable loss, and for that reason some of the leading noblemen find themselves very perplexed. I must therefore tell Your Highness that *if you have not come here by the month of May they are determined to join with the Comuneros and protect their estates, and will leave Your Majesty to fend for himself*.[30]

As it happened, on 23 April 1521, three weeks after Adrian sent this threat to his former pupil, troops raised by the leading noblemen of Castile cornered many of the Comunero leaders and their followers near the small town of Villalar, near Tordesillas. A few hundred rebel soldiers fell in the brief battle that followed and hundreds more fell prisoner, including several leaders whom the victors executed the following morning. In the lapidary phrase of Joseph Pérez, 'And that put an end to the Comunero rebellion': by May 1521, only Toledo continued its defiance.[31] Soon afterwards, in Valencia, troops raised and led by noblemen defeated the forces of the Germanías and regained control of the capital.

CHARLES AND THE COMUNEROS

What part had Charles played in this dramatic reversal of fortune? Not much. The first news that 'in Spayn hade begynned some conmocyon' reached the king and his entourage in Brussels on 19 June 1520, two

months after the revolt began, but since it came from ‘the relacyon of strangers’ they ‘gave not trust’ until letters from royal ministers arrived one week later, describing disorders in no fewer than seventeen towns of Castile. Charles failed to grasp the seriousness of the situation because (in the words of the English ambassador, Thomas Spinelly) ‘for all theyr insurrectyons’, the rebels ‘suffer the kyngs revennuys to be contynwed and payed to the accustomed receyweurs withoute any contradyctyon’. Moreover, ‘tyll now, noe grett lord or noblemann appyre to be adherent to such besynesse by any oppen demonstracyon’ – and Spinelly predicted that this was unlikely to change because of the ‘anchyens devysions, emnityes and envys that ben betwixt the lords of Spayn, in so moche that onne may not trust to the other. The whyche reason makes me belyve th’emperors absence may cause some perturbacyon, but not materre of moment.’ Finally, Spinelly noted that all of the rebels’ demands seemed to him ‘yuste and reasonable’: that the cities should administer their own sales tax revenues directly; that no foreigners should be appointed to secular or ecclesiastical offices in Castile; that no more gold or silver should be exported; and that the royal law courts should hear and decide all cases expeditiously. Adrian, too, recommended compromise, because ‘at this point it is necessary to treat the towns and their citizens almost as if they were raw eggs that might crack unless they are handled with care’. He also warned (deftly switching metaphors) that ‘things are balanced on a knife’s edge, so the slightest movement puts everything at risk’. Since at this early stage Charles could have redressed grievances ‘with honour and without losing reputation abroad’, both Adrian and Spinelly were stunned when ‘th’emperor wold not consent’ to any concessions.[32]

Such inflexibility had important consequences, because Charles had withheld some crucial powers when he appointed Adrian as governor of Castile. Above all, only the king could grant pardons – a fatal limitation when in June a leading Comunero in Toledo offered to abandon the rebel cause in return for a pardon: Adrian did not receive permission to grant amnesties until it was too late.[33] Moreover, although Adrian advocated leniency, the president of the royal council, Antonio de Rojas, did not.

In practically his last message, Cisneros had warned Charles that Rojas ‘is a wicked and evil-intentioned man who favours creating divisions’ – but

the cardinal's death meant that no one paid attention. The Constable of Castile, the senior nobleman of the kingdom, now made much the same point in a letter: 'The president of the royal council is very angry with me because I maintain that the kingdom will calm down if there are pardons and mild punishments. But he favours scorched earth and cutting people's throats, so the problems we face now are greater than those in the past, and those that lie ahead will be even greater.'[34] Charles ignored the Constable, just as he had ignored Cisneros, perhaps because for a time the harsh methods pursued by Rojas and the council seemed to succeed. On 6 July 1520, Spinelly reported that 'from Spayn th'emperor hathe good neweys and heres the conmocyons were ceased', followed three weeks later by assurances that there was no 'oppen demonstration of no lord or principall persons'. Instead 'the commoners . . . saythe they wol be trwe and obbediant to th'emperor in all thyngs except in suffryng monney go oute of the royalme, and [appointing] strangers to offices'.[35] Although the Comunero leaders created a central committee (the *Junta*) to coordinate activities, initially only four cities sent a formal delegation.

Everything changed in August. Adrian had sent troops to collect the royal artillery stored in Medina del Campo, intending to use it against rebel strongholds, but when his soldiers met with resistance they started a fire that destroyed a good part of the city. The burning of Medina gave the Comunero cause a powerful recruiting tool: ten more towns sent delegates to the Junta, which moved to Tordesillas in the hope of persuading Queen Joanna to assume power and authorize their defiance of her son. Their cause also gained the open support of a 'principall person': Antonio de Acuña, bishop of Zamora.

News of these developments stunned the court in Brussels. On 6 September, according to Spinelly, Charles and his council debated two 'opinions' for dealing with what he coyly termed 'the inconvenience' in Castile. One group of ministers argued that Charles must proceed to Aachen as planned for his coronation as king of the Romans, and afterwards continue 'his iourney into Almayne [Germany], and with all diligence and good advise appease the differences betwene the lordes and the cities emperialle', and then 'with as greate power as he may, passe into Italy'.

Only after that should he sail back to pacify Spain. The rest of the council vehemently disagreed, arguing that:

> The longer he tarieth to retorne into Spayne, the worse, for because the subgetts ther takith daily more courage, and considered howe swete is the libertie, and to lyve uppon other men's costs, *et quod nervus belli est pecunia* [and because money is the sinews of war], whereof withoute Spayne he cannot conveniently have; concluding therefore the most wisest deliberation were to receive the corone at Acon [Aachen], make a vicary [regency] in the Empire, and come hither agayne for to prepare an armie against the beginning of Merche [1521].

The 'armie' should be of 'sufficient nombre to reforme the contrey [Spain] and putt it in a perpetuall suertie'. Only after that might Charles 'goo to Rome' to be crowned.[36]

The emperor chose the second 'opinion', and announced several concessions: he named two Castilian noblemen as co-governors with Adrian; he agreed to forego the *servicio* voted at Corunna; and he granted the cities the right to collect their own sales tax. It was too little and too late. Before long, the Junta of Tordesillas started to act as if it possessed executive authority and (as Charles petulantly complained) 'they wrote to some cities in our Netherlands encouraging them to rebel as they had done'. Meanwhile Margaret and Chièvres argued openly 'in the king's presence' who was to blame, 'the oone laying charge to the other for the negligens'.[37]

Still Charles seemed incapable of grasping the true grievances of the Comuneros. When Cardinal Croÿ died in January 1521, leaving vacant the see of Toledo, the emperor proposed to transfer it to another of Chièvres's nephews – despite a lecture from one of his Spanish subjects that 'shewed that the first grudge and miscon[tentment] of all the realme beganne of the said Archbishop . . . and what g[reat in]convenient shulde at this time ensue if his mag[estie] wole geve it againe to the lord Chievres, saing that not oonneli [his] subjects shal be ofended, but also God, for the unhabilite and young eage of his other neveu'. Only Bishop Acuña's seizure of the assets of the archdiocese of Toledo prevented Charles from repeating his catastrophic error.[38]

Neither the *Memoirs* of the emperor nor the *Autobiography* of Gattinara shed light on why Charles and his ministers took so long to react, but a letter written in October 1520 by Luigi Marliano, not only the emperor's personal physician but also his intimate councillor ('nearly half Caesar's soul' as a contemporary remarked) reflects the prevailing opinion at court.[39] 'I have received many letters from you regarding this disturbance,' Marliano wrote to his cousin and compatriot Peter Mártir, and some blamed Charles. Specifically, many complained that Charles had failed to consult his Spanish subjects about policy, but Marliano pointed out that 'kings have no obligation to explain their decisions to the people'. In any case, 'not only the reason but the necessity for these matters is so obvious': namely 'the importance of acquiring the empire of the world, which he could not allow to pass to others, or lose by doing nothing'. As for the Comuneros' protests about 'money leaving the kingdom', Marliano claimed that practically no money remained to export after liquidating the debts of the Catholic Monarchs, paying for one sibling (Ferdinand) to sail to Flanders and another (Eleanor) to go to Portugal, funding a campaign in Africa, and dispatching 'two fleets to the New World, about whose admirable discovery you have yourself written' (a clever barb). Above all, Marliano asserted, 'neither the emperor nor his officials behaved arrogantly in Spain'.[40]

Mártir composed a devastating response. First he dismissed all Marliano's specific pleading with the lapidary phrase 'None of this caused the rebellion'; and he ridiculed the claim that 'neither the emperor nor his officials behaved arrogantly in Spain'. On the contrary:

> Your expression, 'arrogantly' is not accurate, because it was not 'arrogantly' but rather 'with the highest degree of arrogance' that you people treated the Spaniards. We can clear the emperor himself of responsibility, because he was still a boy; but what could be more arrogant than calmly to allow Spaniards to be treated with the greatest rigour for the slightest offence toward a Netherlander while no judge dared to arrest a single Netherlander at court even if he had committed an atrocious act of injustice toward a Spaniard?

Mártir knew exactly who to blame: 'The Goat [Chièvres] and his entourage planted these seeds in the mind of the unfortunate king', of which the most

destructive seed was ‘when the Goat, violating the laws of the land, took for himself the archbishopric of Toledo as soon as he entered Spain, provoking hatred throughout the kingdom’. Barely able to control his indignation, Mártir concluded that ‘Because of his poor education, the emperor does not pay the slightest attention to these kingdoms and his courtiers have even convinced him – in order to deceive him further – to feel hatred towards the Spaniards. These, then, my dear Marliano, are the thorns that have been sown to ruin the imperial harvest.’[41]

By then, the tide had turned against the Comuneros – but for reasons totally unconnected with Charles and his courtiers. In September 1520 peasants in several parts of Castile began to attack their lords, destroying their property, and for a while they enjoyed the support of the Junta. This led many nobles to overcome their anger against Charles, and throw their support behind his governors. In addition, Manuel of Portugal (Charles’s brother-in-law) sent 50,000 ducats to Adrian, which encouraged some bankers to do the same, allowing the regents to raise the troops who routed the Comuneros at Villalar.[42] Charles therefore decided to remain in northern Europe and deal with Germany, where he issued an edict (once again invoking ‘our absolute royal power, which we wish to use and do use’) that authorized his governors to arrest and try those who normally enjoyed protection under the laws of Castile – even bishops and nobles – if they were guilty of ‘the crime of treason against their king and natural lord’. The governors duly condemned as traitors almost 250 persons, including Bishop Acuña and some noblemen.[43]

KING OF THE ROMANS AND EMPEROR-ELECT

On 22 October 1520, Charles made his ceremonial entry into Aachen. After venerating the golden reliquary that contained the skull of his namesake and role model, Charlemagne (retrospectively called ‘Charles I’), he entered the cathedral and ‘prostrated himself on the ground with his arms outstretched’. Then he retired to the sacristy to venerate some more relics and swear to observe the Election Agreement ‘that our commissioners in Frankfurt had accepted’ the previous year. The following morning Charles returned to the cathedral wearing the insignia of an archduke of Austria (a deliberate decision, because ‘although the insignia of the king of Spain might be more

exalted', he preferred something that asserted 'that someone from here, not a foreigner, had been elected'). Watched by a huge crowd, he prostrated himself again and then swore to protect the Church, defend the empire 'and do many other things that would benefit the said empire', after which the crowd acclaimed him as their ruler. Charles was then anointed and invested with the imperial sword, sceptre, orb and crown and then, seated upon Charlemagne's throne, he dubbed some knights (starting with Chièvres) as a token of his new power. The spectacle left Germany's foremost artist, Albrecht Dürer, almost at a loss for words: 'I saw all manner of lordly splendour, more magnificent than anything that those who live in our parts have ever seen,' he wrote in his diary.[44]

The ceremony ended with a proclamation that 'the pope, having approved the election of Charles the Fifth, orders that henceforth he must take the title of "emperor"'. In addition, at Gattinara's suggestion, Charles adopted the style that he would use for the rest of his reign: *Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, Royal Majesty*. Next, after consulting the Electors, Charles signed a summons for all members of the imperial Diet to meet him in the city of Worms the following January. 'This was the first time I entered Germany and travelled up the Rhine,' he later recorded in his *Memoirs*, adding laconically: 'At this time the heresy of Luther began to spread in Germany.'[45]

In November 1519 the theology faculty of Leuven university issued a formal condemnation of the writings of 'a certain Martin Luther', an Augustinian friar who taught at the university of Wittenberg in Saxony, and they sent a copy of their decree, together with some of his publications to their former colleague Adrian of Utrecht, now inquisitor-general of Spain. Adrian perused the material and found it contained several 'palpable heresies': he therefore called for the works to be burnt and their author forced to answer for his heretical opinions.[46] Since Adrian and Charles both resided in Catalonia at this point, they may have discussed Luther and his works; but if so, no trace seems to have survived. Charles's first encounter with the reformer's name might therefore have been in a letter written on 12 May 1520 by his ambassador in Rome, Juan Manuel. He reported that Luther 'is said here to be a great scholar, and he has thoroughly alarmed the pope', so that 'if the pope refused to make an alliance, or if having made

one he reneges on it', then Charles 'could secretly show some favour to this friar called Martin'.[47]

The following month Pope Leo condemned Luther's opinions and ordered his works to be burnt in a bull commonly known by its first two words, *Exsurge, domine* ('Rise up, O Lord'). The 'friar called Martin' had already published several polemics in Latin criticizing the doctrines and practices of the papacy, notably indulgences, but in August 1520 he published an influential tract in German entitled: *Address to the Christian nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate*, which rejoiced that 'God has given us a young leader of noble blood' – Charles – and called on him to take measures 'starting on the day after his coronation' to restore the purity of Christ's teaching, even if it meant criticizing the pope.[48] Two months later Luther published an even more combative work entitled *The Babylonian captivity of the Church*: an exegesis of the sacraments that incorporated an angry attack on the pope, accused of being the Antichrist. Shortly afterwards Pope Leo's special envoy, Girolamo Aleandro, presented Charles with a copy of *Exsurge, domine* and exhorted him to burn Luther's writings and either to make their author recant publicly or send him to Rome to explain himself.

At first Charles hesitated. He had, after all, approved in March 1518 an ordinance that banned throughout the Netherlands 'until we decree otherwise' all 'pardons and indulgences brought, or that may be brought, from outside our dominions' – precisely what Luther's Ninety-Five Theses had called for; and when Charles returned to his homeland in June 1520, according to an eyewitness 'His Majesty's court was full' of Luther's writings, because 'while Luther confined himself to the reform of the Church and made statements about moral corruption . . . no one took exception to what he wrote'.[49] Nevertheless, while Charles resided in the university town of Leuven on 8 October 1520, in accordance with *Exsurge, domine* the authorities threw works by Luther onto a public bonfire, and although no order by Charles for this action has yet come to light, it can only have taken place with his knowledge and approval.

Exsurge, domine was a flawed document. It detailed forty-one errors in Luther's published work, and yet (as Hans Hillerbrand, an eminent historian of the Reformation, observed) 'at one point it seemingly condemned all of

Luther's writings, at another only those containing any of the condemned forty-one errors'. Moreover, 'twelve of the forty-one propositions did not accurately quote Luther'.[50] This combination of intolerance and ignorance alarmed many of Europe's Catholic intellectuals, including one of Charles's most prestigious councillors: Erasmus. Shortly after the book-burning at Leuven, Erasmus complained to the university rector that:

> I have never approved, and I never shall, the suppression of a man in this way by public uproar, before his books have been read and discussed, before a man's errors have been pointed out to him, and before he has been refuted with arguments and with evidence from Holy Scripture . . . The burning of his books will perhaps banish Luther from our libraries; whether he can be plucked out of men's hearts, I am not so sure.[51]

Soon afterwards, Erasmus shared his reservations with a far more important protagonist: Elector Frederick of Saxony, founder and patron of the university where Luther taught. On 4 November 1520, Aleandro handed Frederick a copy of *Exsurge, domine* and the following day, after his morning devotions, the pious but confused Elector summoned Erasmus to come and advise him how he should respond. The humanist evidently reiterated his opinion that Luther and his books must not be condemned without a hearing, because soon afterwards Frederick announced that 'it was not yet established that Luther deserved such treatment, and that the question must therefore be postponed to the Diet of Worms'.[52]

Imperial policy towards Luther remained ambiguous. On 12 November the authorities of Cologne threw Luther's works on a bonfire while Charles resided in the city, but two weeks later the emperor ordered Frederick to bring Luther to the Diet of Worms, promising that he would receive both a safe-conduct and an opportunity to recant his views. Aleandro immediately saw the danger of this concession. 'If Luther does not recant, and cannot be punished because of the safe-conduct,' he predicted, 'it will cause confusion throughout the world.' He therefore sought to persuade Charles and his leading advisers to change their minds, but in vain: Chièvres, he reported, declined on the grounds that 'the emperor is a true Catholic

prince', who could be trusted to do the right thing; Gattinara went further, arguing 'that it would be good to let Luther come to the Diet'.[53]

Events would vindicate Aleandro – providing Luther with both a safe-conduct and a public platform proved a public-relations disaster for the papacy – but the emperor had little choice: legally, the election agreement that he had just confirmed obliged him both to heed the views of the Electors and to protect their subjects from standing trial before a foreign court. He could hardly now ignore Frederick's formal demand that Luther should not be condemned and sent to Rome without a prior hearing in Germany.[54] In February 1521, perhaps encouraged by Erasmus, Charles went further. He sent his confessor, Jean Glapion, to persuade Frederick to make Luther retract at least some of his propositions and thus avoid a high-risk confrontation at the Diet. Since the Elector refused to talk to a friar, Glapion made his case to Dr Gregor Brück, Frederick's chancellor, stating that 'Until the publication of *The Babylonian captivity of the Church* I was persuaded that Brother Martin was pursuing the noble goal of the universal reform of the Church, removing from it the abuses that have disgraced it for too long. In addition, his courageous example inspired the zeal and support of many right-minded people.' Glapion promised in Charles's name that if Luther would just retract the views expressed in *The Babylonian captivity*, or denied his authorship, he would escape prosecution and could continue to promote 'useful reforms, proceeding discreetly and silently'. He also assured Brück that 'the emperor believes that it is essential to reconcile such an eminent man with the Christian church'. Early in April, Glapion made a second effort, meeting with a group of Luther's allies to arrange a private setting in which the Augustinian could retract some of his propositions and thus defuse the situation. The proposal failed because Luther refused to forego his chance to explain his views in public before the Diet.[55]

Political considerations lay behind these remarkable initiatives. On the domestic front, Charles could not ignore the widespread support for Luther's views expressed by some of the princes and towns represented in the Diet: arresting Luther and sending him unheard to Rome risked unleashing another major uprising that, with rebellions raging in Spain, he lacked the resources to suppress. Abroad, according to rumour, the pope

favoured the Italian ambitions of Francis I, and had signed an alliance with him, so that a critic of the papacy like Luther might prove (as Ambassador Juan Manuel had foreseen) a political asset. When, in March 1521, Aleandro 'exhorted' Chièvres 'to turn his hand to the suppression and extinction of this abominable heresy', the marquis shot back: 'Just make sure the pope does his duty, and deals straightforwardly with us. Then we will do everything His Holiness wants.' When Aleandro persevered, Chièvres became more belligerent: 'If *your pope* ceases to meddle in our affairs, he will get everything he could ask of us; otherwise, we will create so much trouble for him that he will find it hard to extricate himself.' Aleandro now realized, perhaps for the first time, that 'ever since the emperor talked with the Elector of Saxony in Cologne', his ministers 'have constantly tried to make use of the Luther question [*servirsi dell cose di Martino*]'. When the legate challenged Chièvres a third time, the marquis 'smiled and said that he himself did not think it would be so difficult to silence Luther' – to which Aleandro retorted tartly that, without a swift reaction, 'you will soon see such a fire that all the water in *your North Sea* will not extinguish it'.[56]

Charles had another practical reason to avoid executing *Exsurge, domine*: the Luther question was only one of the many German issues that required resolution. The Diet of Worms would debate over one hundred separate matters, including usury, monopolies, luxuries and the spread of 'wordy and far-fetched laws' that ordinary people could no longer understand (the unpopularity in Germany of 'Roman Law', which was fast displacing customary law at this time, can scarcely be exaggerated). As Charles had already discovered in both the Netherlands and Spain, persuading any large legislature to resolve such thorny issues required tact, patience and forbearance. He therefore worked hard to keep everybody happy. On the first day of the Diet he joined all its members at Mass, after which he 'spake certain brief words in Almain' (German: the first recorded occasion on which he did so); and for the next four months he consulted the Electors on a regular basis, as well as worshipping, hunting and hawking with leading participants in an effort to find common ground.[57]

Aleandro did his best to disrupt the harmony. In his anxiety to secure Luther's immediate condemnation the legate submitted a draft edict of outlawry, but instead the emperor summoned 'Our dear Reverend Dr Martin Luther of the Augustinian Order' to appear in Worms within three weeks. He also issued the promised safe-conduct and on 17 April, 'at the time of Vespers, which would be at 4 p.m.', Luther appeared before Charles and the Diet. Over a decade later, an eyewitness still remembered the sense of general excitement: 'when Luther appeared in person, the whole world came to see him'.[58] The Diet itself comprised over one hundred members, accompanied by foreign and German dignitaries as well as members of the imperial court (including the future Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés) and many ordinary citizens – a total audience of perhaps one thousand. Charles sat on a stage in the great room facing Luther, who 'wore the habit of an Augustinian monk, with its leather belt', and to at least one eyewitness he seemed 'very tall, taller than most people'. Everyone fell silent as Johann Eck, who acted as 'spokesman for the emperor and for the Diet', rose to read out a list of books allegedly written by Luther, and a summary of their contents. The friar cheekily interjected, 'You haven't mentioned *all* my books!', but Eck ignored him and asked two questions, devised by Aleandro and communicated in advance to Luther: had he written all the books whose titles and contents he had just heard? And, if so, 'would you like to reconsider that, or else distance yourself from them as something insane and heretical?' After 'swearing his loyalty to the emperor', Luther replied in Latin and then again in German, 'with his face and gestures revealing his anxiety and discomposure: "As to the first point, those books were his; but concerning the second point, he asked that he be given until the following day to answer."' Surprised, Charles 'withdrew with his Privy Council to another place' to discuss their next move; and after they returned, Eck spoke to Luther again:

> 'What he was asked concerned important things that he himself had done, and about which he could not be ignorant, and so he should respond immediately and not request another delay; nevertheless His Majesty, showing his customary clemency, was willing to extend the term to the following day at the same time.' And with

that, the ceremony ended for the day and the emperor went upstairs to dine.[59]

Charles had just made a critical error: Luther had indeed received advance notice of the two simple questions, and so there was no reason to grant him more time to prepare his responses.

The scenario that Aleandro dreaded now became reality. On 18 April, after a night of reflection during which he evidently overcame his ‘anxiety and discomposure’, Luther appeared before the Diet again at the same time, only to find that ‘the emperor and the princes were upstairs in another room’ (no doubt discussing what to do next). Therefore, ‘the said Martin waited for an hour and a half before his examination’, surrounded by (and perhaps energized by) ‘the huge throng of people who had come with him’.[60] Eventually, accompanied by his councillors, Charles ‘came down to the great room’ and took his seat upon the raised dais. ‘There were so many people that, except for the emperor, scarcely anyone had room to sit down’; and, as before, everyone fell silent when Eck rose to repeat his questions. This time Luther not only acknowledged his authorship of the books on display (‘and of some others that were omitted’), but started to explain that they fell into three distinct categories. The first, he said, ‘were written against our Most Holy Father, Leo X, because he could see that the whole German Nation was vexed and oppressed in Rome’ – but Charles now intervened for the first time, ‘telling him to be silent on this matter and to proceed to the others’. Luther therefore moved on to the second category, which consisted of ‘books that he said he had written out of irritation with his critics’, while ‘the third category of books were about the Gospels’. He declared that ‘he would not retract a single word he had written . . . unless he could be shown in a public debate to have erred, on the authority of the Old and New Testaments alone’; and he concluded ‘by begging and exhorting the emperor not to try and impede the spread of his ideas, because that might prove detrimental not only to the most famous German nation but also to his other kingdoms and dominions’.[61]

Since Charles remained silent, Eck reminded Luther ‘that everything that he admitted writing in his books. . . . was heresy that had long since been condemned by councils’, and ‘for that reason there was no point in discussing something that had already been discussed, declared to be evil,

reproved and condemned by the Church, which had issued holy decrees and very good decisions on the matter'. Therefore, Eck pointed out smugly, if Luther 'spoke the truth, we must believe that our predecessors for the past thousand years were heretics and were not saved; and it would be reckless and a great error to think that one man, with little authority, wanted to condemn so many good Christians.'

When Charles again said nothing, Luther seized the opportunity to make his boldest and most famous statement:

> Unless I can be convinced by evidence from Scripture or clear reason – because I do not believe the decrees of either popes or councils alone, because it is clear that they have erred and also contradicted each other . . . I neither can nor will retract anything, for it is both sinful and dangerous to act against conscience. I have no choice: here I stand.

Eck arose once more and 'began to deny this', but Charles interrupted him. Although he could not understand the exchange in German, and although he still needed Latin texts to be translated into French 'so that I can understand them better', the emperor evidently grasped the significance of Luther's challenge, because he 'stood up and said "That is enough: I do not wish to hear any more from someone who denied the authority of the councils!"' And with that 'he went up to his apartments and the princes and Electors went to their quarters'.[62]

Chaos now broke out in the great hall. 'The Spanish equerries who were awaiting their masters stood at the door shouting "Burn him! Burn him!"' But they were no match for the Germans, who formed a protective escort around Luther and carried him on their shoulders as if he had just won a tournament – a conceit that appealed to the hero of the hour, because he left the hall 'raising his arms and making the sign with his hands and fingers that German knights do as a sign of victory when they have just won a joust' (a gesture that might have won the grudging respect of Emperor Maximilian).[63] The victor did not underestimate his predicament, however. He made a hasty exit from Worms before his safe-conduct expired, and two days later he wrote a letter assuring Charles that he had been prepared to

recant and burn his books had he been convinced that he had erred – but the missive never reached its destination because no one dared to deliver it.[64]

CHARLES TAKES HIS STAND

Luther's half-apology would have made no difference. The confrontation before the Diet left Charles profoundly unsettled, and he spent the following night crafting a response. Early the following morning:

> . . . he joined the princes and Electors in the upper apartment where he eats and asked them: 'What do you think about Martin Luther?' Before anyone could speak he said: 'I want to give you my opinion in this matter, before I hear yours', and he took out a sheet of paper with his writing on it.

Many manuscript copies of this sheet of paper have survived – in German, Italian, Latin, Spanish and French – not only because Charles ordered copies to be made in those languages but also because (perhaps for the first time) he was clearly speaking his own mind on a major policy issue. His paper began by reminding everyone that his ancestors – Spanish, Austrian and Burgundian as well as German – 'were all loyal sons of the Church of Rome until they died, having always defended the Catholic Church, its sacred ceremonies, decrees and customs', and that 'we have by God's grace lived thus far according to their example'. Next, he repeated a point made by Johann Eck in the debate: 'Assuredly a single monk must be wrong if his opinion goes against what Christians have believed for the past thousand years and believe now.' Therefore, Charles continued, 'I am entirely determined to dedicate my kingdoms and lordships, my friends, my body, my blood, my life and my soul' to combat heresy, because to permit:

> . . . heresy or a diminution of the Christian religion to rest in the hearts of men through our own negligence would bring permanent dishonour on us and our successors. Having heard the perverse reply that Luther gave yesterday in the presence of all of us, I tell you now that I regret having delayed so long before proceeding

> against him and his false doctrine, and I have decided to hear no more from him.

Although Charles promised to honour the safe-conduct, he forbade Luther ‘to preach or teach his evil doctrine’ and proclaimed that ‘I have decided to treat and deal with him as I would with a notorious heretic’. He enjoined his hearers to do the same.[65]

Charles had declared ‘Here I stand’, much like Luther the previous day, but the speech of the theologian would echo down the ages, whereas that of the emperor was soon forgotten. The reasons were relatively simple. As the Reformation historian Heiko Oberman pointed out, Luther saw himself as the forerunner of the Apocalypse, anxious to gather in the congregation of the faithful ‘in these last days’ because he believed ‘that these last days have already started, and that therefore the “last things” have commenced in our historical time, so that the eschatological clock has started to tick’. This gave his message an immediacy that Charles could not match. Printing accentuated this difference by giving Luther a far greater audience. When he stood before the Diet, more than 600,000 copies of his works were already on the market, and at least ten editions of his defiant speech soon appeared, in High and Low German as well as in Latin, firing up his base.[66] The reception of Charles’s declaration was very different. The Electors ‘asked for time to consult and decide on this matter. They went back to the emperor on several occasions, appearing to assent to his decree, but in reality raising many objections, so that nothing has yet been decided.’ Some argued that ‘another effort should be made to speak with and reprimand Luther’. Others openly opposed Charles’s stance: posters appeared around the city ‘claiming that 400 cavalry and 10,000 infantry stood ready to defend the proposition that Luther’s works were good’.[67]

‘I do not know what will happen next,’ the Venetian ambassador in Worms wrote anxiously, and he predicted that ‘as soon as the emperor leaves, and this Diet is dissolved, Luther will provoke great disorders [*tumultos*] throughout Germany’. Alfonso de Valdés, a Spanish secretary in Charles’s entourage, expressed the same fear in almost the same words:

> Some imagine that this marks the end of the tragedy, but I believe it is not the end but the beginning. I see that the minds of the Germans

> are very agitated against the pope; and I also see that they do not attach much weight to the emperor's edicts, because as soon as Luther's books see the light of day, they are sold constantly and with impunity in every street and square. You can easily conjecture what will happen as soon as the emperor departs.[68]

In Spain, Adrian of Utrecht shared this fear, writing a holograph letter urging his former pupil 'to send and transfer Martin Luther to his judge, Our Holy Father, who will justly chastise and punish him as he deserves'. Charles scarcely needed reminding: the previous month he had instructed his officials in the Netherlands to seize and burn all Lutheran writings; to forbid the printing, sale, purchase or possession of any books attacking the Holy See; and to reaffirm decrees against the doctrines propagated by earlier heretics as well as those of 'a certain Martin Luther'.[69] But the risk of provoking another rebellion, so soon after Villalar, made Charles hesitate to enact similar measures in Germany. Although he approved the text of an edict that outlawed Luther, condemned all his works (again equating them with those of condemned heretics) and forbade the printing (without episcopal licence) of any work 'however small, that mentions or quotes the Holy Scripture, or any interpretation of the same', Charles refused to publish it.[70]

Aleandro, exasperated, protested to the papal secretary of state that 'the delay is not our fault', but that of 'the emperor, who says he wants to consult the princes about everything'. The legate saw this as 'very dangerous', because he had already identified several 'Lutheran princes' in the Diet, whom he feared might exploit the opportunity to dilute the language of the edict. He became even more anxious when news arrived that the king of France had encouraged attacks by the king of Navarre and the lord of La Marck on Charles's territories, so that 'in effect, war has broken out, and the imperialists say they want to raise the largest possible number of German troops', which made further concessions inevitable. He was correct: Charles refused to alienate 'the Lutheran princes' until the Diet had agreed to pay for an army to defend Germany against a French attack. 'May God make peace between Christian princes,' Aleandro sighed, 'or at least not allow the cause of Luther to become mixed up with secular affairs of state.'[71]

Finally, the day after the Diet voted funds to support 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry and approved the creation of a council of regency under Charles's brother Ferdinand, the emperor signed the Latin and German texts of the edict outlawing Luther. Aleandro immediately took them to the printers, adding optimistically that 'although they said it would take six days, I have ensured that they will work night and day'.[72] Two developments dashed his hopes. On 24 May 1521 the French ambassador at Charles's court came to request a safe-conduct to return home – then, as now, an unmistakable harbinger of war – while four days later death removed the adviser whose opinions Charles had followed ever since his emancipation six years before, and who had 'hiderto stayed th'emperor from entring in hostillitie or breche with Ffraunce': Guillaume de Croÿ, lord of Chièvres and marquis of Aarschot.[73]

A SECOND EMANCIPATION

The Belgian historian Ernest Gossart was surely correct to claim that 'Charles V's political minority came to an end in 1521, at Worms, with the death of Chièvres.' Just the previous year, one of Charles's diplomats had suggested to Thomas Wolsey that the marquis might relinquish his position by the king's side once they returned from Spain to the Netherlands, 'and stay there to take his rest, and put someone else in [his] place' – but Wolsey scoffed that 'you do not yet understand the nature of men who hold such responsibilities': no one holding pre-eminent power would ever relinquish it.[74] Wolsey was correct: the marquis accompanied Charles all the way to Worms, where he continued to dominate both domestic and foreign-policy discussions at the Diet and to negotiate with foreign ambassadors and German princes 'in the name of his imperial majesty'. In February 1521, Erasmus opined that Chièvres 'stood so high with our Prince Charles that the whole empire almost seemed to be in one man's grasp'; and a few weeks later, in his Final Relation to the Venetian Senate, Ambassador Corner stated that the marquis 'holds the government of everything in his hands' because 'His Majesty not only loves him, but has great respect for him'.[75]

No amount of imperial love could protect the marquis, now aged sixty-three, against disease. The influx of some 10,000 visitors during the Diet

soon created insanitary conditions in Worms. In March 1521, Charles ‘spent a night and a day violently vomiting, and his courtiers say he is in great danger’; and no sooner had he recovered than both Marliano and Chièvres fell ill. The former died on 10 May, and on 20 May ‘the doctors gave up hope’ on the latter. Four days later Chièvres received extreme unction, and early on 28 May he died.[76] His power and influence died with him. According to Aleandro, ‘no one in this court now mentions him in public, as if he had never existed’, and Gasparo Contarini, the new Venetian ambassador, noted that instead of travelling to Austria as planned, Charles had decided to travel from Worms back to the Netherlands ‘because he needs to return to Spain’ – and ‘my lord Chièvres, who dissuaded him from the journey, is dead’.[77]

The marquis left many positive legacies. In 1515 he had told a French envoy that he forced Charles to study all incoming dossiers ‘even at night’, and then ‘report their contents himself to his council, where everything was discussed in his presence, because if he cannot handle his affairs by the time I die, he is going to need another tutor’. Chièvres was uniquely placed to monitor the young ruler’s conduct because, as Charles himself noted, ‘he always sleeps in my bedroom’ so that ‘when I awake I have someone to talk to’.[78] Charles evidently learned the lessons imparted by the marquis: after Chièvres left the stage, Aleandro reported that Charles ‘displays every day an almost superhuman desire to do the right thing – something that is clear just now, when he is without a tutor [*pedagogo*]. We have seen many times that the rapid resolutions he takes are both appropriate and sensible’. Two veteran English diplomats at Charles’s court provided even more explicit testimony:

> Th’Emperor usythe marvelous [diligence] in providynge to hys affaires, for he is daylye in hys council [chamber at] six or seven of the clock, and ther remaignythe unto he go to masse; and within one howre affter he hathe dynyd, he retournyth thydder agayne, and ther contenueth unto supper tyme. *And thys lyff hathe he ledde ever synthe the decesse of the lord Chevers*.

In 1538, Charles explained to another English envoy that he worked hard at the business of government because ‘God hath not called him to such rule

for his oune ease and pleasures.' 'Lord Chevers' would have felt proud.[79]

Charles's diligence seems to have increased his self-confidence. In August 1521 he invited Wolsey to join him in person to settle all outstanding issues, 'because you and I together will achieve more in one day than my ambassadors in one month', adding (with perhaps a hint of menace) 'I will also show you my army, from which you will see that I do not mean to sleep'. Wolsey expressed his astonishment at Charles's refusal to make concessions, but (Gattinara observed) that was because the cardinal had 'expected to find a boy in leading strings, as he was at the time when Lord Chièvres governed him, but instead he found someone very different' – someone 'who now holds the French king in contempt'. A few days later Wolsey opined that:

> For his age [Charles] is very wyse and wel understanding hys afferys rygth; colde and temperat in spech, with assuryd maner towchyng hys words rygth wel and to good purpose when he doth speke. And undowgttydly by all appearance he shall prove a very wyse man, gretly inclyned to trewgth and observance of his promyse.[80]

This testimony speaks well for Chièvres's role as tutor; so do his numerous policy successes. He kept the Netherlands at peace with neighbouring powers, which (among other things) permitted his pupil to depart securely for Spain in 1517. Once there, the marquis persuaded Queen Joanna to recognize her son as sole ruler in both their names, and mobilized the funds required to secure Charles's election as king of the Romans. Later, he persuaded the Diet of Worms to enact measures that settled most outstanding matters: creating a viable council of regency; passing measures that restored the rule of law; voting the funds required to mobilize troops against France; and declaring Luther a heretic and an outlaw with a price on his head. Above all, Chièvres prevented a breach with France. Prudencio de Sandoval was not the only one to speculate that 'if he had lived, the enmity and war between the emperor and the king of France would not have started so soon, because he was ever the friend of peace'.[81]In other respects, however, Chièvres deserved censure. To quote Sandoval again:

> Chièvres would say that he had been responsible for every success, and demanded sole credit for it; but he blamed the king for all failures . . . I have seen a memorial on the subject prepared by a gentleman of the royal household, an eyewitness of the things he described, saying that since the king was young and knew little of public affairs, Chièvres would not allow anyone to speak with him without knowing first what he wanted to say, so that he could tell the king how he must respond. And if they refused to tell Chièvres first, they did not receive an audience.[82]

In addition, Chièvres did his best to exclude advisers whom he regarded as rivals, even those who had much to offer young Charles – most notably Margaret of Austria, whom he marginalized through the emancipation in 1515; Adrian of Utrecht, whom he sent to Spain later that year; Count Palatine Frederick, whom he managed to disgrace in 1517 (chapter 3); and young Ferdinand, whom he banished to the Netherlands the following year (chapter 4).

Worst of all, Chièvres showed insatiable greed in accumulating public offices and revenues for himself and his family, culminating in the appointment of his nephew as archbishop of Toledo, which did more than any other single act to precipitate the Comunero revolt. His entire handling of the most dangerous insurgency of Charles's reign ranks as one of his worst errors – rivalled only by his failure to appreciate the danger of the Lutheran movement in Germany, seeking instead to use it as a weapon to persuade Pope Leo X to abandon France and ally with his master. Yet despite the high domestic cost, in the short term both gambles paid off, with the result that when Francis finally declared war Castile was at peace again, while both Henry VIII and the pope sided with Charles, enabling him to end the year 1521 as the undisputed victor.

— SIX —

SNATCHING VICTORY FROM THE JAWS OF DEFEAT, 1521–5

CHARLES'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

The rivalry between Charles and Francis for influence in Germany led an English diplomat to predict in 1518 that 'There can be no peace between the two'. His Venetian colleague agreed: the two monarchs might 'adapt themselves to circumstances, but each one in reality harbours great hatred for the other'. For his part, a French minister had 'no doubt that the principal reason' for the war that lasted from 1521 until 1529 'was Charles's election as emperor', because Francis feared that it would inevitably cause the loss of his recent conquests, Milan and Genoa, both imperial fiefs.[1]

Not all contemporaries considered war inevitable. Looking back in the 1530s, the Italian soldier, diplomat and historian Francesco Guicciardini acknowledged that four major issues had led to war: Charles sought to recover Burgundy, lost by his ancestor Duke Charles the Bold, and resented French control of Milan and Genoa; Francis sought to recover Navarre, seized from its native dynasty by Charles's maternal grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon, and resented Spanish control of Naples. Nevertheless, Guicciardini continued, 'since each of them was so powerful, the risks of attacking one another kept them from taking the offensive' for some time. By way of example, he cited the jocular response of Francis to a Spanish delegation that had come to announce Charles's intention to seek the imperial crown: 'We must follow the example that one sometimes sees with

two men who are in love with the same woman. Each exerts himself using all possible means to obtain her, but they do not for that reason fall out between themselves.'[2]

Initially, Francis accepted the election of his rival graciously. An ambassador at the Spanish court reported in June 1519 that 'the king of France recently wrote to His Imperial Majesty with effusive congratulations, saying that – apart from himself – there was no one in this world whom he would support for this position except for His Majesty'; while some French courtiers claimed that it was 'a good torne for the king here, and a great weale for his reaulme, that he is not emperor, for they say yf he had been, it shuld have putt hym to an infanite busyness, and impoverychyd and undoone his subjects'.[3] As late as January 1521, Francis resisted pressure from Pope Leo X to challenge Charles. The French king admitted that although 'with the empire, the kingdom of Naples and Spain all in the same hands, it would be much better to deal with future difficulties in advance than to seek remedies afterwards', and although the pope thought 'that I hold a greater advantage over the Catholic King now than after he enters Germany', it seemed to Francis 'that he will then have no fewer problems than he has now, and he may well have more'. Moreover, the king continued:

> Because his dominions are scattered in various places far from one another, and are as disobedient and difficult as we all know, [Charles] will be forced to hold and keep them without trying to acquire anything more. And because he owns so much, his care and concern must be to have peace, whatever the cost to him, to avoid the great and unsustainable expense that he would have to maintain if he goes to war.[4]

A warrant signed on 14 February 1521 revealed that Francis had changed his mind. The king authorized Robert de la Marck, lord of Sedan, 'to serve with his person and property against everyone without exception, even the emperor', and in return he granted substantial sums to La Marck and three of his sons, who almost immediately raised an army and attacked towns in the Habsburg Netherlands. This, a French minister affirmed, 'was the first blow, the origin and the instigation of the war between the king [of France]

and the emperor-elect that would later become so great and cruel', and he marvelled that 'this small spark started such a great fire'. In fact, La Marck's attack was just one of several sparks: Francis also clandestinely pledged his support for the king of Navarre's efforts to recover his kingdom; he encouraged the duke of Guelders to invade Friesland and Overijssel; and he concluded a secret treaty with Leo X by which the pope promised that he would deprive Charles of the kingdom of Naples and refuse to crown him emperor. In addition, Francis announced that if any German troops chose to serve him, 'they shall have gode interteynment' – a clear sign that he would fight if necessary. In the words of Karl Brandi: 'A life and death struggle' between 'the Valois princes, Francis of France and Charles of Burgundy, was now about to begin in earnest'.[5]

News of these various acts alarmed Charles, still at Worms trying to settle the affairs of the Empire. Some of his advisers 'dyd counsail to prevent the French king, rather then to suffyr that stroke'; but Charles 'answereyd *of his owne mynd*' – still considered a novelty – 'that he wolde suffyr the French king furst to invade, if he were so disposyd, making a vowe that if he so dyd he wold venter al that God has callyd him unto, but he would destroy him or elles be destroyed himselfe'.[6] Illness prevented Charles from acting at once on his resolve – he 'spent a night and day vomiting' and for a few days 'did not leave his room, taking his medicine and transacting no business' – but on 1 April 1521 his personal envoy announced to Francis that 'the emperor took these actions as a declaration of war and a breach of the treaties; and since he had been attacked and provoked, he has decided to defend himself'. Meanwhile in Rome Ambassador Juan Manuel 'virtually assaulted His Holiness', insisting 'aggressively and with a very angry face' (according to his French colleague) on 'a yes or a no' answer to his demand that Leo immediately sign an offensive alliance against France. The pope soon succumbed: he nullified his treaty with Francis and promised to raise an army to help Charles to expel the French from Italy; to crown Charles emperor in Rome; and to bless two dynastic links devised by Maximilian and designed to protect central Europe in case of a Turkish attack – the marriage of Charles's brother Ferdinand to Anna, the sister (and heiress) of King Louis of Hungary and Bohemia, and of Louis to Charles's sister Marie. Charles

for his part promised to restore to the Papal States the duchies of Parma and Piacenza (surrendered to France by Leo after the battle of Marignano), and to place all his Medici relatives under imperial protection.[7]

Charles was now eager to fight. On hearing that Francis had openly sent La Marck some of the troops recruited in Germany:

> . . . he raised his hands to Heaven and said: 'Praise to You, Lord God, for granting that I did not begin this war, and because the king of France is likely to make me greater than I am! Thanks always to You, who have given me the means to defend myself. I hope that soon either I shall be an impoverished emperor, or he an impoverished king.'

When his aunt Margaret urged him to preserve the peace the emperor replied: 'No, Madame: if I were to negotiate with him now, in two months he would start to give me trouble again.' In the summer of 1521 imperial armies repulsed their enemies in the Netherlands, in Navarre and in Italy; and an English diplomat noted that the French 'have turned the leaf. For about half a year past, they would by their words have overrun the whole world . . . but now they would have peace with all their hearts.'[8] Both rulers sent envoys to Henry VIII, protesting that the other had struck first and thus breached the terms of the treaty of London (p. 102), triggering an English declaration of war against the aggressor; but instead Cardinal Wolsey offered to preside over a peace conference at Calais.

In July 1521, just before the talks began, Gattinara presented Charles with a position paper that listed reasons for and against continuing the war. First he evaluated seven arguments in favour of a truce, most of them broad (the uncertain outcome of all wars; the inevitable cost; the difficulty of starting a war so late in the campaigning season), but some specific (La Marck and Navarre had already been defeated). Then followed ten reasons for continuing the war, most of them also broad (Charles's cause was just, and so would receive divine favour; he enjoyed widespread international support), but some specific (a truce would mean that the money already spent on mobilization would be wasted; the troops raised were ready and eager to fight). Gattinara devoted special attention to his final reason in favour of fighting:

> Above all things, Your Majesty must seek to acquire reputation, because up to now you have not engaged in any affair of state for which one can draw positive or negative conclusions, and the whole world has been waiting in the hope that you will do something worthy of such a powerful emperor, now you have such a fine opportunity . . . In addition, Sire, this is the first army you have raised, and these beginnings, on which you have spent so much, and mobilized so many resources, have got the whole world talking. Our job is to ensure that these beginnings result in an outcome that does not remove or reduce the reputation of Your Majesty, but rather maintains and increases it.

The Grand Chancellor therefore urged Charles to deploy his forces in the Netherlands against an easy target, such as Tournai, while making his main effort in Italy to wrest Milan and Genoa from French hands. In this way, he concluded, 'you will acquire reputation and astonish your enemies'.[9]

Gattinara's rationale came straight out of the chivalric traditions of Burgundy – which of course increased its appeal to his master, just as the wily chancellor had anticipated – but Charles nevertheless circulated the position paper among his leading advisers and asked them to discuss 'What the emperor should do this winter'. According to the detailed minutes of the debate, some ministers wanted an offensive treaty with England, to improve the chances of victory in the Netherlands, while others favoured a truce or peace with France that would permit Charles to return to Spain and restore order; but in the event, Charles took the decision himself after negotiating with Wolsey one-on-one.[10] A secret treaty on 25 August 1521 declared that Charles and Henry would 'remain friends and allies for ever, and act in unison' both in defending their existing possessions and 'in vindicating the rights withheld from them by others, without any exception'. The treaty would be sealed by Charles's marriage to his cousin Mary, Henry's daughter and heiress (and niece of the Mary Tudor to whom he had previously been engaged), as soon as she turned twelve. The emperor would also visit England, where the two monarchs would make public their alliance and finalize a grand strategy to dismember France.[11]

Gattinara now spent three months in Calais while Wolsey engaged in pageant politics, ostentatiously discussing truce terms with the French as a

screen to conceal his secret treaty with the emperor; but Gattinara's prolonged absence from his master seriously undermined his influence. Initially, Charles assured his chancellor that 'you understand better than anyone else what we could and should do' and begged him 'to write to us often, once every day without fail, because we have set up a chain of postal stations at our expense that is at your disposal' – but letters like this, combining affection and dependence, soon ceased.[12] The change apparently began when, according to a Netherlands chronicler, on 2 September 1521, 'Emperor Charles put on his suit of armour and for the first time led all his troops against France'. Shortly afterwards he became extremely angry when his chancellor refused to countersign one of his warrants, 'which you could see was our express command', and he wrote imperiously that 'notwithstanding the objections you have put forward, we command you once and for all to countersign the said warrant and send it back to us without fail, because that is our pleasure'. The following month, when Wolsey tampered with the terms agreed for Charles's marriage with Princess Mary, the emperor declared – without consulting his chancellor – that he would scrap the whole treaty, exclaiming 'with an angry face':

> I can see clearly enough how the cardinal [Wolsey] wants to treat me: to make such unreasonable demands of me that my honour and advantage will not allow me to agree . . . But he has mistaken his man [*Il l'a mal trouvé son homme*], because if one party rejects me, another will accept me. There is no shortage of brides; I don't need to pay so much.[13]

Charles's tantrum paid handsome dividends: Wolsey hastened to sign a treaty that obliged England, the emperor and the pope to make war on France. Moreover, the imperial armies in Italy and the Netherlands scored some notable successes, so that by the end of 1521 the emperor could boast that 'God has granted us His favour, because we are victorious on all sides, reducing Milan and several other [Italian] cities to our obedience, capturing Tournai, and recovering all that had been taken in Navarre.' In December 1521, Pope Leo died and a month later the cardinals chose as his successor Charles's former tutor, Adrian of Utrecht.[14]

The emperor made haste to exploit this unexpected advantage. ‘It has pleased Our Lord not only to raise us to this imperial dignity,’ he reminded the new pontiff, ‘but also to ordain that we should receive the imperial Crown from the hand of a person we know so well, from our own nation, and who has raised and taught us since childhood, and has a great and true love for us: namely Your Holiness.’ More pointedly, he urged Adrian VI ‘to remember what you once told me when I was your student, which I have since found to be true – and to make sure that you remember, I will remind you: that [the French] speak kind and sweet words, but in the end they seek only to deceive and fool you’. Nevertheless, he concluded: ‘Your Holiness is so smart that you will know how to avoid doing anything that might be harmful or damaging to me.’[15]

Adrian’s election created an urgent problem for his former pupil: the new pope could not continue to serve as governor of Castile, putting pressure on Charles to return to Spain. This, in turn, required him to appoint strong regents in both the Netherlands and Germany during his absence: for the former he chose Margaret, who was both able and willing to serve again; and he entrusted the latter to Ferdinand. At the Diet of Worms, he had ceded to his brother most of the Habsburg lands in Austria; now, anxious to return to Spain, he transferred the rest of his Austrian lands to Ferdinand and his descendants, and renewed his promise to arrange for his brother’s election as king of the Romans as soon as he had himself been crowned emperor.[16] Charles also made his first will. He named Ferdinand his universal heir and successor; and, like his father, he specified that if he died in Spain his body should be interred in Granada beside the Catholic Monarchs, and if in the Netherlands in Bruges beside his grandmother Mary of Burgundy; but ‘if at the time of our death our duchy of Burgundy should be restored to our obedience then we wish our body to be buried in the church of the Charterhouse of Dijon, beside the bodies of our predecessors Dukes Philip the Bold, John his son, and Philip the Good’. Charles still saw himself primarily as duke of Burgundy.[17]

The emperor and his entourage sailed from Calais to Dover, the first leg of their journey back to Spain, on 27 May 1522. Erasmus generously attributed their late departure to the weather – ‘winds are the only creatures

that do not know an emperor when they see one' – but that formed only part of the explanation. Some delays arose because the emperor was often absent from his desk. He sired at least three illegitimate children in twelve months (chapter 14), and he remained addicted to tournaments, hawking, hunting – and tennis. An English envoy who arrived at his court in February 1522 could not present his credentials because Charles was 'playinge at the paume [ball and court game]', forcing the ambassador to remain 'beholdynge the playe tyll it was almost nyght, at which tyme his majestie resortyd to his chambyr'.[18] A month later, Charles and his brother each led a team in a great tournament:

> Whanne they had salutyd the laadyes, and maade theyre towre about the fyelde and tylte, th'emperor began the playe, and brak his spere right fresthly uppon oon of his brodyr's company, and the next course the Infant dyd in lyke wyse uppon one of th'emperor's company, insomuch that the rynniynge lastyd uppon twayne howrys, for the hundryrd speerys which weere brought in to be brookkyn constantly.

Thanks, no doubt, to all the hours Charles had spent practising:

> His maieste handyld his besynesse in moost gaallyande forme, and brak moo speerys thanne oony oothir, and in the ende, whanne alle the sayde speerys were brookkyn, th'emperor mountyd uppon a steaynge horsse, beinge dysarmyd of his armett and targett, uppon which horsse, afftyr that he had saluted the laadyes, he sportyd hymsylfe in the place lyke the prynce that maye well be callyd the patron of horsmen.

According to the Venetian ambassador, 'everyone present' judged that Charles 'excelled all others in this joust' and performed equestrian feats 'that no-one else could do'.[19]

Charles did not always place pleasure before business. Thus on 13 April 1522, when 'erly in the morning the post cam' from England, 'evyr sith, th'emperor and his Councell have ocupyid the tyme in councellynge boothe erly and laate, so that theey dyne late, suppe laate, and goe to bedde laate'.

Two days later Charles wrote a holograph letter informing Cardinal Wolsey that henceforth, whenever ‘something affects me personally’, he would ‘write this symbol ȝ’; and for over a year his holograph letters to Wolsey often contained ‘the symbol ȝ that you and I know, meaning that the matter is very important to me’.[20] The emperor also spent much time attending in person to lesser public affairs. According to the amazed English ambassadors at his court, he himself supervised the embarkation of his entourage for his voyage to England – and when the diplomats expressed some doubt, an official showed them a register in which they saw many entries ‘by th’emperor’s owne hand’.[21] But the main reason for postponing the departure was lack of money.

According to a document drafted by Gattinara, the combined cost of the recent campaign and the imminent journey to Spain left the emperor with so little money that ‘we are in danger not only of losing what we have conquered but also of placing at risk all our inherited dominions, leaving our affairs in ruins and at the mercy of Providence. In addition, we do not know how we shall be received by our Spanish subjects.’ Charles turned first to Manuel of Portugal and requested a loan, but then Henry VIII offered both 150,000 ducats to prepare the imperial fleet and a naval escort to protect it against a possible French attack. Charles accepted, even though (in his own words) the arrangement involved ‘some fairly harsh terms’, including a promise ‘not to conclude a peace or truce with France except with the knowledge and consent’ of Henry and a diversion to England on his way to Spain.[22]

Nevertheless, 1522 started well for Charles. In April, victory over the French and their allies at Bicocca delivered not only Lombardy but also Genoa into Habsburg hands. The following month he crossed to England and on 6 June he and Henry entered London ‘not merely like brothers of one mind, but both dressed in the same attire and with all the normal ceremonies, as if the emperor was about to be recognized as king in England’. Ten days later Henry published a declaration of war on France, and confirmed that Mary would marry Charles as soon as she turned twelve. The princess started to wear a brooch with jewels arranged to read ‘the emp[er]our’ (Pl. 11). Henry also provided his prospective son-in-law with a powerful train of English artillery ‘to assist him in the pacification of his

states', and sent an expeditionary force to attack Brittany. In addition, the two monarchs agreed that in 1524 they would launch a 'Great Enterprise': a simultaneous invasion of France, with Henry advancing on Paris from Calais and Charles from Vizcaya.[23]

After six weeks of feasting, jousting and negotiating in England, Charles took communion and then boarded a fleet carrying 3,000 German troops – far more than those brought to Spain by his father eighteen years before. He disembarked at Santander on 16 July 1522 and moved inland, 'hunting and enjoying himself', until he reached Palencia three weeks later. He reported to Henry that many 'grandees, nobles, prelates and important people have come to our court, displaying as much humility and devotion as we could desire, and all, great and small, have shown themselves our loyal subjects and servants'; and he felt secure enough to send his German troops to defend Spain's frontier with France, while he 'began to bring order into these kingdoms'.[24]

THE PACIFICATION OF SPAIN

But whose order would it be? As soon as he learned of Adrian's election, which meant that the new pope would have to leave Spain for Rome, Charles drew up a patent for his sister Eleanor (recently widowed) to act as his regent in Castile; and until she arrived he authorized the Admiral and the Constable of Castile to continue as joint governors. The Admiral urged his master to offer concessions and clemency to the Comuneros, since otherwise 'no one will sleep soundly in their beds because the slightest breeze will make them think that a magistrate has come to arrest them'. He reminded Charles boldly: 'You are not God who can be everywhere at once, but an emperor who must walk upon this earth. Love is a better way than fear to keep what you have.' Few ministers agreed with him. Even Adrian favoured repression, advising Charles to mobilize all his resources 'so that you may punish those who brought about sedition and rebellion in your kingdoms'; and the regency council, which had been humiliated and threatened by the Comuneros, began to imprison all the former rebels they could find.[25]

Jean Glapion, the emperor's confessor, had told him: 'You are endowed with every virtue, except for this one – you find it difficult to forgive

insults'; and just like the knights of Burgundy in his books of chivalry, Charles regularly spoke and wrote about wreaking 'vengeance' on those whom he considered had offended him.[26] Now, as soon as he returned to Spanish soil, he ordered the execution of some German soldiers captured while fighting for the French in Guipúzcoa, 'to serve as an example to the rest, so that anyone who defies me will know the fate that awaits them for going against their emperor'. He also lost no time in punishing the Comuneros: he informed his aunt Margaret in August that he had 'started criminal proceedings against 10 or 12 of the principal delinquents from the Junta of Tordesillas, captured last year', adding that 'I plan to punish them in an exemplary fashion that will be remembered for ever'. Over the next two months, Charles approved almost one hundred condemnations of former Comuneros, including some granted a provisional pardon, until he is said to have remarked, 'That's enough for now: do not shed any more blood.' On 1 November 1522 a General Pardon – solemnly proclaimed in the city square of Valladolid in the presence of Charles, the foreign ambassadors accredited to his court, and his leading nobles and courtiers – granted amnesty to all but 293 named former rebels. Those denied amnesty (the *exceptuados*) included sixty-three nobles and gentlemen, and twenty-one clerics.[27]

The emperor took a close personal interest in the process of retribution. As Ferdinand's envoy, Martín de Salinas, noted: 'His Majesty is so well-informed about the nature of each person's offence that you would think he himself had taken down their confession.'[28] He rejected all suggestions of collective sanctions (such as removing the royal chancery from Valladolid or the commercial fairs from Medina del Campo), so that the defeat of the Comuneros did not transform the traditional structure of Castile; but the fines imposed on the leading cities involved in the uprising, and the taxes raised to pay reparations to loyalists who had suffered material losses, seriously weakened the industries and artisans of the kingdom.[29]

Charles acted with far greater severity against those involved in the Germanías of Valencia, starting after the death of their popular leader known as *El Encubierto* (The Hidden One), who claimed to be the posthumous son of Prince John, heir of the Catholic Monarchs (which would have made him, not Charles, the rightful king). The emperor

appointed his step-grandmother, Germaine de Foix, as vicereine with orders to regain control ‘without granting or allowing any pardon whatsoever’. According to the Valencian chronicler Martí de Viciana, the arrest of rebel leaders (including, as in Castile, some of those already granted a provisional pardon) began in secret on the night of 10 January 1524, and over the next four years the queen approved the execution of some 800 former rebels, many of them after torture. Viciana estimated that the Germanías caused material damage worth 2 million ducats and the deaths of 12,000 people ‘in battles, fights and skirmishes, and through judicial sentences’. Only the need to fund the war with France compelled Charles to call a halt, and sell pardons to most of the remaining rebels.[30]

The emperor refused to pardon Antonio de Acuña, bishop of Zamora, who had once styled himself Captain General of the Comuneros. In 1520 the Spanish ambassador in Rome persuaded Pope Leo to deprive Acuña of the normal legal protection enjoyed by clerics by telling him (without a shred of evidence) ‘that he was another Martin Luther’. Two years later, in Valladolid, crowds watched as Rodrigo Ronquillo, a royal magistrate, ‘led the bishop of Zamora through the middle of this city, with a guard of Spanish cavalry, to take him to the fortress of Simancas’. Charles now demanded that Pope Adrian permit the torture of Acuña (using the threat that ‘if His Holiness does not grant this, we will be forced to resort to other means, as we see fit’).[31] In desperation, Acuña offered Charles 60,000 ducats in return for his freedom; and when he learned that ‘His Majesty does not want to accept, even though he really needs the money’, he stabbed the castellan of Simancas to death and tried to escape. His attempt failed and Charles now ordered ‘the bishop of Zamora to be taken to the torture chamber’, where he would have ‘his hands tied behind him with a rope linked to a pulley’ and ‘be hoisted slightly above the floor’. The bishop eventually incriminated three accomplices, one of them a priest who underwent torture so severe that he could not sign his own confession ‘because his hand was badly damaged by the torture’. Ronquillo then ‘garrotted the bishop without any further formality’.[32]

Charles exacted vengeance in other, lesser ways – in Zamora, a leading Comunero city, he ordered the houses of some rebels to be razed while those of others suffered the ignominy of having their coats of arms erased

(as modern visitors to the city can still see) – and his resentment never entirely abated. He continued to nag both the king of Portugal and the pope to hand over fugitive Comunero leaders until the last of them died in exile; in 1532, on hearing that the regency government had reversed a sentence of exile imposed on one of the *exceptuados*, Charles ordered that 'in future no Comunero is to be pardoned unless I have been consulted first'; and four years later he ordered the arrest of a courier in Portuguese service as he travelled through Spain 'because he was once a Comunero'. Even in 1552, so desperate for money that he reluctantly agreed to sell knighthoods in Castile for cash, Charles specified 'that they should not be conferred on the son or grandson of any Comunero'.[33]

Such vindictiveness proved counter-productive. When 'some of the priests who supported the Comuneros' appeared before Adrian in June 1522 to 'demand justice', the new pope hesitated, fearing that if he refused 'they will go to France and help our enemies'; but Charles remained adamant and thus (as Adrian had predicted) created a cadre of implacable foes abroad.[34] They included 'a certain Cárdenas', who led the rebellious settlers of Chile in 1542 and had previously 'opposed Your Majesty during the Comuneros, and afterwards with Rincón' – the same Antonio Rincón who was 'one of the Comuneros from Medina del Campo' and entered French service, becoming a trusted intermediary between Francis and his anti-Habsburg allies. Cárdenas, Rincón and the rest joined the numerous Italian exiles who fled when the imperialists and their allies wrested control of each town from the French and their allies. As King Francis once observed, the Ottoman sultan made good use of 'the large number of exiles from the kingdom of Naples whom the war has forced to abandon their homes and goods'. Charles was fortunate that Francis also proved adept at turning his leading subjects into implacable enemies.[35]

THE GREAT ENTERPRISE

In summer 1522 intelligence reached the Spanish court that Duke Charles III de Bourbon, Constable of France, was preparing to rebel against his master. At first the news seemed too good to be true. Bourbon was a 'prince of the blood', nephew of Louis XII as well as cousin of Francis I, for whom he had commanded the vanguard at Marignano and jousted at the Field of

the Cloth of Gold. Late in 1521 the duke captured Hesdin – one of the few French successes of the year – but everything changed a few months later with the death of his wife Suzanne, scion of a senior branch of the Bourbon line. Louise of Savoy, the king's mother, at once lodged a claim in the *Parlement* of Paris, the highest jurisdiction in France, that she now held the best title to the Bourbon estates. Francis, for his part, claimed that the entire Bourbon domain had escheated to the Crown.

Perhaps the king and his mother took these desperate steps because both were practically bankrupt. Francis had spent lavishly on the ceremonies connected with his accession, the Marignano campaign, and the Field of the Cloth of Gold, followed by a year of war on several fronts, causing him to run up debts greater than his annual income. Nevertheless, trying to seize the lands of his most powerful vassal and principal general was a rash move to make, especially in wartime, and almost immediately Duke Charles appealed for help to the emperor, who in August 1522 sent a special envoy 'to speak to the duke of Bourbon and bring to fruition the enterprise that he had begun'.[36] The duke suggested sealing the 'aliance with th'emperour by mariage of one of his susters'; and he made direct contact with Henry VIII to propose joining 'the king and the emperor with his strength and power at such tyme as they shall make actuall war in ffraunce'. The parties eventually agreed to execute the Great Enterprise – the invasion of France – in 1523, one year earlier than planned, and with an extra participant: while Henry invaded France from Calais and Charles attacked in the south, Bourbon would raise 500 cavalry and 10,000 infantry from his own estates in the centre of the kingdom and march on Paris.[37]

To pay for this initiative, Charles convened the Cortes of Castile, which opened in July 1523 with a triumphalist account by Gattinara of all Charles had achieved since the last assembly because 'God's hand is with Your Majesty' (his speech invoked God nineteen times). Charles apparently vetoed a passage in the chancellor's draft that admitted mistakes had been made during the last visit, and blamed 'ministers who were not born here' and were therefore 'uninformed about the laws, ordinances and customs' of Castile for causing the late unpleasantness. Without the apology, the deputies remained unenthusiastic: although they accepted that Charles enjoyed a special relationship with God – 'what comes from the mouth of

Your Majesty comes from the mouth of God, who placed you here in His place' – they reminded him that at the last Cortes 'the deputies were not heard as they desired' and they demanded that this time the sovereign should hear and address their grievances before they voted another subsidy. According to the official record of the assembly, Charles replied immediately in fluent Castilian:

> What seems better to you: that you immediately grant me the subsidy (since I promised yesterday and promise again today that I will not dissolve the Cortes until I have responded to and acted on all things you ask of me) . . . so that it will seem that the concessions I make and the rewards I provide are done through my goodwill? Or would you have me first address the grievances that you bring, and have it said that I did it only so you would provide me with the subsidy?

He reminded the deputies that 'it has always been the case that the subsidy is granted first' and wondered 'why you are imposing such a major innovation on me?' 'Nothing remains a secret for ever,' he continued, 'and when this news reaches other rulers, both Ottoman and Christian, the fact that you are not treating me like other kings, my predecessors, will be very bad for my reputation, and the wicked will rejoice.'[38]

After a month of argument, Charles prevailed: the Cortes approved a substantial subsidy, in return for which the emperor addressed over one hundred separate grievances, starting with the demand that he fill his household with Castilians; that he hold public audiences at regular times each week; that he revoke all certificates of naturalization issued to foreigners (and grant no more); and that he appoint only 'those born in this kingdom' to all secular, ecclesiastical and diplomatic posts. He also promised to improve the defence of the realm and the administration of justice; to prohibit both carrying weapons in public and 'wearing masks' (a habit 'newly invented in this kingdom'); and to appoint qualified scholars to codify the laws and complete the chronicles of the kingdom. Only a few grievances dealt with policy. The deputies demanded that Charles marry his cousin, Isabella of Portugal, and make Spain his permanent headquarters; that he 'make no agreement with Portugal on the spice trade, so that we will

not lose advantage and reputation (considering the cost in men and money of discovering [the Moluccas])'; and that he pursue 'peace with Christian rulers and war with infidels' (Ferdinand of Aragon's mantra). Finally, they demanded 'that Your Majesty give orders that the subsidy that we authorize, at a time when the kingdom is so exhausted and ruined, should be spent on the recovery of Fuenterrabía'.[39]

Given that scarcely a year had elapsed since the defeat of the Comuneros, the restrained nature of the grievances suggested that Castile and its ruler had reconciled; but some subjects remained disgruntled. In March 1523 the English ambassadors 'perceyve not very much love betwix the noblemen of Spayne and Flaunders'; while four months later Salinas reported that over a thousand soldiers had roamed the streets of Valladolid shouting 'Long live the king and death to the Flemings', and leaving several dead in the streets. In August, perhaps remembering the inflammatory sermons during Charles's last visit to the city, Salinas also expressed concern about 'what they say in the streets and the pulpits'.[40] Despite these warning signs, Charles left Castile again in October, naming his sister Eleanor regent of the kingdom, and moved to Navarre to direct the recapture of Fuenterrabía from the French, just as the Cortes had demanded.

Although the emperor eventually achieved this limited goal, doing so fatally compromised the 'Great Enterprise'. Charles remained on Spanish soil whereas Henry raised (according to Wolsey) 'a puissant armye of as tal, active and elect persones, with as expert and good captains, as hathe passed oute of this realme at any tyme this hundred yeres'. The 'puissant armye' advanced rapidly, forcing numerous towns in its path to surrender and swear allegiance to 'Henry, king of France', until in October 1523 it captured Montdidier, a mere 80 kilometres from Paris.[41] As panic gripped the French capital, the victorious invaders turned east to join forces with those of Bourbon, but they were too late: Francis had already discovered Duke Charles's treason and he fled to Habsburg territory.

'MEN FIGHT BATTLES BUT GOD GRANTS VICTORIES'[42]

In November 1523, Charles suggested to Henry that they should 'abandon our plans for the Great Enterprise' and instead use 'my army of Italy to invade France as a substitute', to be funded jointly by the two monarchs.[43]

This dramatic change of plan reflected not only the failure of Bourbon's conspiracy but also Gattinara's conviction that Milan and Genoa formed the fulcrum of his master's empire. Retaining them, he informed Charles:

> . . . must not be undervalued or left to chance, because they are the key to retaining and maintaining Naples and Sicily. They are also the true means of keeping the Venetians and all the rest of Italy under your control and entirely obedient to you, and through them to keep all of Germany and Switzerland in fear, and to do with them what you want. From that foundation you will be powerful enough on your own to make war on the Turks and other infidels in all parts and reduce them to reason.[44]

The following month, on hearing of the death of Pope Adrian, Gattinara submitted to Charles another comprehensive analysis of his strategic goals and how to achieve them. Two of them, entitled 'Reputation' and 'Securing Italy', concerned foreign policy. Under the first rubric, the chancellor stressed once again the need 'to maintain your reputation, which it is most necessary for you to uphold . . . whether in order to secure a favourable peace or truce, or (if that is impossible) to continue and end the war'. To this end, Charles must 'maintain the friendship of the king of England', and in view of the failure to support Henry's campaign adequately, 'we must not only apologize but also make good the damage . . . making clear that our past fault was not deliberate'. Gattinara turned next to 'Securing Italy'. To this end, the emperor must persuade the new pope (whose identity was not yet known in Spain) to sign a defensive and offensive alliance similar to that agreed with Adrian; betroth Duke Francisco Sforza of Milan to Eleanor's daughter Maria (which would postpone the duke's chances of siring an heir, since Maria was only two); and appoint Bourbon his lieutenant-general and personal representative in northern Italy. Charles ordered each of the six senior councillors who accompanied him to write down their opinion (*parecer*) in order of seniority.[45] Since everyone concurred, in December 1523 messengers left court armed with instructions to win over the new pope, Clement VII, from the same Medici family as Pope Leo, and for Bourbon as 'lieutenant-general in Italy' and thus (in the judgement of Ambassador Contarini) Charles's *alter rex*. Charles believed

that ‘The French have good reason to regret the presence of Monsieur de Bourbon because, with God’s help, he will hold a dagger to their throats.’[46]

The initiative now passed to the imperial generals in Italy. Having spent the winter of 1523–4 driving the remaining French garrisons out of Lombardy, they resolved that Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, would stay behind to protect these gains while Bourbon invaded Provence, hoping that another English invasion in the northwest would distract Francis. They hoped in vain: his previous campaigns against France had cost Henry nearly 2 million ducats but brought no gains, and he saw no reason to spend more. This left Francis free to concentrate his forces against Bourbon, and although the imperial army captured Aix-en-Provence and laid siege to Marseilles, the approach of superior French forces led to an ignominious retreat into Italy – only to find that Francis had crossed the Alps by another route and arrived in Lombardy first, forcing the imperialists to take refuge in Pavia. Francis followed and tried to take the city by storm. When it failed he prepared for a full siege. Although besieging any fortress over the winter was rash, the king’s confidence seemed justified because first the pope and then the Venetian Republic abandoned Charles and concluded an alliance with him.[47] Early in 1525, Henry followed their example, confiscating the correspondence of the imperial ambassador in London (a gross breach of diplomatic protocol) and proclaiming that he had better things to do than spend money on a liar (Charles), a harlot (Margaret), a child (Ferdinand) and a traitor (Bourbon).[48]

The pope, the Venetians and Henry would all soon regret this shift in allegiance because the emperor held two critical advantages. First, the success of the conquistadors in America resulted in the arrival of increasing quantities of treasure in Spain. In March 1524 the Venetian ambassador recorded the arrival of ‘60,000 pieces of gold, each one worth a ducat and a half’, followed in January 1525 by a further ‘20,000 pieces of gold and 400 marks of pearls’. Charles used each consignment as collateral for the transfer of money to Italy – or, as the Polish ambassador put it, ‘The emperor sends all the money that comes to hand to the armies, and puts up with extreme penury at home.’ Furthermore, as Gattinara noted, Charles’s greatest asset in Italy, ‘after God, was the aid sent by the Archduke Ferdinand to reinforce the army of Caesar at precisely the right time’.[49]

Moreover, Charles recognized his own military inexperience and empowered his generals to use their initiative and exploit any advantage without further direction. Thus his instructions to Bourbon in August 1524 contained some general advice on how to conduct the coming campaign, but concluded: 'Since you are on the spot, and you know that I have placed my complete confidence in you, it is not necessary to provide you with a detailed plan concerning the success of our common cause and the maintenance of our reputation'. A few months later, when Charles exhorted his brother 'to devote all your strength and do all you can for my cause', he added: 'Since you are so far away from me, I will not tell you what to do or how to do this, but rather leave that for you to decide for the best, according to your resources and the opportunities that arise.'[50]

Nevertheless, Charles wrestled with some grave doubts. According to the English ambassador, Richard Sampson, late in 1524 he became 'very feoble and nothing apt for the warre; his remedy is in Godis hande', and he began to feel deeply insecure about his overall position. Early in 1525 he composed a lugubrious memorandum to clarify his thoughts. If he could not get an honourable peace, he wrote, 'The solution seems to be war'; but 'how could we wage it? I lack the means to maintain my army right now' and 'my friends have abandoned me and left me in the lurch because they do not want to see me more powerful'. He continued: 'There are disadvantages to all courses of action, and some are impossible; but I wanted to write down my opinion in confidence.' Specifically:

> Since time is passing, and we are all going to die, I do not want to disappear from the world without leaving something memorable behind. Time lost today cannot be made up tomorrow, and until now I have done nothing that brings me honour. If I delay any more, it will take that much longer to recover . . . I do not want anything to prevent me from doing something important.[51]

Charles concluded this remarkable self-analysis by affirming that 'in no way do I plan to take any risks, unless there is a very good reason' – but, almost immediately, Francis provided that 'very good reason'. The king haughtily declared that he intended to wrest not only Milan but also Naples from the emperor, and sent a powerful expeditionary force to conquer the

southern kingdom. The division of his army decisively tilted the military balance in Lombardy. In late January 1525 it seemed to an English envoy with Bourbon that the imperial army was now ‘well disposed to do some notable acte against thair enemyes’ and so ‘bataile is hourely loked fore’.[52] On 19 February, in Rome, the pope’s chief adviser confided that ‘His Holiness worries day and night’ about the ‘dangers that war involves’ and fretted that ‘since the armies are close’, Francis ‘might risk everything on a battle’; and a week later, Charles’s ambassador warned his master that ‘everything here is in an uncertain and dangerous state’ so that ‘Your Majesty must resolve to accept a defeat as you would a victory’. Little did he know that a battle fought 500 kilometres to the north had just transformed the entire military and strategic situation.[53]

Despite Charles’s efforts to channel all available resources to Lombardy, his troops there had run dangerously short of funds – ‘The defenders of Pavia did not wish to suffer any more, and the whole army was dying of hunger. The Spaniards were becoming insolent; the Germans were beginning to desert’ – and his commanders therefore took the fateful decision to launch an all-out attack on the French besiegers, despite being outnumbered. ‘We were forced to choose the lesser evil,’ Lannoy explained to his sovereign, and ‘therefore decided to confide in God, in our good luck, and in the valour of the army’, even though it would ‘incur some risk. In three or four days either the army will be united with the garrison of Pavia, or I will be dead. I hope to live and be victorious.’[54] On 24 February, the emperor’s birthday, the imperial generals used the cover of night to deploy Spanish marksmen inside the French siege-works, ready to support a surprise attack at dawn.

Francis heard rumours that his enemies were on the move, and assumed that they were retreating. Perhaps spurred on by the prospect of capturing the hated Bourbon, the king unwisely ordered his forces to leave their fortifications as he led the heavy cavalry in several charges. At first the knights prevailed, only to be cut down by the concealed Spanish marksmen. Then the garrison of Pavia made a sortie that separated Francis from his men. For a while the king gallantly held his own, slaying several of his assailants, but when his horse was killed under him ‘he fell on the ground. Some Germans wanted to kill him but he, fearing death, shouted out that

they should not kill him because he was the king of France.' Two followers of Bourbon – men whom the king had recently declared traitors – found the king 'stripped down to his shirt' and persuaded him to surrender. 'All that is left to me,' Francis wrote sorrowfully that evening, 'is my honour and my life'[55] (Pl. 14).

An English diplomat on the scene rated Pavia 'as greate a victory as hath ben sene this many yeres', but he understated: the battle saw the greatest cull of French nobles since Agincourt in 1415, and the captives included not only Francis but also the king of Navarre, who four years earlier had helped to precipitate the war, and many other notables. The Venetian ambassador in Rome reported that 'the pope trembles with fear, saying that he and the Signory must come to terms with the emperor'.[56] Lope de Soria, a veteran diplomat based in Genoa, agreed:

> Let us give infinite praise and thanks to God, and to the glorious St Matthew, since on his day God blessed us with the birth of Your Imperial Majesty, and on that same day He granted us this wonderful victory, which has given Your Majesty more absolute power to settle the affairs of Christendom and lay down the law [*poner ley*] throughout the world.[57]

The balance of power in Europe had shifted decisively: Charles had replaced Francis as the most powerful prince in Christendom – and also as the most feared.

— SEVEN —

SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY, 1525–8

WOE TO THE CONQUERED

‘At about noon’ on 10 March 1525, ‘a courier from Italy who had travelled through France’ arrived breathless at the Madrid Alcázar where Charles, ‘sick and discontented, weighed down by his duties’, resided. The courier:

> Was taken to His Majesty, who was talking with two or three advisers about Italy, and said: ‘Sire, battle was joined before Pavia; the king of France is a prisoner in Your Majesty’s power, and his entire army is destroyed.’ Hearing just these words, [Charles] stood as if frozen, and repeated: ‘The king of France is a prisoner in my power, and we won the battle?’ Then, without saying any more, and without trying to ascertain anything else for the time being, he retired into another room alone and fell to his knees before an image of Our Lady that he kept at the head of his bed.

Charles ‘spent a good half-hour secluded, praising God’ before emerging to receive from the courier a letter sent by Charles de Lannoy, the victorious commander.[1] Lannoy took advantage of his long service with Maximilian as well as Charles to include in his letter a stern warning: ‘Sire, I’m sure you will remember what Monsieur de Beersel [Charles’s childhood chamberlain] used to say: that God gives each man one good harvest in their lifetime [*en leur vie ung bon aoust*], and that if they fail to bring it home there is a risk they will never see another one. I do not tell you this,’

Lannoy continued, ‘because I think Your Majesty will let this opportunity slip’, but ‘because whatever you decide to do should be done quickly’.[2]

As news of the victory spread, courtiers and ambassadors flocked to the Alcázar, where the emperor received them graciously, one after another, until nightfall (the exception was Ambassador Contarini of Venice, now France’s ally, whom Charles punished for the republic’s defection by refusing to let him kiss his hand). Those present noted with admiration that ‘one could not perceive in His Majesty any change in either expression or gesture beyond what is normal, even though this was such a notable occasion for rejoicing’. Charles also ‘forbade any public celebration, except for a procession to praise God and pray for the dead, since the victory had been won against other Christians’; and the following day, ‘having confessed and taken communion, he went to the church of Our Lady of Atocha where he proclaimed that the victory came from God, not him, so that everyone would be more inclined to give thanks for it’. The emperor told Richard Sampson, the English envoy, that:

> He considered the mercy that God had granted so much greater because it came from direct divine goodness, and not from any merit of his own. He therefore held it in high esteem for three reasons: first, because he thus knew that he enjoyed God’s grace; second because he now held in his hands the means to prove his constant desire to bring peace to Christendom; and, third, because he could now pardon his enemies, grant another chance to those who had injured him, and reward the friends and dependants who had served him well.

Sampson relayed this message of modesty and moderation in a long letter to Cardinal Wolsey (no doubt eager for reassurance given his master’s recent decision to abandon the emperor and ally with France), adding that Charles had shared his hope that:

> This victorie might be to the profette off his frends rather then his own . . . And with humble words thanking God, he seyd that his dayly preyre is to have grace gevyn hym well to governe and ordre such possessions as he hath. And as towchinge his enemies, they

> schall well perceyve that . . . his mynde is to use such moderation that in hym ther schalbe fownde no intent off crueltie or revengeance.[3]

His humility was a mask. Charles never forgot or forgave an injury, as Jean Glapion had perceived, and he had made detailed plans for 'revengeance'. After his initial military successes in 1521 he had instructed his diplomats 'to include in your opening communication' with their French counterparts 'details of the claims of all our ancient quarrels concerning the Empire, as well as concerning Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Sicily and Burgundy' – in other words, he sought to recover all the territories once ruled by his ancestors.[4] His goals remained unchanged. In February 1525, just after hearing that the pope and the Venetians had allied with France against him, he told his courtiers:

> I expect to receive bad news from both Milan and Naples, but I could not care less about it. I will go to Italy, and there I will have a better opportunity to get what is mine and to revenge myself on those who have opposed me – especially on that villain [*villaco*] the pope. Perhaps at some point it will turn out that Martin Luther is the one doing the right thing.

'These were remarkable words,' one ambassador noted, 'because they were spoken by the emperor, who is very reserved in his speech.'[5] Charles made a similarly intemperate statement to his ambassador in Rome, the duke of Sessa. He declared that despite the decision of Venice and the pope to ally with France:

> We are not neglecting, nor will we neglect, the support needed to maintain our army and, with God's help, to end this enterprise, dedicating to it the resources of all our kingdoms and states and even hazarding our own person, so that although the French may distract us with their accustomed wiles, our friends and allies will not find our strength abated. Instead, we will be a tough adversary, just as before.

He again asserted (no doubt to intimidate the pope) that ‘given the way His Holiness treats us, now is not the time to discuss the Luther question’.[6]

The news from Pavia greatly increased Charles’s self-confidence. His initial letters announcing the victory to his officials attributed everything to divine providence, but before long he also noted the coincidence that it had occurred on his birthday, as if that too was divine providence. An official account, composed by Gattinara’s secretary Alfonso de Valdés and published by order of Charles’s council, argued that the outcome of the battle – won at a time when ‘all the friends and allies on whom he usually relied did nothing, and some were opposed’ – showed that God ‘had given him this victory, as he did with Gideon against the Midianites’. Specifically, Valdés gushed, ‘God miraculously gave this victory to the emperor so that he could not only defend Christianity and resist the power of the Turk’ but also:

> . . . so that after the end of these civil wars (for that is what they should be called, since they are among Christians), he could seek out the Turks and Muslims in their own lands and, exalting our Holy Catholic faith as his ancestors had done, win the empire of Constantinople and the Holy City of Jerusalem, which are occupied because of our sins, so that (as many have prophesied) under this most Christian prince everyone may accept our Holy Catholic faith, and the words of our Redeemer may come true: let there be one flock and one shepherd.[7]

To end the ‘civil wars’, seen as the vital prelude to achieving these lofty goals, Charles’s ministers proposed two options: either the emperor could coordinate with Henry VIII the conquest and partition of France envisaged in the Great Enterprise, or he could force Francis to make substantial territorial concessions in return for his liberty. The duke of Bourbon favoured the first option, promising Henry that he could ‘sett the crowne of Fraunce on your hed, and that shortly; and that there may be more doon now with 100,000 crownes for th’optaining of that than before might have been doon with 500,000, by cause the king with the most part of all the nobles and captaynes of Fraunce be taken and slayne’.[8] Others favoured the second option. Upon hearing of the victory, Charles’s ambassador in Rome

admonished his master (much as Lannoy had done): ‘There is no time to waste: let the necessary efforts be made’ to extract major concessions from the French. Ferdinand agreed: his brother must ‘exploit your good fortune and ensure that neither the king of France nor his successors will ever have the power to threaten you or your successors’. In particular, Charles must ‘avoid the fate of Hannibal after he won the battle of Cannae against the Romans’, and the best way to do this (he continued) was ‘to pluck some feathers from the wings’ of the French king, ‘so that he cannot fly, even if he wants to, and thus the emperor and his successors will be sure to enjoy perpetual peace’.[9]

Gattinara agreed, even citing the same Classical precedent as Ferdinand: ‘they will say what they said of Hannibal: you know how to win battles but you don’t know how to exploit them.’[10] The chancellor then presented to Charles and his council twenty concrete proposals showing exactly how one could pluck feathers from the French rooster, and stressing the need to detain Francis ‘until we have a firm peace agreed and executed, with the advice and consent of all the Estates, law courts and other institutions of France’. Moreover, he continued, because ‘it is much better, more honourable, and also more secure to deal with persons who are free than with prisoners’, Charles should not negotiate with Francis but with his mother, the regent Louise of Savoy. She must immediately renounce, in her son’s name, all claims to Artois, Burgundy, Flanders, Milan and Naples, and surrender to Charles ‘everything that the late Duke Charles [the Bold] held by the treaties of Arras, Conflans and Péronne’ (signed in 1435, 1465 and 1468 respectively), later annexed by France. She must ‘abandon all efforts to protect’ the duke of Guelders, Robert de la Marck and the others who had attacked Charles; and she must ‘restore and pardon Monsieur de Bourbon, giving him Provence since it is an imperial fief’, as well as all the duke’s exiled followers. In addition, Gattinara suggested that the pope ‘must be induced to convene a general council’ to reform the Church, and that he and the others who had recently turned against Charles (notably Venice) must contribute to the upkeep of Charles’s army in Italy.[11]

The emperor endorsed these comprehensive demands and in late March his envoys left to present them to Louise. ‘You must inform us promptly of her response to all these points,’ he insisted, ‘so that we may know if there

will be peace, or whether we need to take another path to get what is justly ours.' He laid out that 'other path' in a letter to Lannoy, reassuring the viceroy that 'we do not intend to demobilize in any theatre of operations, so that if we cannot have peace through mildness [*doulceur*] we will be all the more ready to seek and obtain it by force'. If the French rejected his terms, 'or try to make us waste time by procrastinating and using fine words', he would himself lead an army into Languedoc while Lannoy and Bourbon invaded either Dauphiné or Provence. They would join forces in Avignon. Meanwhile, although Italian rulers who had 'shown their ill will towards us and our affairs' deserved punishment, Charles felt that 'now is not the time to proceed with rigour, to avoid alienating the pope and the Venetians, and in consequence most of the rest of Italy'. The viceroy must therefore 'act as seems best to you, either by acting graciously or by dissimulating until time reveals what will be for the best'.[12] Beyond this, the emperor could 'not see anything else to do except attack the infidels, something I have always wanted to do, and especially now', and he begged Lannoy to 'help me to arrange matters satisfactorily so that I can do something of service to God before I become much older'.[13]

LOSING THE INITIATIVE

Charles had made the first of a series of catastrophic miscalculations. The holograph letter that he sent to Louise of Savoy as a covering note for his peace terms was not only unreasonable but rude. Instead of addressing her as 'Madam, my good mother', as he had done in the past, his letter began 'Madam Regent' and ended coldly with the hope that 'you will not refuse such just and reasonable' demands. Louise replied in kind. She told the emperor's envoys that she found his demands 'excessive and exorbitant', and 'with highe words' declared that she was 'redy to defende the realm thow the king be prisonier'. Moreover, although she might discuss a ransom for her son, she refused to surrender even 'oon fote of lande in Fraunce'.[14] Charles also miscalculated when he decided, despite Gattinara's advice, to negotiate directly with Francis as well as with Louise, sending him a copy of his peace demands as well as ordering Lannoy to transport his prisoner from Lombardy to Naples. Francis seized his chance. After reading 'the demands that it pleased you to make', he articulated some counter-

proposals in ‘the hope of satisfying you’ (and also to avoid deportation to Naples). He declared himself ready to concede everything Charles claimed in Italy and the Netherlands, provided he could marry the emperor’s sister Eleanor (now betrothed to the duke of Bourbon), with both Burgundy and Milan as an appanage to be ruled by their son. In addition, Francis offered Bourbon not only full restitution but also marriage to his cousin Renée (once Charles’s betrothed). These proposals impressed Lannoy and he charged one of his lieutenants, Hugo de Moncada, to convey them orally to the emperor, urging his master ‘for the good of your affairs, conclude nothing that concerns Italy until you have heard Don Hugo’ – but Moncada did not arrive until 6 June.[15]

Some English diplomats rejoiced when they first heard about Francis’s proposals. ‘The Frenche king’s high herte begynnyth somwhat to com lower’, they chuckled, and ‘for a begynnyng he offerith to th’emperor right well’ – but they too miscalculated. The delay in waiting for Moncada meant that it was now too late (precisely as Francis intended) for Charles to coordinate the immediate invasion and partition of France. Meanwhile in Lombardy, trusting ‘muche in his owne eloquens and in his owne wyt, and think[ing] with his rethorik to convert the emperor’, Francis convinced Lannoy that if he could meet Charles in person they ‘could settle everything with two words’.[16] So although the viceroy and his august captive travelled to Genoa and boarded the fleet assembled there to take them to Naples, as the emperor had ordered, once at sea they abruptly changed course for Spain. Francis entered Madrid in August 1525.

News of this development had dramatic consequences. Antonio de Leyva, now the senior imperial commander in Lombardy, warned Charles that Lannoy’s ‘departure with the king has upset all Italy. Everyone thinks that Your Majesty will reach an agreement with the king, which would mean their ultimate destruction; and they are therefore undertaking all the negotiations and initiatives they can to ally with France and unify all Italy, in order to oppose the grandeur of Your Majesty.’ Ambassador Sessa reported much the same concerns in Rome: a ‘great fear’ concerning ‘what Your Majesty may agree with the king of France, because they think and have convinced themselves that such an agreement would be to gain control of the whole of Italy and take power away from those who now hold it,

leaving them so reduced that they will never be able to rise again'. According to Sessa, the republic of Venice had already begun to create a hostile alliance of Italian states, and he warned that without immediate reassurance Clement would join them and thus open a second front in the war.[17]

Charles now recognized his dilemma: the French would only surrender Burgundy 'if we apply more force', but 'we lack the money to achieve this'. Therefore, he declared, 'I do not plan to wage war this year, but instead I will concentrate on getting married and then sailing to Italy' both to restore order there and to be crowned emperor. Afterwards he would travel to Germany, 'where I will devote all my resources to exterminating the Lutheran sect', and then he would confront the Turks.[18] Since achieving these lofty goals required peace with France, Charles now belatedly followed the advice of his chancellor: he refused to deal with or even visit the French king, whom he kept confined in the Madrid Alcázar under humiliatingly close surveillance (guards checked throughout the night to make sure that Francis was in his bed). Meanwhile his councillors debated what concessions to demand. Lannoy, although steeped in the traditions of the Burgundian court, prioritized the strategic needs of the empire: Charles must secure Milan and Genoa because they would provide a vital link between his scattered dominions. By contrast Gattinara, although born and bred in Italy, saw Burgundy as the greatest prize, and he ransacked chronicles and archives for precedents and parallels to justify its restoration. The emperor eventually chose the past over the present because, as he explained to the English ambassadors at his court, in asking for Burgundy 'he askith nothing but his owne patrymonye, whereof his ancestors were possessyd to the dethe of duc Charles [the Bold in 1477], whiche is litle paste 40 yeres, and many of his subiectz be yet alyve'. The Englishmen remained unconvinced, reasoning that whereas Francis would find it relatively easy to renounce Italy because it was only a recent gain (and one already lost), he would not willingly 'delyvre oon fote of lande in Fraunce' to his arch-enemy.[19]

Initially, Francis tried to avoid making any concessions. First he attempted to seduce Eleanor. No doubt recalling Count Palatine Frederick's strategy eight years earlier, he wrote her a love letter; but Eleanor replied

politely that in matrimonial matters, as in everything else, she did whatever her brother told her. Francis also used bribery until ‘there are few men in the emperor’s household, great and small, down to the pages in his chamber, whom the French king has not suborned’. He also attempted to escape (once, improbably, using black-face to impersonate the African slave who lit the fires in his room).[20] When all these ploys failed, he summoned a notary and signed a secret protestation that if ‘by reason of his detention and prolonged imprisonment he was forced to cede and surrender to the emperor possession of the said duchy of Burgundy, or any other rights of the French Crown, it was and would remain of null effect, because made by force and constraint’.[21] And then the king fell dangerously ill.

The emperor was hunting near Segovia when he received an urgent letter from Francis’s doctors, warning that ‘if His Majesty wanted to see him alive, he must come at top speed’. He immediately rode to Madrid, covering 50 kilometres in two and a half hours (a remarkable equestrian feat), and strode into the bedchamber where Francis lay semi-conscious. The king ‘embraced him with open arms and they remained there for a long time without speaking’, after which Charles told Francis, ‘“Sir, what I most desire is your health, and we will attend to that; everything else must be taken care of just as you wish.” And the king replied “No: I am at your command.” And, he added, “Sir, what I ask and beg of you is that there be no third parties between us.”’ The two sovereigns spent an hour talking alone, holding each other by the hand, and afterwards ‘the king said, “Death to those who have caused these disagreements between us! Is this the deformed, ugly, untalented stutterer [I have been told about]?” And he praised the emperor’s prudence and his eloquence.’[22]

Francis expected these courtesies to lead to direct talks with Charles, but as soon as he recovered his health negotiations via ‘third parties’ resumed. The emperor demanded, as preconditions of Francis’s release, not only the ‘restitution’ of Burgundy and the foundation of four convents ‘to pray for the soul of Duke John of Burgundy, murdered by the French while under safe-conduct’, but also a promise that Francis:

> . . . would abandon all his friends and allies, and would only make alliances with those approved by the emperor. Apart from these terms, many say that the king must pay 4 million in gold and

> accompany the emperor to his coronation in person; must grant the State of Milan to the duke of Bourbon, who would no longer owe allegiance to the crown of France, but only to the emperor; and must surrender the Dauphin into the emperor's hands as a hostage until he has performed all that he has promised.[23]

Charles's panicked reaction to news of his rival's illness nevertheless revealed an important weakness, which the French king proceeded to exploit in order to reduce these demands. In November 1525 the doctors attending Francis sent one of their colleagues post-haste to tell Charles 'that they did not believe he could live long' – but the wily Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, who reported this news, suspected (correctly) that this time 'the king had persuaded the doctors to exaggerate his illness to persuade the emperor to reach an agreement sooner, stressing that if the king should die he would lose everything'.[24] Eventually, Francis agreed to the harsh terms asked of him, including the surrender of Burgundy, but on two conditions: first, he must be allowed to return to France at once because (he claimed) only his personal intervention could persuade his subjects to approve the alienation of French territory; second, he insisted on marrying Eleanor.

Initially, the emperor rejected both conditions, declaring that his agents must take possession of Burgundy before he released Francis, and that he had already promised Eleanor's hand to the duke of Bourbon. In a barrage of holograph letters to the emperor, Francis restated his objections, sometimes with sarcasm ('some of the terms are the sort of things clerks and bankers handle, not gentlemen'), and sometimes with reproaches ('the kind things that it pleased you to say during my illness have led nowhere'), but he also presented Charles with an ultimatum. 'If you wish to keep me a prisoner for ever, demanding impossible things,' he warned, 'I will take prison in my stride in the certainty that God (who knows I have not deserved this because I was captured fairly in war) will give me the strength to endure it patiently.' He therefore signed letters patent authorizing the proclamation of his eldest son as king, and he submitted to Charles the names of sixty servants whom he wished to constitute his permanent entourage in prison.[25] Such determination convinced the emperor that he must release Francis, provided he surrendered his two older sons as

hostages until Burgundy was in Habsburg hands. He also ascertained that (despite the fact that ‘everyone knows that the king of France has contracted venereal disease’) his sister preferred to be queen of France than duchess of Bourbon and then, in the course of an awkward personal meeting, he persuaded the duke to relinquish his claim to Eleanor’s hand.[26]

Gattinara vehemently opposed these concessions, reminding his master that in the past ‘the kings of France have never kept the promises they made to the House of Burgundy’ and predicting that Francis, too, ‘would keep none of his promises, claiming that he had been forced as a prisoner to do what he had done’. The chancellor also pointed out that since neither Charles nor Ferdinand had legitimate children, Eleanor was their heiress, so that ‘by reason of such a wife’ Francis could acquire the entire Habsburg Empire (much as Charles’s father Philip had become king of Castile by right of his wife Joanna). He failed to convince Charles, who instead authorized Lannoy to receive the French king’s solemn oath that he would honour the concessions demanded by the emperor as soon as he returned to France. The chancellor, for his part, refused his master’s demand that he prepare, execute and seal the necessary papers on the grounds that the proposed agreement ‘would be the emperor’s ruin’.[27]

Gattinara defied his master without knowing that on 13 January 1526 Francis had summoned a notary to record a new secret Protestation that he would not honour any concessions made under duress compromising the integrity of France.[28] A few hours after doing so he affixed his signature to the treaty of Madrid, which conceded everything that Charles demanded: the king would surrender all claims in Italy and all disputed territories in the Netherlands; pardon the duke of Bourbon and his followers and restore all their possessions (or provide compensation); evacuate Burgundy within six weeks of his return to France; conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with Charles; and then join him in fighting both the Turks and the Lutherans. After signing the treaty ‘as a prince and as Most Christian King’, Francis ‘promised and gave his royal word and undertaking that if he should fail to comply with the treaty he would return to Spain within six weeks and make himself a prisoner again’. He also made a personal pledge to Lannoy, ‘on his honour as a knight’, that he ‘would rather die’ than default on any of the promises he had just made. A few days later, Lannoy

entered the king's bedroom as proxy for Eleanor, and declared that she and Francis were man and wife.[29]

Charles now visited his new brother-in-law again and introduced him to Eleanor. He also sent officials to take possession of Burgundy, and charged Lannoy with ensuring that Francis left Spain at the exact time his two sons entered it as hostages, and not before. Until then, the king must remain under constant guard and surveillance. Gattinara scored only one victory: Charles decided that Eleanor would not join Francis until after the king had publicly 'ratified and sworn to uphold the treaties and other matters agreed between him and me'.[30] Convinced that he had achieved all his goals, on 21 February 1526 the emperor headed south to conclude and consummate his own marriage.

MARRIAGE

Charles had been betrothed many times before – most recently to his cousin Mary Tudor, whom he had promised to marry when she turned twelve. The English diplomats sent to Spain to congratulate Charles on the victory of Pavia took with them an emerald ring from the princess as a 'token for a better knowlaidge to be had, whan God shal sende theym grace to be togedre, whither his Majesty do kepe himself as contynent and chast as with Godd's grace she woll' (perhaps an unsubtle reference to the illegitimate progeny already sired by the emperor). Charles accepted the ring 'verey thankfully, putting it on his litle fyngre, and saing he wolde were it for hir sake'; but he now demanded that Mary, although only nine years old, come to Spain at once. His subjects, he explained, did not want him 'to departe his realm until he had his spouse, my lady Princes, here in Spayn to the intente that a counsail aboute her mought stay the affaires of this realm from suche revolucion as was in his laste absence' (namely the Comuneros). The ambassadors replied that Mary was 'soe tender of age' that 'transporting by see were like to bee to her greate damage, besides the bringing of her into this hote countrie' – something 'we thought th'emperor shulde regard if he intended to have frute of her body'. Charles's brother Ferdinand agreed with this analysis, but drew a different conclusion. 'Considering Your Majesty's age and all your responsibilities, the age of the English princess, and the fact that there are only the two of us,' he wrote,

the emperor must marry their cousin Infanta Isabella of Portugal ‘so that, with God’s grace, you can produce offspring that are the fruit of your marriage’ (another unsubtle reference to Charles’s illegitimate progeny). Charles agreed. ‘Were this marriage to take place,’ he mused, ‘I could leave the government here in the person of the said Infanta’, pocketing not only her magnificent dowry but also the additional taxes promised by the Cortes of Castile in return for a Portuguese match. He therefore issued an ultimatum: unless Mary Tudor came to Spain at once, accompanied by at least the first instalment of the agreed English dowry, he would cancel his engagement.[31]

Charles did not even wait for Henry’s response: instead, in October 1525, his agents finalized the terms for the Portuguese marriage – but the pope delayed granting a dispensation to marry his cousin, for fear of offending Henry. As the emperor complained to his ambassador in Rome: ‘Although we hold a general dispensation from the pope to marry any woman of any degree of consanguinity or relationship (except first-degree), which we obtained both with regard to the English marriage and this one, they claim that the general dispensation is not sufficient given the multiple degrees of consanguinity we share with the Illustrious Infanta.’ The necessary documents did not arrive in Spain until February 1526, forcing Charles to use unseemly ruses in order to delay the wedding.[32] First he postponed choosing the courtiers who would receive his bride-to-be at the Portuguese frontier; then he ordered them to take her to Seville, far from Madrid, and to do so as slowly as possible. Isabella, who had taken to wearing a medallion inscribed *Aut Caesar aut nulla* (‘The emperor or no one’), did not enter Seville until 3 March 1526, and even then she had to wait a week for her future husband to arrive.[33]

The emperor eventually rode into the bustling southern metropolis for the first time, watched ‘by an infinite number of people who had come from all the surrounding communities to see His Majesty: some said more than 100,000 people lined his route that day.’ Still in his travelling clothes and covered in dust, he dismounted in the courtyard of the Seville Alcázar and strode into the room where Isabella awaited him. After fifteen minutes of polite conversation with his fiancée, Charles changed into his finery,

attended a nuptial mass and danced. Finally, as an Italian observer put it bluntly, ‘the spouses went off to sleep together’.[34]

Two shadows tempered their nuptial bliss. News that the Comunero bishop of Zamora had been tortured and garrotted reached the emperor on the day after his wedding, and he immediately cancelled his plan to spend Holy Week in a local convent. He also petitioned the pope for absolution, citing the outrages that the bishop had ‘committed and caused to be committed by others during the recent revolution and sedition in this kingdom’, and until absolution arrived ‘he did not attend any church services because he considered himself excommunicated’.[35] Charles nevertheless had no regrets. Francisco de Los Cobos, who had drawn up the warrant ordering torture and execution, reassured Alcalde Ronquillo (who had carried out the deeds) that ‘His Majesty is very happy with what you did, as you will see from his letter’, adding ‘we are doing fine this Holy Week’, even though ‘His Majesty and I do not attend Mass or any service’.[36] The second shadow was the death of Charles’s sister Isabeau, queen of Denmark. He had not seen her since dancing immoderately at her wedding a decade before, but according to Baldassare Castiglione, the nuncio (in whom Charles seems to have confided), ‘the emperor grieved deeply for the death of his sister’ and after ‘the celebrations and jousts already planned for his wedding’, the whole court went into mourning.[37]

The imperial couple nevertheless still had fun. A week after the marriage, the Portuguese diplomats who had accompanied the empress noted with satisfaction that she ‘sleeps every night in her husband’s arms, and they are much in love and very happy’, and that ‘they stay in bed until 10 or 11 o’clock’. When they emerged ‘even though everyone is watching, they are always talking and laughing together’. Charles coarsely confided to a courtier that ‘I cannot write with my own hand’ because ‘I am still a new bridegroom’. A month later, the Florentine ambassador complained that ‘ever since His Majesty met his lady, he does not attend to business as promptly as he used to do; indeed nothing gets done in the morning.’ In September, when Charles suffered some health problems even the refined Castiglione imputed them ‘to trying too hard to be a good husband’.[38] When the temperature in Seville became oppressive, the newlyweds made a slow journey through Carmona and Córdoba to Granada to pay their

respects to their common grandparents, the Catholic Monarchs, buried in the newly completed royal chapel of the cathedral, and then took up residence in the palace of the Muslim kings in the Alhambra. Charles did not intend to stay there for long – he promised his brother that he would sail from Barcelona to Italy at the end of June and suggested that they should meet in Milan – but irrefutable proof that Francis had reneged on his promises thwarted his plans.

The release of the king in return for the surrender of his two older sons took place under elaborate safeguards on the Franco-Spanish border on 17 March 1526. Just before he departed Francis repeated his promise to Lannoy that he would keep his word and ratify the treaty in the first French town that he reached; but at Bayonne later that same day, when the emperor's ambassador requested ratification, the chancellor of France replied that 'the king will perform whatever reason and honesty requires him to do' – a very different promise. When the ambassador tried again three days later, he was told that transferring Burgundy to Habsburg hands would take more time. Charles found this response 'very strange, making me suspicious about other things'. Worse, it 'leaves us and our affairs in suspense'.[39]

While in suspense, the emperor kept himself busy in Granada. When not in bed with his bride, he attended diligently to the avalanche of correspondence generated by his growing empire (for example, promising to defend Erasmus against his critics: 'the emperor stands by you, as a man strong in every branch of learning and in true piety, and he will defend your honour and reputation as he does his own').[40] He also took several steps to accelerate the Christianization of Granada, begun by the Catholic Monarchs: he founded one college to train priests for the royal chapel and another (offering instruction in logic, philosophy, theology and law) to train preachers – an institution that would become the university of Granada. Charles also presided over a commission convened to formulate orders (*Mandatos*) aimed at Christianizing the Moriscos (the subjects of the Muslim kings, and their descendants). Some orders prohibited Islamic practices, such as the circumcision of boys and the ritual slaughter of animals, while others forbade the use of spoken or written Arabic and the wearing of traditional Muslim dress – although none of these measures

came into effect, because almost immediately the emperor agreed to suspend the *Mandatos* for forty years in return for a substantial payment from the Morisco community to help fund his wars.

While living in the Alhambra, the empress conceived the future Philip II. The English ambassador was the first to report the news, in September 1526: ‘We can nowe speake openlie and assuredlie that the emperatris is with childe, whereof all this corte and this people takethe no litle ioye.’ His Polish colleague confirmed the news two weeks later. ‘They say it is now almost a month since the empress conceived and became pregnant (happy and fortunate event!). For that reason she spends most of her time in bed.’[41] He also predicted that the emperor would abandon his plan to go to Italy, leaving his pregnant wife to govern Spain in his absence, because renewed French hostilities made the journey too hazardous.

‘FULL OF DUMPS AND SOLITARY MUSING’

Before leaving Seville, the English ambassador reported that ‘Th’emperor is marvellously altered sithens his marriage. He is full of dompes and solitarye musing, sometimes alone 3 or 4 hours togider. There is no myrthe ne comfort with hym.’ The trigger for his deep depression was confirmation that Francis had reneged not only on the treaty of Madrid, but also on his promise to return to captivity. When Charles’s ambassador at the French court repeated his demand that the king ratify the concessions ‘you have promysed to performe . . . as soon as yow cam into your r[ealm]’, Francis answered with a mordant jest: he would follow the procedure that ‘he hadd lerned in S[pain] of th’emperor’:

> For ther was never an article in the treatye of p[eace but the emperor] hadd with his counsel wel examened, discussyd and determened to his most profete, where he [Francis] hadd [neither] counsel, nor was in liberty to dispute hyt; wherefore now he wold as well use hys [own] cou[nsel] in the confyrmacion of the same as th’emperor dydd in the makyng.[42]

Meanwhile Francis refused to surrender anything.

Why had Charles missed his chance to bring home the ‘good harvest’ that usually comes only once in a lifetime? Francesco Guicciardini, a protagonist in the struggle between pope and emperor, began the relevant chapter of his *History of Italy* by asking that very question. ‘Perhaps the desire of the Netherlanders to recover Burgundy, their ancient patrimony and the title of their rulers, was so strong that it did not allow them to see the truth’, Guicciardini speculated, adding that ‘it was said that some were influenced by the gifts and promises to them by the French’. In the end, however, Charles himself made the fateful decision. Although ‘the great influence exercised’ by Lannoy and the other Netherlanders with whom he had grown up had no doubt swayed the emperor, Guicciardini thought that Burgundy ‘was what he really wanted’. The Venetian ambassador agreed: ‘The emperor believed himself more than he believed anyone else.’[43] On the surface, self-deception seems the most plausible explanation – after all, Charles hoped to be buried in Dijon, beside his Burgundian ancestors, and he dreamed of recovering the lands lost to France after the death of Duke Charles the Bold – but this ignores the numerous explicit promises of compliance made by both Francis and his mother. As soon as Louise of Savoy heard about the treaty of Madrid, she informed Charles that ‘I shall set out for Bayonne tomorrow, determined to execute everything that you have been promised’; while from San Sebastián, Francis assured ‘my good brother’ of his eagerness to return to France ‘so that I can put into effect what we resolved as soon as possible’.[44] We now know that these and several other similar letters, all holographs, were lies from beginning to end; but Charles could be forgiven for assuming at the time that his fellow monarchs, now united to him by marriage, would never engage in such shameless, sustained and blatant deception.

Nevertheless, few other contemporaries were deceived. ‘All Christendom marvelled greatly at the treaty’ of Madrid, wrote Guicciardini, ‘because the liberation of the French king must precede the execution of its terms, and it was the opinion of everyone that once liberated he would refuse to surrender Burgundy.’ More than a month before Francis signed the treaty, Nuncio Castiglione reported from Charles’s court that ‘Many people who are reputed wise say that before he has been out of prison for six months, the French king will wage war on the emperor more savagely than

ever’; while in April 1526 he noted that ‘almost everyone thinks that the French king will claim *Non stant foedera facta metu* [Treaties made through fear have no force]’.[45] In Rome the pope likewise assumed that:

> Of all the matters King Francis has agreed with the emperor, he will only execute those that must take effect before his release, such as the surrender of his sons, and postpone all the other things he has been asked to do, such as his marriage with Queen Eleanor and the transfer of certain parts of Burgundy, until after his liberation – and then he will not do them. So the only effects of this treaty will be that the emperor will have custody of the sons instead of their father.

In London, Cardinal Wolsey came to an identical conclusion. Some of the articles of the treaty of Madrid, he noted:

> Concernyng alienacion of the rightes of his crown, be not in [Francis’s] power to performe, and the others whiche be in his power, be swo grete, that, being ons at liberte, it is not like that he intendeth to performe them; and specially in actual delyvere of the duchie of Burgoyne . . . [Therefore] I cannot persuade to myself that the Frenche king is determyned, after his restitucion unto libertie, to performe the same.[46]

Wolsey welcomed this outcome because he worried that if Francis surrendered to Charles all he wanted, England would no longer hold the balance of power in western Europe. He therefore wrote to Louise of Savoy rejoicing at ‘the deliverance of the king your son from the dangers and the cruel treatment he has suffered in Spain’ and expressing the hope that ‘no part of the dishonourable and unreasonable treaty violently extorted from your son will be observed’. He also pointed out that since Charles already ruled ‘Germany, being the grettest part of Cristendome’, as well as the Netherlands, southern Italy and Spain, ‘the realme of Fraunce shal be envyronned on 3 parts, and scituated, as it wer, in the mydde of th’emperors countryes’; so whenever Charles or his successors decided to attack, the French would ‘be inforced to stond at their defence on the said 3 parts’.

Fear of Habsburg encirclement would dominate French foreign policy for over a century. To avoid this fate, Wolsey suggested that Francis should refuse to cede any of his territories and instead offer to ransom his sons 'for conuenient sommes of money', and he promised that in this England would act as 'a loving mediator'.[47]

For some time Francis maintained his deception. He continued to shower Charles with personal messages that reiterated his intention to honour all his promises in due course, but he also sought foreign support – moral as well as material. Pope Clement was one of the first to oblige, declaring that the king was 'not only free from his obligation to comply in his conscience, because he had acted under duress', and 'it is well known to all that obligations incurred through force are not valid'.[48] When Lannoy and Moncada, two men to whom Francis was personally indebted, arrived to urge the king to keep his promises, he received them graciously but insisted that 'he was not obliged to keep any promises that he was alleged to have made, because they were extorted from him through fear of permanent imprisonment'. Even Lannoy now realized that he had been deceived, and lamented to Charles that 'I wish to God that I had never become involved in this business', adding that he suspected that Francis 'wants to proceed by dissimulation and gain an advantage elsewhere as best he can'. This time, Lannoy was right: even as Francis feted his former captors at his court, he finalized an alliance with Venice, the pope, Florence and Francesco Sforza, whom Charles had recently deposed as duke of Milan. Henry VIII agreed to act as 'protector'.[49]

The Holy League of Cognac (as its signatories termed their agreement) called upon Charles to release the French princes for a reasonable ransom; to allow all Italian states to return to their pre-war boundaries; to reinstate Sforza as duke of Milan; to travel to his imperial coronation with a modest escort (the size to be determined by Venice and the pope); and to repay all his debts to England (which now totalled 800,000 ducats). Should the emperor fail to comply, the allies agreed to share the cost of mobilizing troops and galleys to seize Milan, Genoa and Naples.[50] On 23 June 1526, Clement sent an acerbic Brief to Charles that deplored his recent conduct towards the various members of the League: invading France unjustly; humiliating its king while in captivity; deposing Sforza; seizing goods and

destroying property in the Papal States. Taken together, he stated, they ‘have led me to form an alliance with those who care for the peace of Italy and Christendom’, and he ended with a bold threat: ‘Now if you wish to live in peace, it is good; but if not, be aware that I have both soldiers and weapons, and I shall use them to defend Italy and Rome.’ As ambassador Navagero mused, all this marked ‘a stunning reversal of fortunes. After being taken prisoner, losing so many men and suffering so much damage, the king of France is free and can now do more than ever before. It is in his power to make himself great and the emperor small.’[51]

FIGHTING ON TWO FRONTS

Hugo de Moncada, who travelled from the court of France to Rome once it became clear that his mission to Francis had failed, noted with alarm widespread anti-imperial sentiment throughout northern Italy. ‘I have had to pass between pikes and guns, with cries of “Death to the Spaniards”’, he told Charles, and on reaching Rome he found ambassador Sessa ‘and his household standing to arms because the pope has declared Your Majesty to be his enemy, and begins to mobilize his troops’. Together, Sessa and Moncada sought to convince Clement that since neither Francis nor Henry could send the promised assistance in time, the Italian signatories of the League would have to face the emperor’s wrath alone. This, they warned him, risked the ‘destruction of the Apostolic See and confusion of Christendom’, because the imperialists ‘would declare war on His Holiness not only with weapons but also by using all other means that could produce a reformation in the Church’. They also played shamelessly upon Clement’s greatest fear: ‘We reminded him of the Lutheran heresy and the demands from Germany for a council.’ As for the idea that threats might force Charles to reduce his demands, the envoys asserted that the emperor would rather ‘lose all his states and kingdoms, one by one, spilling the blood of all his subjects and allies, than give in’. In their last stormy audience, the two Spanish envoys ‘bade farewell to His Holiness, begging his forgiveness if we waged war on him in defence of Your Majesty’s estates, because we are forced and compelled to do so’. They also advised Charles that ‘after all these conversations, it appears to us that Your Majesty must consider the pope as your enemy, along with the kings of England and France, and the

Venetians, who together are committed to ruining and undermining Your Majesty's glory'.[52]

Several of Charles's ministers elsewhere felt similarly belligerent. In June 1526 his ambassador in Savoy advised that 'Since the pope wants to set Christendom in flames, Your Majesty should set fires everywhere, punishing those who have taken up arms against your army'; and according to ambassador Lope de Soria in Genoa, 'All the damage Your Majesty might commit against His Holiness would appear legitimate, considering his ingratitude and the scarce interest he displays to serve God and good Christians. Moreover, only Your Majesty can punish the pontiff for not doing what he should.'[53]

Charles took these calls to 'punish the pontiff' very seriously. He asked his confessor, García de Loaysa, 'if with a just cause he could cease to obey the pope', and he also resorted (perhaps for the first time) to a technique that would become standard whenever the Habsburg rulers of Spain faced a moral dilemma: he 'summoned some theologians to his council' to determine whether 'in order to preserve and protect our lands', he could and should 'raise an army to fight everyone in the world, even the pope'.[54] Apparently the theologians approved, because in June 1526 the emperor instructed Moncada that if the pope 'should ask you impossible things, or string you along with dissimulation and delays in order to gain time and make alliances with others, not with us, you should remember that it is better to prevent than to be prevented'. He also revealed that Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a long-time supporter of Spain who had led the opposition to the election of Clement, had recently indicated 'that he was in a good position to expel the pope from Rome'. The emperor therefore ordered Moncada 'to negotiate with the said Cardinal Colonna so that he puts his plans into action *as if he were acting alone*, and *in secret* provide him with all the assistance you can'.[55] He also sent a small fleet to Lombardy carrying the duke of Bourbon and a few hundred soldiers.

These modest moves were a far cry from the emperor's proud boast earlier in the year that he would sail to Italy at the head of a large army, and Clement openly belittled his efforts. According to Charles's ambassador in Rome, 'They think little of M. de Bourbon's arrival, because he came without troops. I have heard it said that the pope laughed about it, saying

that Your Majesty sent him here simply to get rid of him.' Clement would not laugh for long.[56]

Charles now made an important change in his plans. 'There is nothing in this world that I would rather do than go to Italy,' he explained to his brother in a long letter, 'not through any desire to make myself great, but solely to discharge the responsibilities God has given me and to secure the fruit that my journey might achieve for the benefit of Christendom, bringing it universal peace so that you and I can direct our united forces against the Infidel and extirpate the errors and heresies of Luther', perhaps by 'arranging a general council for the reformation of the church'. He also wanted to go in order to reorganize his troops in Lombardy, 'because if my army is lost, or forced to demobilize, I will soon lose Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards be hard to recover'. Conversely, 'if I can gain the upper hand in Italy, and be crowned emperor, I would be able to lay down the law to everyone and be the sovereign of everyone without resistance' (so much for lacking 'any desire to make myself great'!). But 'that is what the pope and other rulers fear most,' he continued, and 'I believe this is the cause of their present alliances against me.' The emperor again regretted that he would lack the troops, ships and money 'sufficient for my safety, honour and profit' if he sailed to Italy at once, let alone 'to support and assist as I desire' the king of Hungary. 'If we could have peace, you can be sure that I would deploy everything I have to Hungary; but if the wars concerning my own possessions are going to continue – and I see for sure that they will – I leave you to judge whether I should not look to my own defence and deploy all my resources for that.' The emperor therefore suggested a radically different strategy for Germany: he sent Ferdinand the draft of an edict that suspended the legal penalties he had imposed on Lutherans at the Diet of Worms, because 'some of my advisers think that through this suspension we could raise a substantial body of infantry and cavalry that could join with you wherever you wish to use them, for example to assist in Hungary'. In addition, as Gattinara shrewdly pointed out, the offer to tolerate Lutheranism, even for a short time, 'could serve as a vice to reduce the pope to reason'.[57]

The previously unthinkable idea of selling toleration to the Lutherans in return for funding troops to defend Hungary reflected the arrival at court of

some alarming news. In April 1526, Sultan Suleiman had left Istanbul at the head of a huge army and siege train, and in July he entered Hungary for the first time. Ferdinand begged for urgent assistance, but Charles replied that 'I already have a tiresome Turk to deal with: the king of France.'[58] Then in August the sultan won a stunning victory at Mohács that left most Hungarian nobles and also King Louis dead on the battlefield. According to Ottoman tradition, the victory made Suleiman lord of Hungary: two weeks later he entered Buda and conferred the kingdom upon one of his vassals.

Thanks to his marriage to Louis's sister, Ferdinand almost immediately secured his own election as king of Bohemia (which Louis had also ruled) and then, ably backed by his sister Marie, Louis's widow, he defied Suleiman and claimed the crown of Hungary for himself. But his appeals for other Western rulers to fight the 'common enemy of Christendom' largely failed: despite copious information on the scale and immediacy of the Turkish threat, the struggle for northern Italy continued to absorb most of their attention and resources. Even Pope Clement, who paid the wages of 5,000 soldiers in Hungary, spent far more on the war in Lombardy. He was taken at a disadvantage when the combined forces of Moncada and the Colonna family entered Rome and took him hostage in September 1526. Charles later protested that 'We were greatly displeased by what the troops of Don Hugo tried to do', but he lied: by joining forces with the Colonna and invading Rome, Moncada had executed the emperor's express orders.[59]

Shortly before the news from Rome arrived at Charles's court, the ambassadors of the four major parties to the League of Cognac – England, France, the papacy and Venice – requested an opportunity to provide the emperor with formal notification of its demands. The audience went reasonably well until the French envoy '*summoned*' Charles to release the French princes – now aged seven and eight – in return for a ransom. At this, Nuncio Castiglione reported, 'everyone could see that His Majesty was very angry' and 'the reason for his anger, as His Majesty himself explained to me, was that word "summon"', which is 'normally used when addressing those under siege and ordering them to surrender, with overtones of menace and destruction'. The English envoy reported that Charles angrily:

> . . . turned to the ambassador of France, saying, 'I will not delyver them [the French princes] for monaye. I refused monaye for the

> father: I will muche lesse take monaye for his sons. I am content to render them upon raysonable treatie, but not for monaye. [Neither will I] trust any more the French king's promisses, for he hathe deceived me, and that like no noble prince. And where he excuseth that he cannot fulfil some things without grutche of his subgettz, lett him fulfil that wiche is in his power, wiche he promised by the honor of a prince to fulfil; that is to say, that if he coulde not bringe all his promisses to passe he wold return againe hider into prison.

The emperor concluded the audience by charging the French ambassador to relay a chivalric challenge to his master: if Francis refused to return to prison, 'may it please God that we can settle our differences in a duel, man to man, to avoid causing the death of so many Christians'.[60]

A few days later Charles sent Clement a bitter letter of reproach that did not even use the customary subservient conventions. He addressed the pontiff as 'tu', and commenced: 'You cannot be unaware that you became pope through my intercession and with my help' and yet 'you began hostilities against me before I could receive the Brief containing your declaration of war, and you intend not only to expel me from Italy but also to deprive me of the imperial title'. He expressed regret that he had not previously taken up the complaints about the papacy voiced by his German subjects, and threatened that unless Clement ceased to attack him he would convene a council himself to end the corruption and reform the abuses of the papal court. Castiglione considered the emperor's reply 'more acerbic than the Brief'.[61] Gattinara ordered the emperor's Latin Secretary Alfonso de Valdés to publish the texts of this exchange, together with a pointed commentary: immodestly entitled *A defence of Charles the Divine*, the volume soon appeared in Spain, Germany and the Netherlands.[62] In addition, Lannoy received funds to raise 9,000 troops in Spain to reinforce the duke of Bourbon. Although the galleys of the League of Cognac, commanded by the Genoese patrician Andrea Doria, intercepted Lannoy and forced him to sail to Naples instead of Lombardy, Ferdinand sent another German contingent across the Alps to assist Bourbon, so that imperial forces now threatened Rome from both north and south.

It was at this point, 'when I had already raised and sent to Italy the last ducat in cash that I could find', that news of the loss of Hungary and the

death of its king arrived in Spain, together with an urgent appeal from Ferdinand that his brother must ‘make terms with the king of France and gain as many allies as [you] can’, so that all Christian princes could unite and deploy their combined forces to halt the Turkish advance. Charles, still in Granada, immediately asked his council for advice and his ministers, like Ferdinand, ‘begged Your Majesty to reach an agreement with the king of France, and if you cannot get the terms you deserve then you should accept whatever the current situation permits’. In addition, ‘Your Majesty, God willing, should leave here as early as possible’ and summon the Cortes of Castile to meet in Valladolid early in 1527. In light of the ‘sad news’ from Hungary, the council also recommended that all ‘prelates, regular clergy and town councils should be admonished and instructed to arrange prayers and other devout interventions’ and that ‘all preachers should deliver sermons stressing the danger that faces Christendom in order to fire them up’. Charles himself must send as much money and as many troops as possible to his brother; he must moderate ‘the expenses of his household and court, especially spending on food and dress, because we will order the whole kingdom to follow their example’; and he must make sure to pay and arm the kingdom’s defenders.[63]

Charles needed no persuasion: the ‘destruction of Hungary’ shook him to the core. He told the nuncio in November 1526 that he was now willing to submit his dispute with Francis to the mediation of either Henry or Clement, and that to obtain ‘a general peace he would consent to release the king’s sons without payment, provided the king gave security for remaining at peace’, so that he could travel to Austria and lead the defence of Christendom against the Turks in person. In a rare moment of self-analysis, Charles admitted to Castiglione that:

> He was a mortal man and had defects, and amongst the rest he was tardy in making decisions, and had allowed many things to be delayed through neglect; but now he meant to conquer his nature and be very diligent, and would lose no opportunity whatsoever for arriving at this end. The whole world might wage war on him as much as they pleased, and the king of France could take Spain if he should think fit, but in order to defeat the Turks he would abandon everything.[64]

The loss of Hungary also affected Clement, freed from prison but acutely conscious of his inability to defend Rome alone against either Bourbon or Lannoy. He abandoned the League of Cognac, concluded an eight-month truce with Lannoy (apparently without realizing that it did not apply to Bourbon), and began to demobilize his forces.

TO ROME!

Francis's decision to renege on the treaty of Madrid seriously weakened the duke of Bourbon. His former master had confiscated his properties and revenues and transferred them to loyal ministers and nobles, leaving the duke not only penniless but also without hope of restitution. Admittedly, Charles had named him duke of Milan but the imperial army had exhausted all the resources available there, forcing Bourbon to lead his semi-mutinous army south in search of new areas to plunder. At first they threatened Florence, but finding it well defended they marched towards Rome and declared that they would only stop when Clement paid their arrears. The pope rashly rejoined the League of Cognac and declared Charles deposed as king of Naples. The imperial ambassador in Rome reported despondently that 'some are betting 5 to 1 that the pope will be master of Naples within 4 months'.[65]

The gamblers lost their bets: Clement's position was untenable. He had disbanded most of his own forces, and those of his principal allies – France, England and Venice – lay far away, whereas Bourbon now abandoned his siege artillery and used Roman roads to lead his army southwards at the astonishing speed of 30 kilometres a day.[66] At dawn on 6 May, boosted by volunteers who sensed the chance of plunder, the imperialists launched a surprise attack on Rome. Unfortunately for the city's defenders, Bourbon died in the first assault and no one else possessed sufficient authority to restrain his victorious troops. The sack of the city therefore lasted ten days, during which perhaps 8,000 Romans perished and the atrocities carried out by Charles's troops (an eyewitness reported) 'were so numerous that there would not be enough paper and ink – or memory – to record them all'. Indeed 'the extent of the destruction means that Rome will not be Rome again in our lifetimes, or in 200 years'.[67] Clement and a few cardinals found refuge in the Castel Sant'Angelo but, with no hope of relief, after a

month they surrendered to the imperialists. Meanwhile the pope's Medici relatives fled Florence and their enemies proclaimed the city-state to be a republic once more.

For the second time Bourbon and his troops had 'made the emperor the absolute master of Italy', and Lope de Soria rejoiced that 'God clearly holds Your Majesty's affairs in his hands, because He guides and furthers them in such a miraculous way', so that all 'Christian princes may know that He desires their punishment by means of Your Majesty'. Ferdinand also offered his congratulations on the 'good news of the capture of Rome', and expressed the hope that since 'the pope is currently in your hands, or at least in a condition where you can do what you like with him', Charles would not release him 'until the general affairs of Christendom have been put in order'.[68]

The emperor had to decide what to do next without the assistance of Gattinara. Alienated by the rejection of his advice on how to negotiate with the French, the chancellor had abandoned the court and sailed to Italy to attend to his own affairs and so, in his absence, Charles convened all foreign ambassadors to explain in person what had happened in Rome. In the sarcastic words of an English diplomat, he made 'his excuse, avowing with his hands often layed opon his brest that these things were doone not oonlie without anye commission geven by hym but also against his will, and that to his utter displeasure and sorrow'.[69] The ambassadors did not believe him – and they were right. On 31 May 1527, when the first rumours of the sack of the city and the flight of the pope arrived at the imperial court, the Florentine ambassador reported that 'instead of inducing piety and sympathy in the emperor, they excited an excess of joy and such immoderate happiness here that, departing from his normal habit, he laughed and joked so much while talking to his entourage that he scarcely found time to eat'. The ambassador suspected that 'His Imperial Majesty has already begun to imagine himself as an absolute monarch, with everyone forced to accept his decisions.'[70] Charles himself confirmed these fears one week later, on 7 June. Not yet aware that Bourbon was dead, he sent him a letter that revealed that the capture of Rome and of the pope formed part of a broader strategy already communicated to the duke. Since 'a good peace is the thing I want most', the emperor claimed:

> I hope you will take care not to be deceived, and will secure firm guarantees that the said peace will be observed; and that you will also see to it that, if it can be done safely, *the pope comes here* to make the arrangements for a universal peace . . . [because] as you well know, this could have many favourable consequences for God's service, the good of all Christendom, and the advancement of my interests – and also your own.

In other words, Charles had already instructed his lieutenant not only to capture the pope, but to send him to Spain as a prisoner where he would be made to sign favourable terms under duress, just as he had made Francis do two years earlier. Charles continued, 'I do not know for sure *what you will have done with the pope after you entered Rome*' – further evidence of his earlier instructions to Bourbon – 'but in my last letters to you I wrote that the principal point is that if you can make a good peace, or some other arrangement, with the pope, you will then endeavour to lead my army into Venetian territory, to force them to pay its wages and compel them to come to terms too'.[71]

After hearing that Bourbon had died and Clement had surrendered to his troops, Charles granted Lannoy full powers to make war and peace 'as seems best for our reputation, given the complete confidence that we have in you'; and he informed one of his trusted diplomats, Baron Veyré, that since 'it has pleased God to grant this victory in Rome', and since 'the pope's capture seems to have been the handiwork of God, and by His permission, in order to permit and open the way to a good peace in Christendom, for its well-being and repose', the time was now ripe to convene 'a council for the reformation of the Church, so desired and so necessary as everyone knows, and also for the extirpation of the misguided sect of Luther'. Veyré must therefore travel to Rome and, while Lannoy applied diplomatic and military pressure, persuade the captive pope to make major concessions.[72]

CHARLES AT BAY

'Things over here are now in a very different state from what Your Majesty thought when I left,' Veyré ruefully observed once he reached Italy in

September 1527. Indeed ‘they are in such a bad state that they could not be worse’: the mutinous troops in Rome (many of them German Lutherans) threatened to kill or abduct the pope; a new French expeditionary force had entered Lombardy under an experienced commander, Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec; and the sudden death of Lannoy created a new power vacuum. ‘For the love of God, Sire, think about making peace with the French, on whatever terms you can,’ Veyré pleaded. After apologizing ‘if I make Your Majesty despair’, he repeated his urgent advice: ‘I beg you to make peace with France, because it will be less dishonourable, and also you will gain the freedom to avenge yourself [*vous vengier*] on those who strive to harm you’ in Italy.[73]

It was too late: Clement’s humiliation had won him international sympathy and support. In August 1527, Henry VIII signed an alliance with Francis that offered his daughter Mary’s hand to Francis’s second son and repeated his promise to pressure Charles to release the French princes in return for a reasonable ransom. In addition, in the hope of persuading Clement to approve his plan to divorce Queen Katherine, Henry promised to resist all calls for a general council as long as the pope remained a prisoner, and to send troops and a subsidy to assist the French army in Italy.[74]

At first the allies’ campaign prospered. After joining forces with the Venetians, Lautrec swiftly overran almost all of Lombardy while a naval force helped to regain for France the critical port of Genoa. A letter written by Antonio de Leyva, isolated in Milan, highlighted the perilous imperial position in northern Italy: ‘More than two months ago’ he had written ‘to all Your Majesty’s captains, informing them of the need in which I find myself’, but although ‘I have written two hundred letters to different places, I have received replies to none.’ Leyva concluded with a bleak warning: ‘Your Majesty places confidence in your good fortune, and with good reason; but it would be wise to reinforce it with deeds, and to remember that God does not perform miracles each and every day.’[75]

The situation of Charles’s troops quartered in and around Rome was no better: although they remained a formidable fighting force, without a leader they continued to ravage the city as a way of maintaining pressure on

Clement to pay their arrears (some 400,000 ducats). One of their commanders begged Charles:

> . . . to keep in mind what is owed to God, and not to acquire such an evil reputation in the world through the disorders, thefts and murders that your army carries out and has carried out in Italy, which will only increase unless they are paid . . . Your glory must not rest upon so many and such enormous evils, because neither God nor the world will permit it.

Like Leyva, he concluded that ‘an agreement with France would be better’ and suggested that ‘if Your Majesty stops insisting on recovering Burgundy, perhaps the king might once again be your friend’, but he pleaded in vain. In November 1527 diplomats representing France, England, Milan, Venice, Ferrara and the College of Cardinals signed a solemn league dedicated to ‘the liberation of the pope’.[76]

According to ambassador Navagero, the emperor is now ‘very doubtful about what he ought to do. On the one hand, he thinks it would be honourable to release the pope; on the other hand, he cannot be sure that if he does so the pope will be his friend.’ At least Charles had the good sense to delegate critical foreign-policy decisions to his proconsuls: he instructed Ferdinand, Margaret and his generals in Italy ‘to do the best you can, without having to consult me, or await orders from me, because such is my confidence in you that I have given you the power to make all decisions’.[77]

The emperor’s spirits revived with the birth on 21 May 1527 of the future Philip II, the first prince to be born in Spain for fifty years. Charles signed jubilant letters to his leading subjects that same day, presenting his role in the process in Messianic terms: ‘I trust in God that this will prove beneficial to His service and to these realms; and I hope it will please Him to allow me to serve Him even better in the future.’ According to Ambassador Martín de Salinas, ‘the Emperor is so happy and joyful and delighted with his new son that he does nothing but order celebrations for the gift God has sent us; and day and night there are jousts and cane games and all sorts of fun’. The celebratory plays performed at his son’s baptism on 5 June featured prophets who predicted a glittering future for the infant, just as they had done for the Christ child.[78]

The rejoicing ceased when news of the sack of Rome arrived, but resumed as soon as the empress was fit enough to watch a new round of jousts and other spectacles staged by her husband. In August, Salinas reported that Charles and Isabella ‘are the happiest spouses in the world’, and three months later the empress was pregnant again.[79] But other observers noted that Charles had become impatient and even intemperate in audiences. In July 1527 he listened ‘all lowering and [with] hevie countenuance’ as the French ambassador yet again offered money and the partial surrender of France’s claim to Naples in return for the repatriation of the two princes and the restitution of Francesco Sforza as duke of Milan. A few days later the emperor predicted to the English ambassadors that ‘the Frenche king wold never sitt still untill his fedres be pulled’ – by which he meant depriving him of Burgundy; and in October, Navagero reported that Charles had again ‘used very rude words, and (contrary to his normal behaviour) shown extreme anger’ during an audience, and raged that ‘the king of France had decided to use force to make him do his bidding, but he deceived himself’ because ‘he would never be compelled to do anything under duress’. The ambassador reflected that Charles ‘was young and accustomed to having good luck’, which made it easy for him to be gracious, but ‘now that his affairs do not go so well’ he predicted that ‘those who deal with him will need to proceed with great dexterity’.[80]

Luckily for imperial affairs, Gattinara returned to court in October 1527. According to the chancellor’s autobiography, ‘Caesar had agreed to and conceded more than was fitting in order to obtain peace. He [had] consented to conditions that were highly prejudicial to himself, his dignity and his situation.’[81] Gattinara resolved to put a stop to this, and matters came to a head in January 1528 when, at a joint audience, the ambassadors of France, England, Milan, Venice and Florence – the surviving members of the League of Cognac – demanded in the name of their masters that Charles restore Milan to Sforza and accept a ransom for the French princes, in return for which Francis would surrender Genoa and withdraw his army from Italy. The emperor flatly rejected this ultimatum, because (according to the Polish ambassador, Jan Dantiszek) ‘he remembered what Cicero said, “Allowing oneself to be deceived once is unpleasant, the second time shameful, and the third time stupidity”, a maxim that he followed, since he

had been deceived before.' The members of the League had anticipated this negative response, and now 'the French and English heralds arrived and sent a message to His Majesty saying that they wished to give him a certain document, which His Majesty had been expecting for six months (because that is how long the heralds had been at his court). His Majesty graciously listened in the great hall of the palace in the presence of all the grandees, prelates and ministers' while the French herald 'declared war on him by land and sea', and the ambassadors of England, Florence, Milan and Venice then 'pronounced their "challenge" (as they call it)'.[82]

Thanks to his familiarity with the code of chivalry, Charles knew exactly what to do next. He 'responded in a strong voice so that everyone could hear him' as follows: 'For the past seven years the king of France has waged war on me without a formal declaration, and it is amazing that he should declare it only now, when according to the Law of War he is absolutely forbidden to do so because he is the emperor's prisoner and has betrayed the confidence placed in his hands . . . And now you tell me', Charles continued, that your masters 'will compel me to return the princes. I shall therefore reply in a very different manner than I have done so far: I intend to keep them and will never return them under threat of force, because I have never been accustomed to do things under duress.' He then took the French herald aside, and charged him to deliver a special message to his master: 'Since he has neither abided by nor honoured the oaths he gave me, he should prepare to fight a duel with me. And tell him on my behalf, using the following words: He should look to his honour – that is, if he has any left.'[83]

Chivalric protocol obliged Charles to release the heralds unscathed, but he arrested all the diplomats sent by members of the League. They scarcely had time to pack before they were ignominiously marched out of town and into confinement 'accompanied by 50 horsemen and 100 soldiers of His Majesty's guards, as if we were criminals, watched by all the citizens who hung out of their windows and doors'. They remained in detention for four months ('which seemed like four years'), until Charles received confirmation that his own ambassadors were safe. He also punished the young French princes, moving them from one austere and uncomfortable castle to another until they reached the isolated fortress at Pedraza de la

Sierra (Segovia), and separating them from their French servants (over one hundred of whom he marched to Barcelona and forced to serve on his galleys). Moreover, ‘since we have been challenged, we cannot but uphold our honour and reputation, and preserve and protect our subjects and states as we are obliged to do’: he therefore ordered all trade with England and France to cease, and he commanded all subjects of Henry and Francis to leave Spain within forty days.[84]

Charles also reminded his brother that this development ‘affects you as much as me’, and he therefore expected Ferdinand to ‘send a herald to the kings of England and France to issue a challenge’, and also to persuade ‘the Electors and princes of the Empire to do the same because since we, their chief, have received a challenge it also applies to them, the principal members of the Empire’. These actions, Charles concluded optimistically, ‘will raise our reputation among our friends, and spread terror and surprise among our enemies’.[85]

Such optimism was not misplaced. As Maurizio Arfaioli has pointed out, Francis’s decision to launch another invasion of Italy was ‘just a means and not an end’. Until his ‘two sons returned home there could be no real French Italian policy’ and so Lautrec’s campaign aimed to ‘allow his master to resume negotiations with the emperor from a less unfavourable position’. The king and his allies had divined – correctly – that Charles was more vulnerable to pressure on Naples, which he had inherited, than on Milan, which he had acquired only recently. They therefore resolved to ‘fight for Lombardy in Naples’.[86] In January 1528, Lautrec left Lombardy and led southwards ‘more than fifty thousand troops – an almost incredible figure – with the whole army spread over almost sixty square miles’. Heavily outnumbered, the imperialists retreated until they held only a handful of fortified towns in the kingdom of Naples, whereupon Lautrec placed the capital under siege by land while Doria’s galleys cruised offshore to intercept all supplies and reinforcements. In April, Hugo de Moncada, who became viceroy of Naples upon the death of Lannoy, led all his available ships out in a desperate attempt to break the French blockade, but in ‘the most cruel and bloody sea battle of our time’ he and 1,400 of his men perished.[87] In just three years the emperor had lost all the advantages he had won at Pavia.

Although Monsieur de Beersel would have reproved his former pupil for failing to ‘bring home the harvest’, he would doubtless have applauded Charles’s efforts to recover his losses through a single duel. In March 1528 the emperor repeated for the third time his personal challenge to Francis, this time via a letter to the French ambassador (still in detention, but free to communicate with the outside world): ‘Your master, the King of France, has behaved in an unworthy and wicked way by failing to honour the promises he made to me in the treaty of Madrid, and if he wishes to contradict me I will uphold my opinion in personal combat.’[88] This time Francis could not ignore the message, and he composed a blistering counter-challenge of his own. ‘If you wanted to charge us,’ he warned Charles, ‘with having done something that a gentleman conscious of his honour must not do, then we say that you are lying through your teeth. Therefore,’ Francis continued, ‘henceforth do not write to us about anything: in future just name the place and we shall bring the weapons.’ Until then, the taunting must cease. ‘I trust’ the challenge concluded, ‘that you will reply like a gentleman instead of like a lawyer, in a duelling field instead of on paper.’[89]

Charles had no intention of forgoing paper as a weapon – on the contrary, he published the entire exchange with Francis as a small book – especially since for the first time he found himself popular among his Spanish subjects. Gattinara noted that ‘the challenge of the duel, so rashly offered, provided a great incentive for the Aragonese, Valencians and Catalans to help Caesar and also get their revenge’ on the French. Salinas reported that Charles’s initial response to the heralds ‘pleased all those present’ and that ‘everyone is so happy with the challenge that it seems as if it were directed towards them’.[90] The emperor capitalized on such sentiments to persuade the Cortes of Castile, meeting in Valladolid, to vote substantial new taxes to mount another campaign in Italy as well as swearing allegiance to Philip as prince of Asturias (the title held by the heir to the throne of Castile); and he now made the ceremonial visit to Valencia that he had avoided nine years before, leaving (for the first time) ‘the empress as regent in all Castile’. As he returned, he met the Cortes of Aragon at Monzón and persuaded them, too, to vote new taxes.[91]

Before responding to Francis's challenge, Charles took the unusual step of consulting his leading subjects and ministers on etiquette: those of Aragon in person, since they were all at Monzón, and those of Castile by letter. The council of Castile stressed that 'such challenges are prohibited by Divine and Natural Law' and that the emperor, as the foremost ruler of Christendom, should set a good example and avoid duels; it also predicted that 'even if you accept this challenge, the wars and dissension will not cease but will rather (we believe) increase'. The empress, who had recently given birth to a daughter, María, also tried to dissuade her husband because 'she is afraid that Your Majesty will follow through with it' and leave her a widow.[92] The nobles, prelates and town magistrates of Castile each thanked Charles 'for the honour you do me in asking my advice on what you should do next', but then some expressed concern about hazarding his life with only an infant to succeed him, while others pointed out (in the words of the duke of Infantado) that 'the Code of Chivalry extends to princes, however powerful they may be, as well as to knights like us' – and that meant that an oath-breaker like Francis was not entitled to issue a challenge. The emperor should therefore ignore it.[93]

The rapid deterioration of the imperial position in Italy led Charles to reject this advice and instead accept Francis's challenge. He proposed that the duel should take place in a secured area 'by the river [Bidassoa] that separates Fuenterrabía and Hendaye', leaving Francis to choose 'how and with what we shall fight'. He added that unless Francis accepted within forty days, non-compliance 'will be imputed to you and added to the disgrace of not performing what you promised in Madrid'. On 24 June he entrusted this provocative message to his principal herald, named 'Burgundy', together with detailed instructions on how to deliver it to his rival. Soon afterwards he summoned Kolman Helmschmid, the celebrated Augsburg armourer who had recently made him a magnificent suit of armour monogrammed 'KD' – for '*Karolus Divus*', 'Charles the Divine' – to come to Spain with 'materials and smiths in case I might need to fight'.[94] (Pl. 12)

The same rationale that led Charles to favour single combat led his rival to reject it. Francis refused to issue the safe-conduct that would allow 'Burgundy' to deliver the challenge because his troops seemed likely to

gain mastery over all Italy, obviating the need to hazard everything on a duel. In a letter dated 28 July 1528 the king boasted that ‘I feel so well that I could not possibly feel better’, and reported that recently ‘I have been hunting two or three times, and each day I stroll through my gardens and view the construction works’ at his new palace of Fontainebleau, before rejoicing that his troops had forced the imperialists in Lombardy to retreat. This was ‘such excellent news that things could not be better’, because it:

> . . . removed from the enemy forces currently in Naples all hope that they will ever be relieved. This will make it very simple and easy for M. de Lautrec to execute the rest of his mission, and so I hope that in a very few days we will have more good news from that quarter . . . I leave you to guess how astonished my enemies will be as they see their forces daily weaken and diminish and see mine strengthen and increase as my cause prospers.[95]

‘Good news from that quarter’ never came. As Francis signed his triumphant message in Fontainebleau, 1,500 kilometres away in Naples, Andrea Doria defected to the emperor, breaking the naval blockade; dysentery and malaria decimated the besieging army; and Lautrec lay on his deathbed. God hates gloaters.

— EIGHT —

CHAMPION OF THE WESTERN WORLD, 1528–31

CAESARS'S LUCK

On 1 June 1528, confident that his siege of Naples was about to succeed, Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, reassured an Italian ally that the imperialists 'had not won victories in the past through valour', but through good luck. Now, he boasted, 'Fortune has turned against them and the heavens want to punish them'.[1] He erred: Andrea Doria, whose ships sealed Naples off from the sea, had just decided to abandon France. Charles acted swiftly on hearing rumours that the admiral might defect, declaring that he would 'do anything to persuade the said Andrea Doria to enter my service, whatever it may cost me' – an extreme position that he rarely adopted – and he approved a generous treaty that appointed the Genoese patrician his Captain-General of the Sea; granted him a full amnesty for past deeds; provided him with the munitions, manpower and money required to maintain twelve galleys in imperial service; and recognized him as 'perpetual magistrate' over Genoa and its former territories once they returned to the imperial orbit.[2]

Doria's withdrawal from the bay of Naples allowed the imperialists to send supplies and reinforcements into the city just as disease killed off the besiegers, including Lautrec. In August the surviving French forces retreated to the city of Aversa, twenty kilometres inland, but finding it indefensible they not only surrendered but also promised that 'all cities, lands, castles, places and fortresses' in French hands would surrender, so

that everything ‘would be as it was before my lord of Lautrec invaded’.[3] Doria led his galleys north to his native Genoa, which he entered in triumph in September 1528, driving out the French garrison and their Genoese allies (notably the Fregoso family). As Maurizio Arfaioli has noted, the impact of this double defeat exceeded that of Pavia because ‘In less than two weeks, first Naples and its kingdom and then Genoa, “the gate and key to Italy”, were lost to France’ permanently.[4]

What made Doria change sides, and thus permanently tip the balance of power in Italy in Charles’s favour? The emperor claimed that the primary motive was the French king’s ‘shameful treatment’ of both Doria and Genoa, and this no doubt played a part in his decision; so did Charles’s many concessions (including the right of ‘all the Genoese living in the states of the emperor to be treated as if they were his natural born subjects’: a licence to trade in the lucrative American market). But Doria himself told a different story. One day, in the emperor’s apartment, a courtier indiscreetly asked why he had suddenly changed his allegiance and the admiral ‘replied that for three nights, almost at dawn, a man appeared in his dreams who said “Go and serve the emperor”, and that is why he acted’.[5] Although recorded by an eyewitness this could of course have been a rhetorical trope, but it fits well with the contemporary belief in Caesar’s luck (*Fortuna Caesaris*): the idea, common since Antiquity, that a true emperor possessed the virtues of Clemency, Patience, Genius, Victory and *Fortuna*.

The idea that fortune (or misfortune) ruled all human lives was widespread in Renaissance Europe, but it seems to have become particularly intense in the sixteenth century. Charles himself often stressed his debt to fortune, and many of his contemporaries agreed. The birth of Prince Philip in 1527 prompted the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero to observe that:

> Throughout his life, from the beginning right up to now, we can say that Charles has always been very lucky and that his ventures have always prospered, and now in this too it seems that Fortune has favoured him as much as is possible, because the only thing that he lacked to bring stability to his affairs, and to make him adored throughout his realms, has now also been granted to him.

Thirty years later, when another Venetian ambassador reviewed the successes and failures of Charles's reign, he stated that 'Everyone agrees that the immense ship of state, kingdoms and empire of His Majesty has been guided by good fortune [*favorevole Fortuna*]'. His Florentine colleague agreed: 'Such is Caesar's luck that there is no point in trying to measure and discuss his ventures' according to rational calculation. After the recovery of Genoa in 1528, even the normally pragmatic Antonio de Leyva assured Charles that 'I put my trust in God and in Your Majesty's good fortune that you will become lord of everything, and that all the world will be convinced that God created you for this'.[6]

Clerics concurred. When a diplomat asked Pope Clement in 1529 why he had finally thrown in his lot with the emperor, the pontiff replied 'the world has seen that His Majesty's affairs always prosper, thanks to his good government and *good fortune*'. Three years later, Nuncio Girolamo Aleandro speculated that Charles's successes 'must stem from divine providence, because we see that despite all sorts of difficulties, God always gives him a happy outcome'. In 1552, when Charles rashly determined to besiege Metz despite the approach of winter, the nuncio travelling with him predicted that 'if he achieves anything with his army this year, it will be thanks to his customary *good fortune*'. Paolo Giovio, a bishop, included 50 references to the role of 'Fortuna' in the second part of his *History of his own time*, covering Charles's reign.[7]

THE PACIFICATION OF ITALY

In 1528 some imperial ministers nevertheless remained pessimistic. On hearing the good news from both Naples and Genoa, 'which exceeded all hope', Grand Chancellor Gattinara warned Charles 'not to let the fruits of these victories slip away as he had done with earlier ones'; and a Spanish ambassador echoed that 'it is necessary now to exploit this victory, and not lose the opportunity as has happened in the past'.[8] Charles paid heed and started by mending his fences with Clement.

The pope was vulnerable to imperial overtures because he craved both the restoration of Medici rule in Florence and the return of papal territory occupied by Ferrara and Venice – goals that he could only achieve with imperial support – and in April 1529, Charles made a crucial concession to

win him over. Realizing how ‘the matter of the council that the Germans say must be held in order to resolve the situation there distresses His Holiness, and given that it will be hard for the pope to swallow this’, the imperial ambassadors in Rome suggested at an audience that it might be possible ‘to resolve the insurgency and stupidity of the Lutherans’ by convening a ‘colloquy’ rather than a full council. ‘On hearing this the pope leapt out of his chair and said, “By my faith you are right, and what you say makes sense! In that case we could concede some of the less contentious demands!” From then on we found him to be more open and more cheerful.’ Charles now promised Clement that ‘if you are displeased with me, I am ready to beg your forgiveness, so that we can do what we need to do’; whereupon Clement sent an envoy to Spain with full powers to make peace, declaring that ‘he was determined to live and die a supporter of the emperor’.[9]

Charles promised to compel Venice and Ferrara to return all their conquests in the Papal States; to make the Florentine republic accept the pope’s nephew, Alessandro de’ Medici, as their ruler; to betroth his illegitimate daughter Margarita, now seven years old, to Alessandro; and to confirm papal rule over Parma and Piacenza. Clement for his part issued a Brief, ‘pardoning those who took part in, and those who condoned, the sack of Rome’, and promised to transfer to Rome Henry VIII’s suit to divorce Charles’s Aunt Katherine. He also agreed to reinvest Charles with the kingdom of Naples (together with the right to nominate twenty-four senior clerics there) and to crown him emperor; to make Gattinara a cardinal; to grant both Charles and Ferdinand one-quarter of the income from all benefices in their dominions to support their struggle against the Turks; and to join them in a league to extirpate Lutheranism. Only the fate of Milan remained in limbo: Charles agreed to restore Duke Francesco Sforza provided he begged for forgiveness for his treason in joining the League of Cognac, failing which he would partition the duchy among its neighbours. The emperor ratified the treaty on 29 June 1529 in Barcelona.[10]

Charles’s presence in Barcelona was no accident. On hearing of the relief of Naples, he announced his intention of ‘getting myself to a place where I can win and increase honour and reputation’; and (he continued) ‘some tell me that there is presently no better and swifter way to do this

than by going to Italy'. He promised his brother that he would arrive before the end of 1528, and assemble an army with which he would first 'pacify Italy from one end to the other' and then reconquer Burgundy before returning to Germany. Although obstructionism by his Spanish ministers caused Charles to miss this deadline, popular sentiment now supported his imperial ambitions: 'All Spain is now in harmony with the will of their king, and everyone shouts "Caesar, Caesar is coming! The lord of the world is coming!"'[11] In March 1529, Charles signalled his impending departure by signing a series of important documents: a new Will; a declaration naming Prince Philip his heir should he die; and instructions for the various councils that he had either created or reformed during his time in Spain (Castile and Aragon; War and State; Indies, Inquisition and Orders). All would remain in Spain to advise the empress, who would act as regent during his absence. She too received an instruction detailing what she could and could not do without his express permission, after which Charles took his leave. He would not see his wife again for more than four years.[12]

In April, Charles authorized his ministers to sign a treaty with the Portuguese that provided him with 350,000 ducats in return for renouncing Castile's claim to the Spice Islands (now the Moluccas); many Spanish noblemen, as yet unaware of this sell-out, arrived to accompany their sovereign to Italy. Only their exact destination remained uncertain. Charles received persuasive letters from Leyva, urging him to disembark in Genoa, and from the prince of Orange, insisting that he come first to Naples; and for a time he could not choose between them. 'Considering that the passage of time often changes the situation and causes options to change,' he told Leyva, 'we feel that we should postpone this decision about where we should disembark until the time when we wish to embark.'[13] Not until mid-May did he announce his decision in favour of Genoa.

Charles now made known both his optimal expectations for the pacification of Italy, and the concessions he was prepared to make (if required) to secure a settlement. In the case of Milan, 'which is the most important matter', he preferred to partition the duchy, with each neighbour buying a parcel from him as suzerain; but if the pope insisted on the restitution of Francesco Sforza, then 'saving our honour' he would comply in return for a hefty fine. Ferrara and Venice must restore all the places they

had occupied in Naples and Lombardy as well as the Papal States, and also pay a heavy indemnity but ‘without letting anything prevent reaching an agreement’: his ministers could reduce the size of the indemnity in order to secure peace. Charles also declared that he would recognize the Florentine Republic, provided it allowed him to maintain a garrison in the city and paid an indemnity, although once again he authorized his ministers to waive the latter ‘if you see it is impossible to reach an agreement with them in any other way’. The emperor knew that this outcome would infuriate the pope, but he also knew that much could change before his instructions reached their destinations, so here too he delegated full discretion to his lieutenants. ‘We would not want something as important as this to be interrupted and not be carried out, or that it be delayed, and its effects delayed, by communicating back and forth,’ he told them; therefore ‘we declare to you our wish, but you may proceed as you think best without further consultation, and we promise to ratify whatever you conclude and agree, even if it is not covered by your other instructions and even if it directly contradicts them’.[14]

In June, Leyva routed another French army in Italy, inflicting heavy losses and capturing its commanders. On top of the losses at Pavia and Naples, France now lacked the generals as well as the troops and treasure to continue fighting, whereas ships, troops, supplies and money all flowed into Barcelona, prompting Gattinara to compose a Providentialist rhapsody that verged on incoherence:

> The fact that everything happened at the same time, as though interwoven, from so many different parts of the world, all directed towards the same end, beyond the possibility of human hope, sent according to divine will, as it was said, brought a great deal of admiration into the hearts of men. It seemed almost as if Caesar’s affairs had been directed miraculously by God himself. Everyone appointed to make the journey with Caesar would come together. One by one they would enter their assigned ships and galleys with their horses, arms and all of their supplies.

At last, on 27 July 1529 Charles boarded the royal galley commanded by Andrea Doria, and that same day they left for Italy. As the fleet headed for

the open sea, those aboard shouted ‘Emperor, emperor! Plus ultra, plus ultra! Ruler of the world!’[15]

HUMBLING FRANCE

Italian diplomats had filled their dispatches for months with speculation on where, when and indeed whether the emperor would arrive, so that his arrival at Genoa ‘astonished some people so much that they almost could not believe it’. Nevertheless, news spread fast that the imperial fleet numbered over 100 ships and carried 12,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, and an entourage ‘that with the servants and the various officials who always followed the Court must have numbered 5,000’. Moreover, ‘word among the experts is that His Majesty has brought with him 2 million ducats in gold’. A steady stream of ambassadors, princes and cardinals therefore flocked to the city to pay their respects and (in several cases) to beg forgiveness for choosing the wrong side in the war – but the war itself continued.[16]

In October 1528, Charles wrote to ‘several kings and princes’ to publicize the refusal of Francis to accept his challenge to single combat and to announce his decision to revoke his offer to settle their differences in a duel, ‘since I have adequately maintained my honour’. Instead he instructed his generals to ‘keep everything on a war footing, so that our enemies will have more inclination to accept reasonable terms than they have done until now’.[17] Archduchess Margaret did the same: her agents concluded a truce with England and France to last for eight months, which allowed her to turn on Duke Charles of Guelders. By the treaty of Gorcum in October 1528 he recognized the emperor’s suzerainty over Utrecht and Overijssel (two territories he had hoped to acquire himself); agreed that if he died without legitimate offspring the emperor would succeed him; and swore ‘to forsake totally the king of France and to join the side of the emperor, and to serve him against all without exception’ – striking successes that had eluded both Maximilian and his son Philip.[18]

Defeated and now isolated, Francis indicated to Margaret his willingness to conclude a ‘universal peace’. She asked her nephew what terms he would accept. ‘The king of France,’ Charles replied loftily, ‘knows very well what he must do to get peace, and to satisfy my honour as he

should': he must fulfil all the terms of the treaty of Madrid except for the surrender of Burgundy, which the emperor consented to leave in French hands in return for a substantial cash indemnity. On that basis, in April 1529 he authorized Margaret to do 'everything that we ourselves would do and would cause to be done if we were present in person' and promised in advance to 'ratify, observe and execute inviolably' any peace terms she might conclude.[19] After a month's haggling behind closed doors with Louise of Savoy, with no ministers in attendance, the 'Ladies' Peace' (*Paix des dames*) obliged Francis to renounce all his conquests, claims and allies in both Italy and the Netherlands, and to withdraw all his troops from both. In addition, he promised to respect the rights of Bourbon's heirs; to marry Charles's sister Eleanor; and to pay over one million crowns in cash to ransom his two sons, still held in Spain as sureties for the execution of the treaty of Madrid. He also agreed to pay the emperor's debts to Henry VIII; to submit to arbitration some of Charles's residual claims concerning Burgundy; to persuade the Venetians to hand over to the emperor all their gains in the kingdom of Naples (and, should they decline, to assist the emperor to secure them by force); and to compel the Florentine republic to surrender. Margaret's agents also formalized terms for peace with England and both treaties were proclaimed at Cambrai on 5 August 1529.[20]

The terms delighted Charles, who told his wife smugly that 'they are just as good as I wanted, and in some cases even better. I am therefore very happy. It seems, my lady, that I have concluded matters as my honour and the good and peace of Christendom require.' One of the imperial diplomats whom Francis had humiliated over the treaty of Madrid felt less confident: 'The peace terms are so advantageous,' he mused, 'that some fear they may be meant to deceive us.'[21] How well he knew his man! Francis did indeed resort to the same tactic as before, registering a solemn protestation that Charles had used custody of the princes to extort concessions in Italy, especially the surrender of Milan and Genoa 'which as the whole world knows belong to us', and that consequently he was not obliged to comply; but this time, lacking allies, the king reluctantly withdrew his forces from beyond the Alps, surrendered his conquests in the Netherlands, and started to assemble the huge sum of money required to ransom his sons.[22]

The emperor, for his part, continued to treat the princes badly. After uncovering a plot to free them from captivity, Charles instructed their guardians at Pedraza de la Sierra that ‘There is no need for them to go into the countryside, since they have good apartments inside the fortress. Also, you must keep out anyone sent to talk to or see them’, in effect severing all contact with those who could speak to the boys – still only eleven and ten – in their native tongue. This mean-spirited behaviour produced a reprimand from Margaret of Austria (who had negotiated the peace of Cambrai with the princes’ grandmother): ‘Young princes like them, who have done nothing wrong, must not be made to pay for the enmities of their father; and it would be wise to treat them well, since the emperor’s honour is at stake.’ Charles complied, providing 1,000 ducats ‘to make the princes some nice clothes, so that those who come to see them do not find them shabbily dressed’ – but characteristically he insisted that this must be done ‘without revealing the real reason’.[23] After receiving confirmation that Francis had fulfilled all his other promises, in June 1530 Spanish officials at the frontier examined and weighed the gold coins brought by their French counterparts one by one, and having exacted an additional 22,797 crowns to compensate for the light weight of some coins, the French princes accompanied Eleanor across the frontier. Thus ended four years of discomfort and humiliation that the younger of the two boys, later King Henry II, would never forget or forgive.[24]

Charles deliberately excluded Francis’s Italian allies from the peace of Cambrai, forcing them to sue for terms individually. As the prince of Orange marched from Naples towards Florence at the head of a large army the emperor led another from Genoa, confident that overwhelming military superiority ‘will uphold my reputation in all things, and serve to bring those still in arms’ – namely Ferrara, Florence, Francesco Sforza and Venice – to make a hasty peace. If not, he threatened, ‘I will use force wherever it seems most appropriate and necessary’. Scarcely had the ink dried on this letter than an express messenger arrived from Ferdinand with the alarming news that a huge Turkish army, led by the sultan in person, was advancing on Vienna. ‘This affects His Majesty as much as me,’ Ferdinand wrote frantically, and he must cross the Alps immediately.[25]

The dilemma that now faced the Habsburgs was not unexpected. In October 1520, the same month that Charles had become king of the Romans, Prince Suleiman succeeded his father as Ottoman sultan. This coincidence led some observers to see the two rulers as ‘twins’ whose fates were inextricably entwined: Erasmus, for example, considered that they were locked in a deadly competition ‘to decide the final outcome, whether Charles will be the sole ruler of the whole world, or the Turks. The world can no longer support two suns.’[26] The new sultan flexed his muscles almost immediately by leading a massive army up the Danube: in 1521 he captured Belgrade, bringing the frontier of his empire to the border of Hungary. The following year he laid siege to Rhodes, a Christian outpost in the eastern Mediterranean. Charles responded by announcing that he would organize a massive counter-attack, ‘because that is what I have wanted to do since I was a child, and also to fulfil the responsibilities of my imperial title as chief protector and defender of our Christian religion’. Therefore, ‘despite the vast costs and distractions that I face at present, on account of the war against the French, I have resolved to assemble a fleet as soon as I can to relieve Rhodes’. Charles also declared himself ready to ‘spare nothing to preserve, defend and deliver Rhodes from these tyrannical infidel enemies, devoting all our kingdoms and dominions, and our person if necessary’, and he urged his fellow monarchs to make peace and join him.[27] These boasts, made in August 1522 in Palencia, came far too late: 3,000 kilometres away, the island fell to the Turks the following December.

The situation in 1529 was different. When the Turks laid siege to Vienna, Charles was at Piacenza, less than 1,000 kilometres away, at the head of a powerful army. Two contradictory letters signed on 23 September reveal his dilemma. One assured his aunt Margaret that ‘I am wholly decided and resolved to go in person to help my brother, because his need is so great and the peril so extreme that it does not merely threaten him but places all Christendom at risk. I cannot and must not abandon him, because of the office I hold and the obligations of fraternal friendship; and also because he is such a good brother to me.’ Charles’s letter to his ‘good brother’ struck a very different note. Although he recognized that the fall of Vienna would have catastrophic consequences for Christendom in general

and for the Habsburg patrimonial lands in particular, he feared that ‘without the prior pacification of Italy, it could happen that as soon as I leave to succour you, Venice, Florence, Ferrara and Francesco Sforza will ally together, pool all their resources, and invite the French to support them’. In addition, the treaty of Barcelona obligated him to see to the restitution of all territory taken from the pope and his relatives before he did anything else.[28] Charles therefore rated the loss of Austria as ‘the lesser evil’, compared with jeopardizing all his gains in Italy through a premature departure, and he instructed his generals to blockade Florence until it agreed to restore Medici rule, to attack Sforza so that ‘the duke will be forced to do what he refused when we asked him nicely’, and ‘to do all the damage they can in the territories of Venice’ to make ‘their rulers come and negotiate as they should’. The one concession Charles made to Ferdinand was to abandon his plan to go to Rome: instead he asked the pope to meet him in Bologna – adding the veiled threat that, since ‘I will need to take with me’ to Germany the army besieging Florence, ‘we need a swift decision by His Holiness in this matter’.[29]

The courage and skill of the Habsburg defenders of Vienna solved Charles’s dilemma. They used their arquebuses to shoot down the Ottoman assaults, just as they had done with the French at Pavia four years before, and in October the besiegers retreated. The good news reached the emperor just before Francis’s personal representative brought his solemn ratification of the treaty of Cambrai. Now, the emperor explained to Margaret, although his overall goal remained ‘the peace and repose of Christendom, the expulsion of the Turks and the extinction of the current heresies’, he would ‘spend all his time’ on ‘the pacification of Italy’.[30]

Charles entered Bologna on 5 November 1529, preceded by his artillery train and thousands of troops, some ‘arrayed in the manner of a phalanx of Alexander the Great’s soldiers’, others ‘marching two-by-two, carrying leafy branches in their hands as a sign of victory’. The emperor rode beneath a canopy on a white horse wearing a complete suit of armour until he reached the city gate, where he replaced his helmet with a cap, which he ‘doffed whenever he saw a beautiful woman at a window’. Two officials preceded him scattering coins among the crowd and ‘shouting with a loud voice “Charles the emperor”’; and when he entered the main square ‘the

crowd suddenly cried “Charles, Charles, Empire, Empire, victory, victory!”’ Thus far the ceremony resembled the ‘triumphs’ staged for victorious Roman emperors, but Charles now dismounted and fell to his knees before Pope Clement. Although the Venetian ambassador Gasparo Contarini could not hear ‘the words uttered by the emperor, because he usually speaks in a very low tone’, he did not miss the symbolism that ‘Charles remained on his knees while speaking’, and that the two leaders of Christendom occupied adjoining chambers in the same palace so that, ‘as the pope showed me this morning, by opening a door one passes from the chamber of the emperor to that of the pope’ without being observed.[31]

The pope also revealed to Contarini not only where the two rulers met but also how they transacted business: ‘When [Charles] came to negotiate, he brought with him a holograph memorandum of all the points he had to discuss, in order not to forget any of them.’ By chance, one of these memoranda has survived: a list of nineteen points, some annotated by Charles, which ranged from Henry VIII’s divorce plans, through forgiveness for the sack of Rome, to proposals for extracting wealth from, and extending royal jurisdiction over, the Church in Spain (Pl. 13).[32] Topics discussed at other secret meetings can be surmised from the results – such as Clement’s concession that Charles might nominate candidates to all ecclesiastical positions in the Netherlands – but the most important outcome became clear just before Christmas, when all the leading diplomats in Bologna gathered in Gattinara’s lodgings to finalize three landmark treaties negotiated by the grand chancellor. One restored Francesco Sforza as duke of Milan, provided he paid Charles 400,000 ducats for his investiture and a further 500,000 as a penalty for his disloyalty. Until he handed over the money, Habsburg garrisons would remain in the duchy. Another treaty obliged Venice to restore to both pope and emperor all the places that they had captured, and to pay Charles another substantial indemnity. The third treaty created a defensive league among almost all the independent rulers of Italy, promising to declare war on any foreign power that threatened the peace of the peninsula.[33] Pope and emperor now attended Christmas Mass together, and after the leading cardinals had read some of the prescribed lessons, Charles ‘arose from his seat and took off his robes, putting on others with a church vestment on the outside, and buckled on a sword that

the pope gave him'. He then read a lesson himself. According to a member of the papal staff, it was 'a Mass of such solemnity that I do not believe there has been anything like it in our lifetime, nor do I think the like will happen in the future'. Charles's courtiers had 'never seen His Majesty so happy'.[34]

THE EMPEROR'S GRAND STRATEGY

Charles had every right to rejoice: he had resolved in his favour all the problems that faced him, and had forced his former enemies to make peace on his terms. Nevertheless, he felt uneasy, and on 11 January 1530 he composed a long 'state of the empire' message for Ferdinand's benefit. He wrote 'in secret, because I do not trust anyone to know these matters except you', and began by emphasizing his total commitment to support his brother against the Turks, adding that other princes had probably refrained from sending him help 'principally because we are brothers, and they think that the greatest part of your welfare is the same as mine, which no doubt it is, because we two are the same'. He urged Ferdinand not to seek a truce (however short) with the sultan, because 'if he sees himself free and secure in your area he will find another' in which to attack the empire. Charles noted with favour the pope's desire to unite all the princes of Christendom in a league against the Turks, which should provide more help in future; and he reiterated his intention to return to Germany and solve the religious problem.[35]

Charles next reviewed the peace treaties he had just concluded. The terms, he conceded, might not be perfect, but lack of money ruled out continuing hostilities. Eight years of war had left Italy depopulated and impoverished, and (Charles added sadly) 'You must realize, brother, that in Spain they abhor all the resources that I have spent for the sake of Italy' (between 1522 and 1529 he had sent over two million ducats from Spain to Italy). In addition, Henry VIII clearly intended to divorce Katherine, 'against all justice and reason, and without the desire or consent of the pope. If he does this, he will place us under a great obligation' to intervene. The principal imponderable was whether Francis would honour his promise to keep the peace. Charles predicted that if the war resumed, it would start

in Italy and he therefore proposed to maintain 21,000 German and Spanish troops as a standing army in the peninsula.

Beyond that, the future seemed less clear, and so Charles sought his brother's advice. If possible, he still wanted to be crowned emperor by the pope in Rome and thence move to the kingdom of Naples to restore order before travelling through Germany to the Netherlands and so back to Spain; but should Ferdinand deem his immediate presence vital, Charles promised to accept a coronation in Bologna and come directly to Germany. Either way, he wrote, 'I assure you, brother, and you can assure the [imperial Diet] on my behalf, that I shall not cross the sea [to Spain] until I have visited Germany and laboured to make you king of the Romans' (a title Charles would automatically vacate upon his imperial coronation). The emperor concluded with an apology that although his multi-page 'letter is long, and contains many repetitions and errors, I still have other things I want to tell you at greater length, but they can only be discussed in person'.

As with his long analysis of the situation five years before, on the eve of the battle of Pavia, Charles may have committed his innermost thoughts to paper primarily for his own benefit; certainly he resolved several critical matters long before Ferdinand could reply – notably the decision to stay in Bologna and be crowned there. Choreographing this event had already begun. Pope Clement tried to make Bologna look like Rome (or rather, like Rome before Charles's troops sacked it): thus the cathedral of St Petronius, where the imperial coronation took place, was adapted both inside and out to resemble St Peter's basilica in Rome. Charles, for his part, asked Gattinara whether he should send for the Iron Crown of Lombardy. Although the chancellor advised against it, because during the last imperial coronation (a century before) 'Emperor Frederick [III] did not take it', in the end Bologna witnessed a double ceremony.[36] After forgiving Charles for any offences (including the sack of Rome), Clement placed the Iron Crown on his head on 22 February 1530, followed by the imperial crown two days later, the new emperor's thirtieth birthday and the fifth anniversary of the victory of Pavia. The pope took care to stress the sacral aspects of these ceremonies. During the imperial coronation Charles was invested as a canon of the Church, and Clement handed him a ceremonial sword as a sign that he now possessed the right to make war as the Church's

champion, and a golden orb as a symbol that he now possessed dominion of the earth. Pope and emperor then processed around the city together under a single canopy.[37]

These ceremonies overwhelmed contemporaries. In Venice, Marin Sanuto filled twenty-five folios of his *Diaries* with transcripts of various descriptions, inserting two of the many engravings that circulated throughout Europe. Those who sought to ingratiate themselves with Charles commissioned commemorative images: frescoes in Florence, Rome, Verona and Pesaro as well as in Bologna; a handsome frieze erected by the magistrates of Tarazona; a massive sculpture in Florence; and so on.[38] Charles remained aloof. He refused to pay for a commemorative chapel and a frieze at St Petronius that featured his visit. He even offended Titian, whom the marquis of Mantua had brought to Bologna 'to paint the emperor'. According to an outraged Mantuan ambassador, Charles offered the painter 'just one ducat' for his portrait, even though 'he gives up to two ducats a night to any woman who sleeps with him'. The emperor left Bologna (he said) 'as happy as a man who has just escaped from prison'.[39]

Charles rode north to Mantua, where he hunted and hawked with the marquis (whom he elevated to the rank of duke and married to one of his cousins) and admired a replica of Trajan's column decorated with images of his own triumphs as 'master of the world'. He stayed in Mantua for almost a month, hoping that his troops would force Florence to surrender and thus end all hostilities in Italy before he left the peninsula; but since the city continued to resist, in April he reluctantly resumed his journey northwards. After a final delay at Trent, where Charles (once again putting pleasure before business) 'spent some time hunting bears', on 2 May he met his brother at the Brenner Pass. Ferdinand later erected a monument to commemorate the reunion: after all the procrastination, broken promises and delays, the appearance of the brother he had not seen for almost a decade as crowned and consecrated emperor must have seemed little short of miraculous.[40]

FROM THE BRENNER TO BRUSSELS

Much had happened in Germany since Charles's departure after the Diet of Worms in 1521. Besides the relentless Turkish advance up the Danube to

the walls of Vienna, the Peasants' War, the greatest popular uprising seen in Europe for centuries, broke out in September 1524 and lasted almost a year. Although Ferdinand bombarded his brother with predictions that the rebels would consume all Germany, Charles largely neglected them (like the Turks) in the hope that the problem would simply go away. In both cases luck, combined with Ferdinand's skilful deployment of available resources, eventually prevailed. A third problem proved less tractable: the spread of heresy.

As Luther provocatively pointed out to the emperor just after his defiant stand at Worms: 'It did not suit anyone to refute, on the basis of God's Word, any erroneous articles [of faith] that my little books [*libelli*] are supposed to contain.' The refusal of the Catholics to engage him in debate certainly handed Luther a major moral and intellectual victory, and Charles did not intend to repeat this mistake. In the Netherlands he condemned to be burned all those who followed the teaching of thirteen named heretics (including Luther), along with all their writings, and in Germany he ordered both Lutherans and Catholics to present their arguments to him at a new Diet, summoned to meet at Augsburg.[41]

On the surface, the emperor's position seemed strong – France, Guelders and the Italian states had all made an ignominious peace; the Turks had retreated; the pope had pardoned and crowned him – and his solemn entry into Augsburg on 15 June 1530 reflected these successes. After greeting the German elite, 'shaking hands with each of them and uttering some gracious words', Charles progressed through the city's streets dressed all in gold astride a white horse beneath a canopy, flanked by Ferdinand and Aleandro, once again the pope's representative at the imperial court. The Electors preceded them and about 150 members of the Diet and the diplomatic corps followed, but this image of power and harmony was shattered the following day. When the emperor processed through the streets again as part of the Corpus Christi celebration, Germany's Lutheran rulers, who had already made a formal protest against the condemnation of their faith (hence their name 'Protestants'), refused to take part.[42]

Charles faced this major challenge to his authority without a senior statesman to advise him. On 5 June 1530, just as the imperial party prepared

to leave Innsbruck for Augsburg, the Grand Chancellor died. As Rebecca Ard Boone has observed:

> Whether through talent or training, Gattinara's greatest asset as an advisor was his ability to see situations from the perspective of his opponents, subjects and patrons. Whether they were Aztec peasants in New Spain, Lutheran foot soldiers in Germany, duchesses in Brabant, kings in England or popes in Italy, they all had interests and motivations, and Gattinara made it his business to understand them.[43]

At Bologna, the chancellor had achieved not only his greatest diplomatic coup (persuading all Italian rulers save Florence to make peace on Charles's terms) but also a personal triumph: he persuaded his master to exile to Rome a hated rival, the imperial confessor García de Loaysa y Mendoza – but here his success proved transient. Loaysa had already prepared Charles for life without Gattinara, warning that 'if the chancellor should die, or leave your court, you should not appoint a successor'. Instead, 'I recommend that Your Majesty becomes his own Grand Chancellor, and that all business should pass through the hands of two other ministers': Francisco de Los Cobos and Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle. Upon hearing of his rival's death, Loaysa restated his rationale: 'I always thought Secretary Los Cobos was a suitable repository for your honour and your secrets, because he knew how to make up for your negligence . . . He loves you with great loyalty and is marvellously prudent. He does not tax his brains by saying clever or witty things as others do and he never gossips about his master.' The confessor also praised Granvelle, 'who is courteous, learned and a good Latinist, well-spoken and authoritative, a good Christian, faithful, trustworthy and he understands business well. He is a friend to the good and abhors the bad. He is not as charming in conversation as the secretary [Los Cobos] but he is extremely patient and I think he will resist temptation.'[44] Both ministers were with Charles when Gattinara died, and he accepted Loaysa's advice: Granvelle became 'keeper of the seals', with general oversight over the affairs of northern Europe, and Los Cobos henceforth handled the affairs of Spain and its overseas dependencies in the

Mediterranean and the Americas. Since the two men worked well together, they formed an enduring diarchy at the heart of the empire.

Charles would not regret his decision to accept Loaysa's advice – in 1543 he extolled the merits and services of both ministers in the confidential instruction that he drew up to guide his son (chapter 11) – but in June 1530 neither Granvelle nor Los Cobos possessed the experience or the cunning required to reconcile, as Gattinara might have done, the discordant religious groups that had sprung up in Germany. Neither did Loaysa, who initially advised Charles that 'if you decide to reduce Germany to order, I see no better way than to win over the leading men with gifts and smooth talk'. As for 'the common people, after you have issued your imperial edicts and Christian warnings, if they do not want to obey then the best medicine is force'. Loaysa concluded with a dangerous parallel: 'Force alone is what cured the [Comunero] rebellion in Spain, and that same medicine is what will cure Germany's betrayal of God.'[45]

Initially, Charles agreed. Shortly before the emperor entered Augsburg, Aleandro urged him 'to use the naked sword' against the heretics, 'to which His Majesty replied that the gallows, not the sword, was the best way to punish them'; but the ongoing siege of Florence tied up the resources required to intimidate the Lutherans, and Francis might yet declare war once his sons returned home, and so instead Charles decided to placate the Lutherans. When a Lutheran prince attending the Diet declared 'that he would rather lose his head than be either deprived of or denied the Word of God' the emperor replied anxiously, in his broken German, 'No chop heads! No chop heads!'[46]

The Lutherans knew exactly what they wanted. In April, in anticipation of the Diet, a group of Saxon officials met with Luther and some other theologians to finalize a Confession of Faith – twenty-one articles summarizing the essential elements of Luther's theology, and seven defending their religious innovations – and on 25 June they presented 'a document in both German and Latin, signed by themselves and their adherents', known henceforth as the Augsburg Confession. For two hours Charles and the Diet listened as the Saxon chancellor slowly read out the entire document in German. Who would have thought, Luther crowed, that his 'writings and preaching would be set before His Imperial Majesty and

the entire Diet, right under their noses, so that they were forced to hear it and could not raise any objection?' A Saxon official considered it 'one of the greatest achievements that had ever happened on earth'.[47]

Loaysa now urged his master to take a more moderate course:

> Your Majesty should come to terms with all of Germany: just pretend that its heresies do not exist, and allow the Germans to live however they wish. You should work with them to abandon some past errors, and everyone should accept those that are easy. In this they should serve you as their lord, obey you as is only right, and join together to defend Germany and Hungary from the Turk. To that end they should provide you with paid troops for a time.

Charles did his best. According to a Lutheran wit, he even displayed neutrality 'in his public conduct, because having slept while our Confession was read out, he also fell asleep in the middle of the reading of the Response of our adversaries'.[48] More positively, the emperor created a succession of committees, each with different members, with orders to reach a theological consensus; and he spent much time feasting and hunting with the leading princes in an attempt to promote reconciliation. In August he gave a 'long speech' to the Diet in which he exhorted the Lutherans to return to the Catholic faith 'and follow the same practices as their predecessors had done for hundreds of years', otherwise 'he would be constrained to treat them as enemies and proceed against them by force, as the oath he had taken obliged him to do'. But after these inflammatory words, he repeated his desire to 'find some formula of reconciliation on the major issues' and declared his readiness to allow the practices in dispute to continue until a general council could meet.[49]

In part, Charles acted through fear. According to a Venetian observer in Augsburg: 'Take it for granted that unless these Lutheran matters are cleared up, and unless these German lords are reconciled with the emperor, if the Turks come again it will mean the destruction of Germany'; and yet, after ten weeks of talks, speeches, banquets and bonhomie, the Diet broke up 'without reaching any agreement'. Loaysa tried to console his master – 'The wilfulness and shamelessness of these heretics in defending their errors weighs deeply on my heart' – but Charles was inconsolable. 'These

heretics have been so obstinate that no policy has worked or sufficed to get them to recognize their errors', he told Loaysa on 20 October. He continued: 'I can see that if there were a way of forcing them, we could justly move against them; but that is not the case now, nor do I currently have the means, because I am tired, alone and without help, and there are so many of them that great force would be needed to overcome them. The true remedy is to convene a general council.' Charles then changed his mind again. On 19 November 1530 he and the Catholic members of the Diet issued a decree condemning the major tenets of 'the doctrine previously outlawed' at Worms, 'which has kindled many errors among the common people'. All who failed to accept within five months the doctrine of the Catholic Church (which the decree helpfully spelled out) would be declared outlaws.[50]

Lyndal Roper has argued that both sides missed a golden opportunity at Augsburg – one that would never recur:

> Both sides had shown willingness to compromise and in the end the differences between them scarcely seemed big enough to justify the schism that resulted from the failure. But what kept the two sides apart was the absence of trust – on marriage, the sacraments and other issues, the evangelicals simply did not believe that the Catholics meant what they said, or that they would keep their word. They feared that concessions would lead to their being crushed at a church council that would be held outside Germany and set up to defeat them. The result was not inevitable, but rather a narrowly missed opportunity to prevent the splitting of the Catholic church.

Instead, the Elector of Saxony invited his fellow Lutheran rulers to meet in the town of Schmalkalden to form an alliance 'as a defence and protection for us, our subjects, and our relations against unjust coercion'. The Schmalkaldic League, led by the Elector and Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was signed on 27 February 1531.[51]

Not only did Charles fail to bring religious peace to Germany: he also failed to persuade the pope to reform abuses. He had discussed the matter with Clement during their meetings in Bologna, and on 20 October 1530 (the same day he vented his anger to Loaysa) he wrote a long holograph

letter ‘begging Your Holiness as earnestly as I can that you convene a general council with the urgency that the situation demands; and that, for optimal effect, Your Holiness should write to other princes and potentates, explaining why’ – namely the need to create a united front against the expected Turkish attack, and to prevent ‘the heresies that have recently appeared’ from spreading further. He proposed convening the assembly at either Mantua or Milan, ‘which are closest to Germany, which is where we find most of the errors with which the council must deal’ (a reminder that at this stage Charles saw Protestantism as essentially a German problem). Clement showed no interest. The messenger who delivered the imperial missive reported that ‘He read it and in the middle gave a great sigh and another one at the end.’ Clement’s sighs, and his invincible opposition to convening a council, constituted another ‘narrowly missed opportunity to prevent the splitting of the Catholic church’.[52]

Charles could nevertheless boast two victories elsewhere. In Italy, although the Republic of Florence resisted his forces for ten months, it surrendered in August 1530. Two months later the emperor imposed a constitution that restored to the Medici family the full powers lost three years earlier, and named as head of state Clement’s nephew Alessandro, betrothed to Charles’s daughter Margarita. The other victory involved his brother. While feasting and hunting in and around Augsburg, Charles persuaded the imperial Electors to accept Ferdinand as king of the Romans. Only the Lutheran Elector of Saxony refused: the rest agreed to deliver their votes in return for the rewards promised in 1519 (but still not paid in full), redress of individual grievances, and a share of 200,000 ducats taken from ‘the ransom of the sons of the king of France’.[53] In January 1531, Charles hosted a lavish feast (albeit boycotted by most Lutherans) to celebrate the coronation of his brother in Aachen as king of the Romans. For the first time in half a century, Germany had both an emperor and an heir apparent, and according to an ambassador, ‘His Imperial Majesty has shown so much jocularity and mirth, a sign of extreme happiness, that no one has ever seen a success have such an effect on him.’[54] Charles now returned, after an absence of almost nine years, to the land of his birth.

Margaret of Austria was no longer there to greet him. In November 1530, aged fifty, she dictated her last letter to Charles, claiming her only regret was that 'I will not be able to see and speak with you one more time before I die' – a final proof of her devotion to the nephew she had raised and served. She named him her universal heir, so that he gained the Franche-Comté of Burgundy ('which I beg you to retain in your own hands, so that the name of "Burgundy" may not perish'), her magnificent library and art collection, and also 'your Netherlands, which I have not only maintained just the way you left them, but also greatly increased' – a proud reference to the acquisition of Friesland (1515), Tournai (1521), Utrecht and Overijssel (1528).[55] Upon Margaret's death her two senior ministers immediately took charge, promising Charles that they would consult the rest of the council twice each day and 'transact as little important business as possible, until we hear from Your Majesty'. After expressing his sorrow, 'because I viewed her and treated her as my mother', Charles approved this interim arrangement – without revealing that he had already identified Margaret's successor: his sister Marie, dowager queen of Hungary.[56]

Marie had left Mechelen in 1513 to marry King Louis of Bohemia and Hungary, and after his death at the battle of Mohács in 1526 she stayed on to promote the election of Ferdinand as his successor. Charles did not see his sister again until the summer of 1530, and he asked her then whether she would be willing to govern the Netherlands should their aunt Margaret die or retire. She agreed in principle and early in 1531 Charles sent her a formal invitation, but he refused to discuss the details of her position 'until we are together, because when you and I are at leisure we can better discuss the best choices, and I will take the time to give you good advice so that you will be better able to put into effect your laudable desire to do everything well, and I can show you your responsibilities myself'.[57] This verbosity disguised an important innovation: henceforth Charles would groom in person and at length those to whom he planned to entrust the posts of greatest responsibility in his empire.

The Netherlands rejoiced at their ruler's return. The States-General presented him with a magnificent series of tapestries depicting the victory of Pavia over the hereditary enemy of the house of Burgundy (see Pl. 14); individual towns commissioned poems to celebrate his successes and his

safe return, or else erected a commemorative pillar; Bruges completed a spectacular chimney breast with life-size statues of Charles and his four grandparents (Pl. 15).

The warm welcome seems to have raised the emperor's spirits. In a bulletin on 'the health of His Majesty' in late January, Fernan López de Escoriaza (Charles's personal physician) asserted that 'I have never seen him healthier and stronger' and he ascribed this to 'the joy he felt upon seeing the land and breathing the air of the country where His Majesty was born, and in conversing with the people with whom he grew up'. Dr Escoriaza's only concern was Charles's irregular eating habits – 'he eats nothing' at night 'because he eats during the day and at night he does not want to dine' – a problem that would continue to vex his physicians. Nevertheless, Charles soon provided a stunning example of his physical fitness. At a tournament in Ghent, he 'used and adapted to different weapons in such a way that the most accomplished warrior in the world could not have done better'.[58]

Domestic problems proved less tractable. As his sister Marie later recalled, on his return to Brussels in 1531 'His Majesty found many rivalries among his principal ministers, justice neglected, and the States very grudging'. The States of Holland proved particularly recalcitrant, demanding that their ruler redress grievances before they would vote any more taxes, to which Charles replied testily: 'I want to be trusted, and will not bargain with my subjects.'[59] Another of the problems listed by Marie worried him far more. He confided to Ferdinand that 'I found great enmities, personal passions, leagues and alliances' among his officials, 'constantly turning everyone against the rest'. Therefore, 'to see and ascertain the truth, I followed up the accusations against my fiscal officers made by their adversaries, and I examined their accounts from 1520 to 1530 – that is, for ten years – to see if they had robbed me as some claimed'. But 'although some matters were not as satisfactory as they should have been, I found no fault'. The spectacle of the most powerful ruler in the Western world checking ten years of public accounts in person would have delighted Chièvres, and Charles's diligence led him to an important conclusion: 'If there is a fault here, the principal cause is that everyone desires so many privileges in order to limit my sovereignty [*hauteur*] so that we would

almost become colleagues and I would no longer be in charge [*casy nous demouryons compagnons et moy non seigneur*].’[60]

Charles therefore decided to overhaul the central government of the Netherlands. He established three ‘collateral councils’ to advise Marie: the Council of State for diplomacy, defence and religion; the Privy Council to prepare legislation and to hear both civil and criminal appeals from inferior courts; and the Council of Finance to supervise the collection and expenditure of revenues, the raising and repayment of loans, and the oversight of all state assets. His instructions to each body, and also to Marie, reserved a wide range of issues that only he could decide – no doubt to prevent Marie from following Margaret’s example and creating her own agenda. In this he failed: after scarcely a year Charles allowed Marie to open any letters addressed to him that passed through her hands, just as their aunt had done, and her letters to him often included comments and advice about what he should do next. Charles also created a ‘hotline’: ‘When something crops up that I want to remain secret, I will always write to you about it in my own hand,’ he told his sister, ‘and you should do the same.’[61]

Charles had little choice. Scarcely had he and his brother parted after the coronation feast in Aachen than Ferdinand begged him to return and deal with the threat of another Turkish invasion and the recalcitrance of the Lutherans. Charles protested that the affairs of the Netherlands ‘in truth require much more time and much more of my personal attention’ than he had anticipated, while ‘as you can imagine the affairs and needs of my kingdoms of Spain suffer greatly the longer I am away, causing my subjects to suffer and complain, so that I cannot postpone returning there for long’. The following month, with a fine display of passive-aggressive rhetoric, Charles informed his brother that he would return to Germany even though it meant ‘postponing all other matters and the absolute necessity and importance of all other business which, as you can imagine, are very important to my kingdoms, dominions and subjects’, and he warned that he would only stay ‘for one month, maximum, because my other affairs cannot endure any more delay’. He nevertheless found a series of excuses for postponing his departure, such as pressing business in the Netherlands and ‘a long and debilitating cold’, but foreign ambassadors noted that they did

not prevent his participation in frequent jousts and ‘almost every day he goes hunting’, so that ‘he avoids transacting all business and spends his time at play’. Only the return of the papal nuncio Aleandro in November 1531 put an end to the procrastination.[62]

At his first audience, Charles later recalled, the nuncio began ‘by reminding me of the past proceedings of the other Diet [of Worms] better than I remembered them myself, which astonished me’ (perhaps the emperor recognized that he had then been wrong, whereas the nuncio had been right?). Aleandro exploited this advantage by stating boldly that ‘Histories show that great heresies cannot be extinguished without bloodshed’, and to this end he urged Charles to raise troops in Germany, Spain, Italy and the Swiss cantons. Almost immediately the emperor complied. On 3 January 1532 he informed his brother that ‘I have put off and delayed writing to you until now, when I am certain of my departure, because I have written to you about it so many times and then defaulted, and I did not want to lie to you any more – nor will I.’[63] He promised to leave Brussels within two weeks, to meet the imperial Diet again in Regensburg and to campaign against the Turks in person. This time he kept his word.

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR AS A RENAISSANCE PRINCE

DISCIPLINING THE EMPEROR

In December 1531, Charles presided over a chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece in the city of Tournai, captured from France ten years before – an unsubtle way of stressing his success in defending and expanding his Burgundian heritage. According to custom, the chancellor of the Order collected information on the vices and virtues of each knight, which he then presented for discussion by the chapter. Since ‘the conduct of the head and sovereign was not exempt’ from this process, after recording ‘the praise he had heard for [Charles’s] virtue and his glorious exploits’, the chancellor noted five complaints about him received from the knights:

> They considered that he was slow in dispatching business; that he spent a lot of his time on minor matters, neglecting the most important ones; that he seldom consulted his council, which lacked a sufficient number of members; that he did not take sufficient trouble to appoint suitable people to the judicial tribunals, which dealt with business very slowly; and finally that he paid both his ministers and his troops very poorly.

Charles listened to ‘these complaints attentively and with good will’ before offering a vigorous rebuttal:

> He blamed the alleged defects in the administration of justice on those whom he had charged with its execution during his absence, and on the major tasks that he faces constantly, which have prevented him thus far from devoting his full attention to putting his own affairs in order and to dealing with those of his subjects. Concerning his councillors, he stated that since he had failed to find men who were sufficiently experienced and loyal to him, in whom he could trust, he had been forced to take charge himself of many matters that he could have delegated to others. For the rest, he promised to do everything he could to remedy promptly the various abuses that the knights had just stated.[1]

Although subjects everywhere complained about their rulers, few received a licence to do so in person, and fewer still had the right to expect a reasoned answer.

For a time, Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara also possessed a licence to reprimand his master. In a long memorandum of 1523 the Grand Chancellor told Charles that:

> You need to find qualified people who have your confidence, so that you can relax and rely on them; and to this end you need to follow the advice that God gave to Moses, through the mouth of Jethro, when He entrusted him with the task of ruling and leading the people of Israel, advising him that he should choose virtuous, wise and God-fearing people . . . as ministers to render justice to the people constantly, and to refer to him the major matters while dealing with the lesser ones [themselves].

Indeed, Gattinara gushed, ‘it is even more necessary for Your Majesty to do this because you have even more responsibilities than Moses himself, since God has entrusted to you this sovereign imperial title, which involves the administration of the whole world’. Charles passed the memorandum on to his council for discussion and all, both Burgundian and Spanish, enthusiastically endorsed the chancellor’s call for delegation. ‘It seems to me that you must do this,’ opined Henry of Nassau, ‘because it is impossible for Your Majesty to do everything all alone.’ Since Charles took

no notice Gattinara soon returned to the attack. He reminded ‘the young prince’ that although God had raised him ‘higher than any man anywhere in the world’, this ‘was not so that he might abuse all of the gifts and favours granted to him by God, but for the augmentation and exaltation of the Christian religion.’ Therefore, ‘when the emperor did not correct and castigate the abominations and evil deeds of his soldiers and ministers, when he did not administer justice, when he did not pay his debts, when he did not provide for those suffering damages, and when he did not remedy so many evils, he was reputed unjust by the just’. Once again Charles took no notice and early in 1527 Gattinara left court and sailed to Italy. Contrary to the chancellor’s expectations he did not receive an immediate plea to return, because (as ambassador Navagero realized) ‘the emperor never refuses anyone permission to leave his service, because he does not think he needs anyone so much that he cannot manage without them’.[2]

A NEW STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING

Charles’s transition to political independence did not happen overnight. Some still considered him indecisive even after Chièvres’s death. In 1521, Archduchess Margaret tried to soothe the wounded pride of a minister whose advice had been ignored: ‘Our emperor has a head like everyone else, with ears into which one can whisper day or night,’ she crooned, ‘and sometimes change his mind.’ Three years later, when an ambassador urged Charles to marry Isabella of Portugal, he added: ‘“Your Majesty will consult with your council and form such resolve as shall seem fit to you”; to which the emperor snapped back: “Don’t imagine that I now communicate everything with the council”’ (although he conceded ‘that was true when M. Chièvres lived, because he controlled me’).[3] The emperor even countermanded some decisions made in his name by others. In 1524 he revoked several appointments made by Margaret, but a minister warned her that protests would be futile because:

> The emperor did it himself, seeking advice from no one – as he normally does with matters that concern his will and authority. There is no one in his dominions great or wise enough to make him change his mind, unless he believes that common sense requires

> him to do so. I have observed many princes of various ages but I have known none who takes more trouble to understand his own affairs, and takes decisions more inflexibly on what affects him. He is his own treasurer in peace and war, and he confers offices, bishoprics and titles according to God's inspiration, without regard to any pleas he may receive.

The death of several veteran councillors over the next few years, including Margaret and Gattinara in 1530, removed almost everyone capable of restraining the emperor – and he had no intention of replacing them with a new cadre of strong-willed servants. In 1532 he flatly rejected a minister recommended to him to handle Netherlands business 'because I believe he will immediately want to involve himself in decision-making. I prefer someone else who is easier to handle [*manyable*] and will involve himself only in paperwork'.[4]

As the emperor gained in self-confidence, many praised both his intelligence and his diligence. Erasmus, who claimed that he had been 'often at court' while Charles resided in the Netherlands, informed a correspondent in March 1523 that the emperor 'is a young man with plenty of brains'; and that same month some English ambassadors reported that 'withowght fayle ther is no day but his majestie is very long with his counseyll, som tyms 5 or 6 [hours] contynually', and that 'he undyrstondith his affayres not lesse then ony othir off his counseyll'.[5] Many observers also noted that he refused to act in a hurry. In 1526, while discussing Italian politics, the nuncio Baldassare Castiglione told Charles that he 'should make up his mind, and fast, because delay is very dangerous', but the emperor calmly replied that 'his policy had always been to deal first with matters that were easier to resolve, and leave the most difficult ones till last'. Naturally, this infuriated those affected by the difficult decisions – including Castiglione, who complained shortly afterwards: 'Really, the norm here seems to be put things off indefinitely' – but others welcomed Charles's prudence. Three years later when some courtiers levelled an accusation of heresy against Alfonso de Valdés, Charles's Latin secretary and a devoted follower of Erasmus, 'the emperor, who is not in the habit of placing his confidence in anyone quickly, said he did not wish to make a

decision until it could first be shown to him what errors [Valdés] had made'.[6]

Gradually, the emperor devised a system of decision-making that combined widespread consultation with deep reflection. Sometimes he would laboriously write out alternative rationales, starting with an analysis of the problems he faced in February 1525, composed 'even though there is no one who knows them better than me', because 'I want to put my opinions in the form of a confidential letter' (p. 146). During the winter of 1528–9, Charles added another weapon to his administrative arsenal. The efforts of his Spanish ministers to sabotage his plans to leave for Italy infuriated him so much that he created an alternative network of trusted Burgundian officials to circumvent them. He composed a long holograph letter informing the prince of Orange, viceroy of Naples, of his 'desire to get myself to a place where I can acquire and win honour and reputation' and demanded his urgent advice on how best to proceed. He then charged Baron Balançon, a member of his household, to deliver the letter in complete secrecy ('in an emergency you must not hesitate to throw this document into the sea; and whatever happens, make sure that it is seen only by the prince'). He even started to open letters addressed to his ministers. He ordered Antoine Perrenin (then a lowly clerk) to decipher an incoming missive 'without his master knowing'; and he sent a copy of one intercepted letter to Baron Montfort (another long-serving member of his household) along with his reply, together with orders to burn the former after reading it, and to 'reseal with a cord and a little wax the letter that I wrote' to make it seem unopened. Before he sealed his cover letter, he warned Montfort that 'I'm sending this to you via Perrenin. Please let me know if it has been opened'. Evidently, at this stage the emperor trusted none of his ministers except Balançon, Montfort, Orange and Perrenin, all of them from Burgundy: a truly extraordinary situation.[7]

The inability (or unwillingness) of his Spanish officials to raise the 300,000 ducats needed for his voyage to Italy particularly infuriated Charles. 'I constantly try to find the funds,' he raged to Montfort, and 'each evening it seems as if I have succeeded' but 'the next day I find myself further behind than ever'. He concluded that the paralysis arose because 'everyone here is so opposed to my departure, and knows (or thinks) that I

am seeking money for this purpose', and he threatened that if necessary he would 'sell this town' of Toledo in order to raise the funds.[8] In the event he stopped short of such a drastic measure and instead circumvented his Spanish officials by renouncing his claim to the Moluccas to the king of Portugal in return for cash. The proceeds financed not only his journey to Italy but also victory over his Italian enemies and coronation by the pope. His alternative system of decision-making had allowed Charles to get his way.

When Gasparo Contarini, Venetian ambassador in Spain between 1521 and 1525, met Charles again at Bologna over the winter of 1529–30, he noted several changes. Although still 'prudent, reserved and extremely attentive to everything that concerns him', as well as 'more devout than ever', Contarini found that the emperor now 'speaks more – and more consistently – than he used to do in Spain. On some occasions I discussed business with His Majesty for two hours on end, something that never happened in Spain. He is also less obstinate in his opinions.' By way of example, Contarini reported that:

> One day, in a lively discussion with me, His Majesty said that by nature he tended to stick to his decisions; and I, wishing to reassure him, said 'Sire, sticking to good decisions is to be constant, not obstinate'. He replied immediately: 'Sometimes I stick to bad ones.' From this I deduce that prudence and good intentions have allowed His Majesty to overcome the defects of his natural inclinations.

Two years later, the Venetian ambassador Niccolò Tiepolo noted that 'His Majesty delegates only routine matters to his ministers. He himself wants to know about everything else, and to think about it, allowing nothing to happen without his intervention or at least his knowledge.' Cardinal Juan de Tavera, president of the council of Castile, once told his master (with a touch of irony) that 'although Your Majesty may have decided not to follow anyone's advice except your own, things may still turn out well *even if you trust the opinion of others*', but Charles remained adamant. In Tiepolo's words: 'He listens to the advice and opinions of all his ministers, but the decisions are his alone.'[9]

The emperor's increased workload scarcely affected his propensity to put pleasure before business. A register of household expenditure between 1530 and 1532 reveals some of his pastimes. He frequently gambled (sometimes with stakes as high as 300 ducats); he watched plays; and he sat to have his portrait painted with surprising frequency.[10] Hawking and above all hunting could keep Charles away from his desk for days on end. He once apologized to his sister Marie 'for taking so long to reply to your letter, because when it arrived I was so caught up in hunting [*tant enpesché en la chase*] that I put it off'; and when his brother begged him for a decision on a critical issue, Charles replied disarmingly that he was hunting and 'cannot decide what I ought to do while I am here at this country retreat'. Ferdinand and his problems would just have to wait.[11]

Until his forties, Charles seems to have spent little time reading – virtually no portrait shows him even holding a book – but the register of his household expenditure reveals that in 1530 and 1531 he bought some 'books written against Martin Luther'; and a few years later an inventory of his library in Brussels (653 items) showed that he owned several polemics against Lutherans as well as a few travel books, some items that might today qualify as soft porn (*Livre d'amours*), and handbooks on hawking and hunting. But how often did he read his books? According to the Venetian man of letters, Lodovico Dolce, Charles 'only enjoyed reading three authors, whose works he had translated into Spanish', namely Castiglione's *Courtier*, 'for the foundations of civilized life'; *The Prince* and *The Discourses* of Niccolò Machiavelli, 'for affairs of state'; and 'the *Histories* and all the other works of Polybius for military matters'.[12] Dolce overlooked two other categories of the emperor's favourite reading, however: books of chivalry and devotional works (his library contained fourteen Books of Hours, some of them exquisitely illuminated).[13]

Charles always took his devotions seriously. Just after his abdication an ambassador testified that 'Throughout his life His Majesty has heard Mass every day . . . and sermons on holy days and throughout the forty days of Lent. Sometimes he attends vespers and other divine offices, and every day he has the Bible read to him. He has always confessed and taken communion four times a year.' Before he got into bed Charles normally

knelt before a religious image and recited a simple version of the creed, and he practised mental prayer, perhaps aided by one of his Books of Hours.[14]

Charles periodically engaged in more ostentatious devotions. He owned two scourges, and (according to his son many years later) one 'was much used' and still bore traces of the emperor's blood.[15] In addition, the emperor went on retreat for a week every Easter. In 1529, just before departure for Italy, 'he left his wife and children on Palm Sunday' and remained in a monastery 'through the holy days, taking a break from official business, as was appropriate'; in 1535, just before his campaign in Africa, he again refused to transact any public business during Holy Week, which he spent in a monastery; and so on. The only exception occurred in 1526, when his decision just before Easter to torture and execute Bishop Acuña of Zamora led to Charles's excommunication – but as soon as he received the pope's pardon he went to a monastery, 'where he will spend a week in lieu of Holy Week, and will confess and take communion'.[16] Impatient ministers might pester their master at such times, but they got nowhere. During Holy Week 1531, Los Cobos prepared a *consulta* that summarized nine matters that (he believed) urgently required a decision and sent it, together with the relevant papers, to the monastery where Charles was on retreat. The emperor ignored it until after Easter, and then returned it with the lapidary reminder: 'It's hard to confess and write a lot at the same time.'[17]

Charles's exemplary piety allowed his confessors to influence his political choices. Jean Glapion, a Franciscan friendly with Erasmus, became imperial confessor in 1520 and the following year accompanied the emperor to the Diet of Worms and on campaign. Some thought he carried 'no less weight at Court than Christ himself'. His fiery Lenten sermons in 1520, delivered in Charles's presence, excoriated the shortcomings of both Church and churchmen and insisted that if clerical abuses continued, princes had a duty to intervene: 'It is your job to place your hand on your sword and ensure that such evils do not occur through the faults of the clergy' – a message that Luther himself might have delivered. A year later, Charles tasked Glapion with persuading Elector Frederick of Saxony to make Luther retract at least some of his propositions and thus avoid a high-risk confrontation at the Diet of Worms (chapter 5). It is therefore no

surprise that a book by Glapion, ‘His Imperial Majesty’s confessor’, later appeared on the Index of Prohibited Books.[18]

Glapion accompanied Charles to Spain in 1522, but almost immediately resigned in order to travel with other Franciscans from the Netherlands who wished to convert the indigenous population of America (he died first). After almost a year, the emperor chose as his confessor the Dominican García de Loaysa y Mendoza. Like Glapion, Loaysa joined the council of state and in 1526 became president of the council of the Indies. Foreign ambassadors courted him because ‘he is very much in His Majesty’s favour, more than anyone else I know’.[19] Although few of Loaysa’s exchanges with Charles from this period survive, their extensive correspondence from 1530 to 1533, when the Dominican served as the emperor’s special representative in Rome, reveals much about their past interactions. Loaysa told Charles that ‘since I have kept the title of confessor, as long as I live I have the duty to assist your salvation’, and he felt this empowered him ‘to speak to Your Majesty as if I were still in your apartments, as I used to be’, so that ‘my words reflect my long experience of telling you things in person, with the doors closed’.[20] ‘Sloth and the desire for glory are in constant battle in your royal person,’ Loaysa thundered, adding that ‘crowns and triumphs have never rewarded laziness, self-indulgence, vice and recreation’. He even used the emperor’s earlier confessions against him: ‘Your Majesty once said that he wished to dedicate his life to defending the faith, because you did not feel that anything else would repay the infinite mercies that you have received from God. Now is the time for Your Majesty to show whether those words were hypocritical and false, or whether they were heartfelt and true.’[21]

Loaysa singled out Charles’s self-indulgence for special criticism. In 1530 he marvelled that the emperor continued to eat fish when ‘the whole world knows that your stomach cannot deal with fish’. Indeed, ‘I hear from people there that sometimes your stomach is louder than your voice’. The following year he raged that ‘God did not create you so that you could kill stags when the church stands in such need’, and he reproached Charles for risking his health and perhaps his life:

> For the pleasure of drinking too much, of eating things that don’t agree with you, and not acting prudently with your sleep and in

> other things. For the love of God, do not ignore my supplications, but rather leave aside such pernicious pleasures. God did not create Your Majesty so that you could have fun in this world but so that you would work ceaselessly to save the Christian Commonwealth![22]

In 1532 rumours of another Turkish invasion of Hungary led Loaysa to launch a new barrage of commands: ‘Your Majesty must not think about leaving Germany but instead complete your tasks well and conclude the enterprise that you so gloriously took upon yourself.’ In short, ‘There must be no Castile, no wife, and no children until you have satisfactorily dealt with matters of state.’ Most outspoken of all:

> I venture to say that now is the time, more than at any other time of your life, when Your Majesty has the greatest obligation not to waste a single hour. Each day you must consult your councillors and carry out their resolutions without delay . . . I have always known that Your Majesty loved honour a thousand times more than life and wealth, and now that your honour is at stake you should not even eat or sleep without thinking about how to make it grow and not diminish.[23]

Loaysa wisely interspersed his criticisms with positive feedback. He praised ‘the perfection of your faith and your honesty, because there is no one in this world who is more pure, and a greater enemy of lies and deception, than Your Majesty’ (1530); and claimed that ‘Everyone knows that Your Majesty is an angel’ (1531).[24]

Charles seemed willing to accept the reproaches in return for such uplifting messages. ‘I am very pleased,’ he assured Loaysa in one of his holograph replies, ‘to be counselled and advised by you’, and ‘so I beg you never to tire of doing so’. Or, with slightly less enthusiasm: ‘Many thanks for the good advice that you are giving me. I would be delighted if you would continue, and always send me your advice on everything: I take it, and will continue to take it, in the same spirit in which you offer it.’[25]

The only reverse that shook Charles’s faith appears to have occurred after witnessing the death of his nephew Hans, the fourteen-year-old son of

his late sister Isabeau and her unpleasant husband Christian of Denmark. ‘It has brought me the greatest sorrow you can imagine,’ he wrote in August 1532, ‘because he was the most handsome little boy for his age that you could find. I feel his death even more than the loss of my own son [Fernando, who had died two years earlier], because he was older and I knew him better, and treated him as my own son. Nevertheless we must accept the will of God’ – but then he added angrily: ‘May God forgive me, but I wish He had taken [Christian] instead of his son.’[26]

UNHAPPY FAMILY

Charles always held, and often expressed, strong views about his relatives. As María José Rodríguez-Salgado observed, he ‘had been born into an extraordinary and dysfunctional family’ – and, she added, he managed to perpetuate it. ‘When we examine his relations to other members of the family he showed little affection for any of them; the most salient characteristic is his desire to control them.’ Indeed, he treated some of them ‘with profound suspicion which at times bordered on paranoia’.[27]

On hearing of the death of his aunt Margaret he claimed, ‘I viewed her and treated her as my mother’, yet he had often behaved towards her with stunning insensitivity, notably at the time of his emancipation. He also treated his biological mother appallingly. At their first meeting in Spain, he assured Queen Joanna that he and his sister Eleanor had come ‘as humble and obedient children’ to ‘offer you our respect, service and obedience’, but he perpetuated the fictional world, full of fake facts, created by her father (chapter 4). Even after the Comunero rebellion exposed Joanna to reality, Charles kept her confined at Tordesillas where he periodically helped himself to her possessions. In 1524, just before the marriage of his sister Catalina (who had spent almost all her life confined with her mother), Charles spent a month in Tordesillas removing tapestries, jewels, books, silver goods and even liturgical vestments from Joanna’s collection to serve as part of his sister’s dowry (thus saving Charles from paying it himself). He also removed items weighing 25 kilos of silver and 15 kilos of gold from his mother’s apartments, and used them to fund Catalina’s journey to Lisbon (thoughtfully filling the empty chests with bricks of equivalent weight so that his mother would not notice until after his departure that he

had robbed her).[28] Charles also kept the wedding plans secret from Joanna for as long as possible, and 'when the time came for the bride to leave and join her husband, he left for Madrid to avoid being present, fearing that his mother would make a great demonstration of grief'. Despite his undoubted physical courage, the emperor was thus sometimes a moral coward.[29]

Charles also showed insensitivity towards his wife, whom he sometimes apparently regarded as primarily a regent and a breeder. In January 1522, though betrothed to Henry VIII's daughter Mary, he assured King John of Portugal unromantically that 'we are more inclined to marry his sister the Infanta [Isabella] than anyone else, because there is no daughter of a king as ready as her [*si preste comme elle*]'. Three years later he boasted to his brother that marrying Isabella would mean that almost immediately thereafter 'I could entrust the government to her' and leave Spain; and just before his marriage, he promised Ferdinand that he would abandon his bride-to-be and sail for Italy just as soon as he had impregnated her.[30] As his aunt Margaret reminded the empress, 'children are the only thing that [Charles] lacks to secure the great kingdoms and lands that God has given him', and she promised that 'when I see His Majesty I will ask him to return so that you may create another child' – but although the empress conceived at least nine times, except for their firstborn, after the pregnancy began Charles lost interest. When their second son died while he was absent in Germany, Charles belittled his wife's grief: 'Since our Lord, who gave [Fernando] to us, wished to have him back, we must bend to His will and thank Him and beg Him to protect what is left. With great affection, my lady, I beg you to do this, and to forget and leave behind all pain and grief.' A few years later, when Cardinal Tavera announced the birth of Infanta Joanna to his master, then in Africa, he felt it necessary to add: 'It seems to me that in your letter to the empress, Your Majesty must show great happiness about your new daughter because it will please her greatly.'[31] Most callous of all, Charles failed to inform his wife that he had promised Margaret of Austria that she would raise their second son in the Netherlands. The empress only learned about this commitment in an ecstatic letter from Margaret, congratulating her on the birth of Fernando: 'No news could have been as welcome to me. *Given what His Majesty promised me*, I hope that [Fernando] will be my son, a support to me in my

old age, a consolation for the sadness I feel every day. I therefore beg you, madam: do not tell me I am mistaken.'[32]

Despite these occasional acts of selfishness, Charles clearly loved his wife. One day in 1532, in a letter to his sister Marie from Germany, he promised to include a portrait of Isabella, 'the most beautiful one I possess, which will be the one that resembles her most'; but then he changed his mind. 'I was writing to my wife when your letter arrived,' he explained, and now 'I want to look at her portrait myself, seeing the great beauty it contains' – adding self-righteously: 'I am such a devoted husband that other beautiful women now do nothing for me.' A few months later he apologized to Marie for the brevity of his letter, 'because otherwise it would be very badly written, since all I have done for the last two hours is write a letter to my wife'.[33] Charles and Isabella not only exchanged letters: periodically they also sent trusted messengers 'to bring news of your health and of how things are there, and also so that Your Majesty will learn about my health, and that of our children, and about things here'. The night after Charles left for Italy in 1529, apparently spontaneously, each of them dispatched a messenger to the other; and when they were apart, they also exchanged gifts – in 1537 the empress 'sent a post to th'emperor at Barcelona with a letle flower of silke of her owne making, enclosed in a box'.[34] Nevertheless, as Rodríguez-Salgado has shrewdly noted, only Isabella's death seems to have made the emperor fully 'appreciate what he had possessed, and he would show her memory a depth of sentiment not seen while she was alive. Now there was no pressure, no bitter reproaches, nothing that could counter the many admirable virtues she had embodied; no illness to distort the beautiful features'. In short, after her death she became 'more an icon than a real woman'.[35] In 1547, Charles summoned Titian to come and 'repair his portrait of the empress, which arrived two years ago somewhat damaged'. He took the painting with him to Yuste, and gazed on it for a long time the day he realized that his illness might be terminal. In his final agony, as he had always planned, he held and kissed the crucifix that Isabella had held when she died.[36]

The same combination of love, duty and abuse characterized Charles's relations with three of his siblings. He always addressed his elder sister Eleanor as '*ma meilleure sœur*'. She had been his constant companion until

1518, when he compelled her to marry King Manuel of Portugal, and after she returned to Spain following his death, Charles visited her every evening. As for duty, when he left to campaign in Navarre in 1523, Eleanor served as regent in Castile; and as queen of France between 1530 and 1547 she did her best to promote harmony between her husband and her brother, attending summits between them and on at least one occasion sending him a secret letter that revealed France's negotiating position (chapter 10). After Francis died in 1547 she joined Charles in Brussels and a decade later she accompanied him to Spain. On paper, the emperor always professed profound affection. In 1522, after Manuel's death, he instructed one of his trusted ministers to bring Eleanor back to Spain because 'she is the person whom we love most and cherish most in this world', and after her death he told his son about 'the great and special love we have always had for each other'; but the reality had been somewhat different.[37] In 1517, Charles brutally cut short the love affair of his 'meilleure sœur' with Count Palatine Frederick and forced her to marry Manuel, and when Frederick renewed his suit after Manuel's death Charles again thwarted it. Shortly afterwards, when trying to persuade Eleanor to return from Portugal to Castile, the emperor wrote ingratiatingly: 'If by chance you have been told that once you are here I will force you marry someone against your will, you must not give them any credence' because 'I have no intention of making you marry, unless it is someone you want. And you can be quite sure of that.' Almost immediately, he reneged on this undertaking and promised her hand to the duke of Bourbon. He later reneged on that too, offering her to King Francis instead. Although he later claimed that Eleanor preferred this 'to the marriage with the duke of Bourbon *which I had arranged for her*', he nevertheless prevented her from joining her new husband for four years.[38]

Charles's relations with Ferdinand and Marie were similarly volatile. He granted both of them immense latitude as his lieutenants (the former in Germany; the latter in the Netherlands), but when in 1531 he asked Marie to govern the Netherlands, he insisted that she first dismiss all the household officials who had served her since she left Brussels in 1514, and to appoint in their place only Netherlanders approved by him. He also asked her to accept the new post without knowing what powers she would receive because 'until we are together I cannot decide what they should be'. In the

event Charles gave his sister exceptional powers – far broader than he granted to the empress – and he made her the ultimate executor of his will, empowered to decide the order of succession if both he and Prince Philip should die.[39] Normally, he ratified her decisions, even when she had acted before consulting him, but occasionally they disagreed. One outrageous example occurred after the death of their nephew Hans of Denmark in 1532. Charles decided that 'There is no other remedy but to find husbands' for both of the late prince's sisters, Dorothea aged twelve and Christina aged ten, whom Marie was raising at her court (their mother was dead, their father in prison). The following year he arranged for Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan to marry one of them, but in doing so he 'made a mistake, saying that the duke could marry the older one, when he meant to say the younger, because he is trying to marry the older one to the king of Scotland'. When the emperor realized his error, 'he told the duke that he could marry whichever one he wanted'. Francesco chose Christina, although he was almost four times her age, because he had learned that she was better-looking.[40] The contract stipulated that the marriage should be consummated immediately, to which Marie strongly objected; but Charles overruled her, in part because he continued to confuse which of his underage nieces he was giving away. He began his reply: 'As for the marriage of my niece Dorothea' (instead of 'Christina'), before explaining that 'She will find the duke satisfactory, because as for wealth, he is in good shape; and as for his person, although the limbs one can see and his manner may seem odd, his head and torso are perfectly formed. It is said he cannot live without a woman, but that is something we can take care of for him.' His callous attitude infuriated Marie even more: 'Our niece regards you as her lord and father, in whom she places her entire trust', but 'she is only 11½, and it is against both God and good sense to marry so young'. In addition 'as yet she shows no sign of being a woman' (that is, she had not begun to menstruate), and 'if she becomes pregnant before she is fully developed you will put both her and the child at risk'. Once again Charles ignored his sister's sensible arguments. 'The difference in age will present more of a problem for the duke than for our niece,' he smirked. Marie deployed a succession of excuses to keep Christina at her court but in 1534, aged thirteen, she made her ceremonial entry into Milan.[41] A year later,

since talks of a Scottish marriage had fallen through, Charles arranged for ‘my niece Dorothea’ to marry Queen Eleanor’s former admirer, Frederick, although he was thirty-eight years her senior. Neither union ended well. Francesco Sforza died eighteen months after Christina joined him in Milan; both Dorothea and Frederick became Lutherans; neither couple produced children.

Charles’s most egregious bullying of Marie occurred near the end of his life. In 1555, having governed the Netherlands for a quarter-century, she retired and then travelled with her brother and Eleanor to Spain, where she took a ‘solemn vow to God not to become involved in government again, either directly or indirectly’. Nevertheless, Charles’s son Philip, in Brussels, determined that Spain alone could provide the funds he needed to defeat France, that only his presence there could secure them, and that he could not leave the Netherlands safely unless Marie returned to govern them. Since he knew she would refuse, he begged the emperor to persuade her. Charles toyed with the idea of summoning her to a personal meeting, but (according to an eyewitness) he recalled that the last time he had mentioned this, ‘I found her so angry that I doubted she would agree to it; and so, fearing a repeat, it seemed better not to place myself in a situation where I would just get angry with her’. In August 1558 he therefore sent his sister a letter that declared flatteringly that Philip ‘is as much your son as he is mine’ before ordering that ‘You must not permit the loss in our lifetimes of the honour and patrimony that we inherited from our parents and our ancestors, and which we have preserved at the cost of so many and such great trials.’ He was confident that ‘when you consider the risk of such a great loss, to avoid it you will drop everything’ and return to the Netherlands, ‘because it would be the greatest service you could perform for God and our dynasty’. Lest she should waver, he added a holograph postscript repeating that ‘the salvation – or the loss, dishonour and ruin – of my son the king and of our dynasty depend on you’.[42]

It was vintage Charles: a shameless appeal to Marie’s loyalty to him, to their dynasty, and to the country she had worked so hard to govern, followed by the threat that her intransigence imperilled all of them. It showed that, even three weeks before his death, he was still prepared to blackmail his closest relatives – and, as usual, he succeeded. Although

Marie protested vehemently, she started to pack her things ready to return and help her nephew and ‘our dynasty’ in the Netherlands. She continued even after she learned of Charles’s death, but the effort seems to have exhausted her: she died four weeks after her brother.

Charles subjected Ferdinand to a similar blend of flattery and bullying, starting in 1517 (before they first met) when Charles feared that some members of his brother’s entourage planned to make him regent of Castile. He ordered their dismissal, while at the same time reassuring Ferdinand that ‘the great love I have for him is always paramount. He must see me as a brother and a true father’ (p. 81). At the same time, he promised the States-General of the Netherlands that as soon as he arrived in Spain his brother would come to live in the Low Countries – but without informing Ferdinand until the moment when he abruptly told him to leave. The Infante, aged only fourteen, ‘who was very wise and obedient to his brother, replied that His Majesty should arrange matters as he wished’, and he immediately left his homeland for the court of his aunt Margaret. Two years later, when Charles furiously opposed Margaret’s attempt to put his brother forward as a compromise candidate for election as king of the Romans, once again, Ferdinand complied, assuring his brother that ‘I place my entire fate in your hands, as in the hands of my lord and father, because that is how I see you and will see you for my whole life.’[43]

Ferdinand’s eagerness to accommodate paid off. In 1521, Charles ceded to his brother the Austrian lands he had inherited and made a will that recognized Ferdinand as his universal heir; the following year he named his brother as vicar-general in the Empire; and in 1526 he granted Ferdinand full powers to act in Italy, too, ‘able to give, sell, promise and do all the things that I could do, and cause to be done, if I were there myself, because I feel so much love and confidence towards you’.[44] Ferdinand’s flexible temperament – so different from that of the emperor – also paid off in central Europe: he possessed the tact and patience required to cajole the political elite of Austria and Germany, as well as Bohemia and Hungary after he became their king in 1526. Charles learned to value his brother’s advice. ‘There is no one in the world whom I love and trust as much as you, holding you to be just the same as me [*ung autre moy mesmes*],’ he wrote in

1524, repeating the phrase a few months later, and adding that ‘I regard you not only as my brother but also as my oldest son’.[45]

Nevertheless, praise could swiftly turn to blame. In 1535 rumours about ‘the poor administration’ of his brother’s household led Charles to humiliate Ferdinand’s personal representative, Martín de Salinas, at a public audience. The emperor began roughly:

> ‘Tell me, is my brother as poor as they say’ — ‘Yes sire.’ — ‘Does he pay his household officials?’ — ‘No, sire, not for a long time.’ . . . ‘Does he owe them much?’ — ‘He owes some people a year’s salary, sire, and others more.’ . . . — ‘They say that my brother maintains a large household.’ — ‘True, sire: indeed I think it may be larger . . .’

Luckily for Salinas, the arrival of an urgent message interrupted this tongue-lashing, and when the audience resumed Charles had calmed down, saying ‘My brother is smart: I do not want him to think that I wish to intervene in how he governs. Let him do what he wants.’[46] Charles also broke his promises to Ferdinand whenever it suited him. ‘I will take care that you shall have everything possible,’ the emperor wrote soothingly in July 1525, ‘because you deserve so much more, since you are responsible for the victory’ at Pavia, ‘and besides, you know that my affairs are yours, and yours are mine’. Yet the very same letter revealed the limitations of his gratitude: ‘I have been advised to do three things to safeguard my position in Italy’ and ‘I have done them’ – two of them at Ferdinand’s expense. Charles announced that he had made a separate peace with Venice ‘on condition that they pay me 120,000 ducats’, despite an earlier undertaking to extract concessions from the Republic in favour of Ferdinand; and that he had agreed to install Francesco Sforza as duke of Milan in exchange for 600,000 ducats, despite an understanding that he would confer the duchy on Ferdinand. In short, he had sold his brother’s dreams to pay his own debts.[47] He did the same thing two decades later, after Ferdinand’s military assistance proved equally critical in crushing the Schmalkaldic League. His brother had every right to expect Charles to grant him the duchy of Württemberg, since League forces had expelled Ferdinand’s garrisons in 1534, but instead the emperor installed Spanish garrisons and administered

the territory himself. Worst of all, during the winter of 1550–1, Charles forced Ferdinand to accept Prince Philip as the next king of the Romans (instead of his own son Maximilian), creating a disastrous breach between the brothers that almost proved fatal to the dynasty (chapter 14).

CHARLES THE CHARMER

Such callous behaviour did not pass unnoticed. ‘The emperor’s nature,’ wrote Gasparo Contarini in 1525, ‘means that he cares for nobody [*non sa accarezzare alcuno*]’; and, he asserted, such relentless selfishness explained ‘why few people like him’.[48] But here Contarini erred. Even those whom Charles slighted and bullied often remained devoted to him. In her last letter, dictated when she knew she was dying, his aunt Margaret claimed that her only regret was that ‘I will not be able to see and speak with you one more time before I die’. One of Eleanor’s last letters to him likewise asserted that ‘As for myself, I have never wanted to take a decision without knowing the pleasure of Your Majesty, whom I regard as my sovereign and my father.’ Marie likewise asserted that ‘after God, Your Majesty means everything to me’; and even after Charles’s death, Ferdinand remained completely loyal, telling a confidant that ‘I loved and revered my brother the emperor as if he had been my father’.[49]

Their youngest sister Catalina was perhaps Charles’s greatest fan. Her letters referred to him as her ‘my true father and lord’, and she welcomed any advice he cared to share with his ‘daughter and sister’. Although they only met twice, Charles always remained her hero. In 1528 she claimed that reading his letter about the challenge issued by the king of France ‘gave me the worst pain I have ever experienced, because I never want to hear or know about something that might involve the slightest risk to Your Majesty’. Four years later, when the Turks invaded Hungary, she had no doubt that ‘Your Majesty, as the common father of us all, will save and remedy’ everything.[50] Wherever he might be, Catalina sent Charles care packages from Lisbon containing delicacies and other gifts that she hoped would please him: scented gloves and embroidered handkerchiefs, ginger and cinnamon, marmalade and conserves that she made herself. In 1553 she sent a personal representative to Brussels to take care of him, and when he moved to Yuste after his abdication she sent a talking parrot and two cats

from India to entertain him as well as a weekly consignment of Atlantic fish. She also did her best to promote Charles's political ends by acting as his advocate with her husband King John.[51]

Although his relatives were thus the emperor's leading boosters, they were not alone: many diplomats praised his ability to win the hearts of those around him. In 1530, just after he crossed the Alps for the first time, an old woman came to the bridle of his horse and begged for money: Charles 'placed his hand on her head, and spoke kindly to her' before ordering his almoner to see to her needs. A few weeks later, as he approached Augsburg, 140 German dignitaries came out to meet him and 'the emperor at once dismounted and spoke and shook hands with every one of them'. The following year, in the Netherlands, an ambassador expressed astonishment at 'the universal devotion of the entire population. Leaving aside those who venerate and adore him as if he were God, there is no one here who does not speak with some affection in praise of His Majesty'. Shortly afterwards, during the investiture of his sister Marie as regent of the Netherlands, 'the emperor spoke for more than an hour in such a moving and gentle way that it almost made the audience weep'. By the time he had finished, 'everyone was of one mind, as if they had become his slaves'.[52]

Charles repeatedly demonstrated his ability to work a crowd during his victory lap of Sicily and Italy in 1535–6, winning over subjects who had once opposed him, and even former enemies. When a group of French prisoners wanted to kiss his hands as a sign of submission, Charles refused and 'instead, with loving words, he placed his hands on their shoulders and chatted with them'. A decade later, a German observer noted the same graciousness: 'Whenever I saw the emperor come out of his apartments and into the courtyard', if any noblemen awaited him Charles 'was the first to remove his hat, and with a friendly gesture or look, he gave his hand to everybody'. Then when he returned, 'at the foot of the staircase he turned, removed his hat, gave everyone his hand and graciously bade them farewell'.[53]

At audiences, Charles would 'listen courteously, attentively and with great patience, not only to ambassadors, envoys and nobles but also to any inconsequential or poor person who wanted to explain or request something, hearing whatever they wanted to say without ever interrupting'.

He normally made himself available in this way twice each day: ‘Whenever he came out of his apartments he stopped and either listened or held out his own hand to receive a petition, so that everyone has the freedom boldly to share concerns with him, and openly air their grievances without fear.’ Likewise, after eating dinner ‘he got up from the table and stood humbly while he listened and spoke to everyone equally’.[54]

Many observers also praised the emperor’s self-control. In March 1525, Charles’s impassive reaction upon hearing about the victory at Pavia and the capture of Francis impressed the Mantuan ambassador, who reflected that as a rule he ‘does not gloat over successes or get depressed by adversity’. Five years later, on learning of the death of his young son Fernando, ‘the emperor showed no sign of the sorrow that fathers, however stoic they are, normally show at such setbacks’, and when his brother offered consolation, ‘the emperor told him that one should not take offence at what Our Lord God was pleased to ordain’, and he ‘ended the conversation by saying that he and his wife were of a suitable age and condition to produce more children’.[55] Finally, foreign diplomats noted with approval Charles’s restraint in food and drink. ‘He always ate alone and in total silence’, according to a Venetian account in 1530. Servers brought between twenty-five and thirty ‘covered dishes to his table, and uncovered them so that he could indicate which ones he liked’; after which he chose ‘10 or 12 of them, taking 2 or 3 mouthfuls from each, eating with his hands from a silver platter’, and drinking ‘wine from a pitcher 3 or 4 times’. He ate ‘very little bread and no salad’.[56]

At much the same time, the imperial preacher and chronicler Fray Antonio de Guevara composed an essay ‘On the physiognomy and qualities of the emperor’, which provided an intimate pen portrait that matched that of Sancho Cota a decade before (p. 66 above). ‘He was of medium height, with large and beautiful eyes, aquiline nose and red hair . . . A small beard, a strong neck; large and powerful arms; small, rough hands; well-proportioned legs.’ Like others, Guevara noted only one defect: ‘His mouth, because his upper jaw was so badly aligned with the lower that his teeth never met. This had two unfortunate consequences: it made his speech hard to follow because he ate his words; and it made eating hard work for him, because his teeth could not chew what he ate, which meant poor digestion

and often illness.'[57] After he had returned safely from his embassy to Spain in 1525, Contarini made the same point: the emperor's 'lower jaw is so large and so long that it seemed not to be natural but false' – he used the word '*posticcio*': a prosthetic artificially added to the body – but shortly afterwards the emperor took steps to conceal this defect.[58] Someone who watched him disembark in Italy in 1529 began his report by exclaiming that although 'his mouth is always open' he did not look at all like recent portraits because 'His Majesty has had his hair trimmed in the Italian style' and 'he has a pointed beard'.[59] Exactly when this transition occurred remains unclear. A gold coin struck in Aragon in 1528 showed the emperor sporting a beard, but with long, straight hair in the Burgundian style. He must have started to cut it short subsequently (Pl. 16). In normal times, ambassadors would have reported such dramatic changes, but Charles imprisoned most of the diplomatic corps in January 1528 and thus deprived them of the opportunity to observe him; so when he arrived in Italy, surprise added to the impact of his metamorphosis. As he entered Bologna for his coronation, 'what gave him added gravity was his blond beard and his golden hair, which he wore like the Roman emperors, cut at mid-ear length'. Instead of a duke of Burgundy, Charles had become Marcus Aurelius (Pl. 18).[60]

Thanks to Guevara, Marcus Aurelius provided Charles with more than a new coiffure. The friar claimed (almost certainly falsely) that he had found the Greek text of the late emperor's memoirs and some of his letters in an Italian library and had turned them first into Latin and then into Castilian while serving as preacher at Charles's court, starting in 1518. Ten years later, the first printed edition of *The Golden Book of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius* appeared in Seville, and by 1550 there were seventeen Spanish, nine Italian and nine French editions. It became (some claimed) the most widely read book in Renaissance Europe after the Bible.

In his lengthy dedication to Charles, Guevara remarked: 'I can see, sire, that you are one but have to deal with many; you are alone and cannot always be accompanied. I also see you engulfed by many matters.' Guevara offered his help in navigating this sea of solitude by 'persuading you to imitate and follow the example of Marcus Aurelius', because he had expanded the empire he had inherited through a combination of patience

and justice, not through wars and conquests. In an expanded version of his book, also dedicated to Charles and first published in 1529, Guevara devoted five chapters to the evils of war, and three more to the particular evils of wars of conquest and of forcible colonization.[61]

Was the dedicatee one of Guevara's readers? The author claimed in 1525 that 'while His Majesty was ill with a fever, he asked me to spend time with him and do something to reduce his temperature. I therefore presented His Majesty with *Marcus Aurelius*, although it was not yet finished and revised'. The prologue to another of Guevara's works, *Alarm clock for princes*, expressed the wish that 'From time to time Your Majesty should make it a habit to dip into this book, and perhaps you will find some helpful advice that will be of benefit.' Charles certainly owned an illustrated manuscript copy, no doubt presented by the author; and both works formed part of the emperor's travelling library until 1542, when he deposited them in Simancas castle together with other books that he valued, to form the nucleus of an imperial library.[62] But if Charles actually read Guevara's works, he read them selectively, focusing on another passage in the prologue to *The Golden Book* that quoted with approval the example of Julius Caesar and expressed the hope that 'those of us who write about your century to enlighten future ages will testify that in order to live up to the words *PLUS ULTRA*, which form part of your emblem, you attempted the conquest of the whole world'. The decision to take Julius Caesar rather than Marcus Aurelius as a role model would involve high costs for Charles and his subjects, as well as for his enemies.[63]

PART III

‘RULER FROM THE RISING TO THE SETTING OF THE SUN’

‘Now [Charles] may as well wryte to his frendis, as [Julius] Caesar wrote to his frendis: I came, I saw, I conquered.’

Nicholas Wotton, English ambassador at the imperial court, September 1543

— NINE —

THE LAST CRUSADER, 1532–6

THE IMPERIAL INVALID

On 18 January 1532, the day after he reluctantly left Brussels for Germany, the emperor composed a letter of rare passion to his sister Marie: ‘Although it’s only a short time since I left you,’ he wrote, ‘I feel bored and irritated, mainly because I left you behind. You can be sure that after such a good time together I shall not forget it, or you, or my homeland, however far away I may be.’ Ten days later he told Marie that he still felt ‘displeased to be going further away from what I always have so many reasons to love and to hold: namely you, and the country where I was born and raised.’[1]

Charles tried to overcome his boredom and loneliness through hunting, overjoyed to encounter herds of up to 500 deer in the Rhineland, but his pleasure ended abruptly when ‘the leash of his dog became wrapped around his horse’s legs, as he was galloping to try and catch up with some deer. His horse threw him, and His Majesty’s feet hit a large rock.’ This, Charles reported, ‘really damaged my leg: although it is not broken or dislocated, it is very painful.’ He did not exaggerate: when his coffin was opened in the 1870s, observers noted ‘the imperfect healing of a fracture in his leg, because the bones had knitted together laterally’.[2]

Thus began five months of health problems. Charles refused to be bled or purged – the remedies prescribed by most physicians at the time for most ailments – and initially he made a good recovery; but once he started to hunt again his leg became swollen and ulcerous, and the pain kept him awake at night. Some feared he might lose the leg and his doctors confined him to his room and put him on a diet to lose weight. ‘The cure irritates me

as much as the injury,' Charles raged, but the doctors had the measure of their illustrious patient: 'He could certainly go outside,' Dr Escoriaza confided to the empress, 'but if we doctors give His Majesty an inch we fear he will take a yard.' Therefore, 'we agreed to stand up to him as best we may'.[3] The possibility of amputation led Charles to 'think about a wooden leg'. 'I can't deny that I have become afraid,' he told Marie, and yet 'I can't stop scratching the ulcers'. He paid a high price for his indiscipline. Escoriaza reported that 'He has an itch all over his body and he scratches a lot, especially his legs, and the scratching has caused a rash in many parts of his body, right up to his face', and his 'left eye became red and swollen'. When Charles appeared in public 'he wore a piece of green fabric over his left eye', and in private he complained that 'they cover me with an ointment that makes me look as if I had offended the carnival king because my face is more black than white. To tell you the truth, I am really angry that so many illnesses have come at the same time.' His only consolation was that (according to frustrated foreign ambassadors) 'on the orders of his doctors, His Imperial Majesty transacts business with no one'.[4]

In May, Charles thought he had recovered. 'Now I get up in the morning and go to bed early. I eat my main meal at 10 and afterwards have only a light supper.' He also started hunting again, but with predictable results: after spending 'three hours in the saddle, chasing a stag', he developed a fever. Nevertheless, a week later he spent 'two days hunting', covering 'half a league on foot', which he considered 'quite miraculous'; but the miracle did not last. After taking part in a procession through the streets of Regensburg, while 'talking with one of his courtiers' Charles 'suddenly felt a sharp pain in his leg' and, as a precaution, his doctors moved him to thermal springs nearby. Bathing there 'brings me two benefits', he joked to his sister: 'The first is that I can scratch myself as I recover; the other is that, with the doctor's consent, I can recommence my normal regimen' – that is, he could once more eat and drink as much and as often as he liked. In addition, 'I now have more leisure because I do not allow individuals to come and see me here'. Even Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, Charles's principal councillor on foreign affairs, only received permission to visit every other day to deliver important letters, discuss business and (when possible) get his master's signature. Charles even gave up hunting until

mid-July, when he ‘spent three days tracking a bear’. His health crisis abated just in time for him to oppose another Ottoman assault led by Sultan Suleiman in person.[5]

THE HEIR OF CHARLEMAGNE CONFRONTS THE HEIR OF ALEXANDER

Charles and his brother had done much to provoke the attack. Soon after the deliverance of Vienna in 1529, Ferdinand had recaptured several towns in Hungary and sought to make an anti-Ottoman alliance with the shah of Persia: both moves infuriated the sultan. So did Charles’s imperial coronation. A spy in Istanbul reported that Suleiman ‘always says “To Rome! To Rome!” and he detests the emperor, and his title of *Caesar*’. Instead, Suleiman ‘caused himself to be called *Caesar*’. His agents commissioned Western emblems of sovereignty from Venetian jewellers, including a four-crown tiara (one crown more than the pope), and began a propaganda campaign that projected their master as heir to Alexander the Great. The Venetians, suitably impressed, began to refer to him as Suleiman ‘the Magnificent’.[6] In April 1532 the new Alexander left Istanbul for his third campaign up the Danube, while his battle fleet headed for the western Mediterranean.

These developments placed Charles on the horns of a dilemma. Although he needed to support Ferdinand against the sultan as best he could, he dared not denude Italy of troops for fear of an Ottoman naval attack, perhaps with French support. As it happened, paying his huge ransom had deprived Francis of the means to attack Charles again, but the king used diplomacy to undermine his rival, above all by entrusting Antonio Rincón (a former Comunero now in French service) with a secret mission to divert the Ottoman army from Hungary to Italy. Suleiman received Rincón with every mark of favour, but refused to change his strategy. Instead, on 12 July 1532 he issued a personal challenge. ‘The king of Spain [the sultan refused to recognize Charles’s imperial title] has proclaimed for a long time that he wants to act against the Turks; and now, by the grace of God, I am advancing with my army against him. If he is a man who has balls and courage, let him come and draw up his army in the

field ready to fight with my imperial host.' 'The issue,' he concluded, 'will be whatever God wills.'[7]

Charles welcomed the challenge. Having recovered his health, he informed his sister Marie that 'I have resolved to devote myself to the defence of Germany'; and 'because in all my affairs I place my hope and strength in God, my sovereign creator, who through his infinite goodness has always helped me', he asked her to arrange throughout the Netherlands 'pious processions and prayers' to mobilize divine assistance. He also mobilized earthly resources, raising troops in all his dominions (12,000 Germans, 10,000 Spaniards, 10,000 Italians, 4,000 Netherlanders); and he opened talks to persuade the German Lutherans to help him defend 'our Homeland'. Eventually, Lutheran and Catholic leaders alike converged on Regensburg to join the emperor at a new Diet: all seven Electors, over seventy secular and ecclesiastical rulers and delegations from fifty-five towns attended, each one accompanied by a host of advisers and officials – some 3,000 people in all.[8]

The Diet faced three major problems: the religious divisions of Germany; the need to mobilize resources against the Turks; and the risk that France might declare war. Girolamo Aleandro feared that the emperor's resolve might waver because, 'although he has good intentions . . . he is by nature very attached to advancing his own interests'. In particular Aleandro fretted that Charles might 'negotiate a deal with the Lutherans without the pope's permission', and at an audience he rashly reminded the emperor that:

> When Your Majesty was younger and less certain of your power, when you were buffeted by so many enemies of the church in the Diet of Worms, you alone held steady, paying attention only to God and your own conscience, which gave birth to that beautiful and sacred edict by which Your Majesty won both perpetual glory in this world and the prospect of eternal rewards in the next. All this may be lost if Your Majesty, now so much more prudent and sure of your power because God has granted you so many glorious successes, were to allow – I won't say make – unreasonable concessions in these talks with the Lutherans that would harm the universal Church.

This enraged Charles. ‘The Edict of Worms was indeed good and sacred and reasonable,’ he shot back, and ‘it would have taken effect if the pope had chosen to do his duty, as we asked him at the time! Likewise if, after the Diet of Augsburg, His Holiness had done what he had discussed with me’ – namely, convened a general council – ‘we should not now be obliged to seek a deal with the Lutherans.’ Surprised by this vigorous counter-attack, the nuncio wisely left the imperial presence, observing that, ‘as Solomon said, “The hearts of kings are inscrutable”’.[9]

Aleandro did not realize that Charles had already negotiated ‘a deal with the Lutherans’, once again encouraged by his former confessor. ‘Since you cannot use force, which is the true remedy,’ García de Loaysa y Mendoza advised, the emperor should let the Lutheran princes ‘live as heretics provided they do not spread their errors to other Christians’ and ‘make the best deal possible with them so that they will help you against the Turks . . . You should not scruple to make use of them, even though they are heretics because since your own heart is without sin, their errors will not prevent your success.’[10] Charles followed Loaysa’s advice: in July 1532, by the peace of Nuremberg, he promised the German Lutherans that he would suspend the Edict of Worms until the pope convened a general council, and in return they agreed to provide and pay 40,000 foot and 8,000 horse to serve against the Turks. Even Luther said nice things. ‘Caesar is an honest man [*probus*],’ he told his guests at table one day. ‘He is pious and quiet’ – although he could not resist adding: ‘I think he says as much in one year as I do in one day.’[11]

Marco Antonio Contarini, ambassador of the Venetian Republic at the imperial court, immediately saw the significance of this policy change. ‘The Turks had counted on the Lutherans,’ he observed, ‘but they will be disappointed because they will soon bring to the imperial camp twice the number of men that they agreed to provide.’ In Regensburg, ‘almost every day you see companies of infantry passing through’ as well as ‘about 80 pieces of artillery purchased by His Majesty’.[12] In mid-August, Contarini reported that ‘everyone is now united, so that without doubt there are more than 120,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry’ – and, he enthused, ‘I am confident that no one has seen two larger armies in more than 800 years, or two such powerful emperors taking such a great risk.’ Administrative

records concur: a contemporary estimate of the rations required by the Christian host listed 114,000 soldiers, over 74,000 other personnel, and over 73,000 horses. Charles entered Vienna on 23 September, ‘showing the world that he does not flee from conflict’, and one month later Suleiman and his troops began their long retreat to Istanbul. Meanwhile the imperial navy under Andrea Doria, ‘better equipped and organized than any other fleet for many years’, wrested from the Turks the fortresses of Coron and Patras in Greece.[13]

Charles recognized his debt to Fortune. The rains that swelled the rivers of Hungary in June and July 1532, he wrote, seriously delayed the Ottoman advance and ‘proved very beneficial because it allowed us time to repair and strengthen the fortifications of Vienna, and other more exposed fortresses, and provide them with supplies, artillery and munitions’.[14] Charles was also fortunate that, although the cost of his huge army and navy obliged him to raise some taxes and loans, the largest contribution came from France. In April 1532 he ordered his wife to transfer to Italy over 400,000 ducats from the French ransom ‘with all possible secrecy and dissimulation’; and ‘if you have to admit that you are withdrawing some money, you must not say that it is so much, so that both inside and outside Spain everyone will think that it is all still there’. Two months later, amid similar ‘secrecy and dissimulation’, he ordered her to transfer almost 500,000 ducats more.[15]

Despite this expenditure, and the concessions to the German Lutherans, Charles failed to bring the Ottoman army to battle, let alone defeat them, but he displayed excellent leadership, entrusting field command to Count Palatine Frederick, who had been fighting wars for three decades, and soliciting and following advice of experienced military advisers such as Antonio de Leyva and Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba.[16] Moreover, the ability to assemble armed forces of unprecedented size against ‘infidels’ vindicated the crusading tradition of the House of Burgundy exemplified in the chronicles of chivalry on which Charles had been raised. When on 21 September 1532 the emperor boarded a boat at Linz that would transport him down the Danube to take personal command of his vast army, dressed in a gold jacket with a jaunty feather in his cap, he

was indeed – and was seen to be – the most powerful and successful ruler the Western world had seen since Charlemagne (Pl. 17).

BACK TO SPAIN

Such success alarmed the pope. Although Clement recognized the need to exploit the retreat of Suleiman, and 'break his head open so that he will never think again of threatening Christendom as he has just done', he feared that if the emperor should again 'campaign against the sultan in person . . . France will immediately invade Italy, and encountering no resistance he may do what he wants, and place His Holiness in jeopardy'. He therefore pleaded with the emperor to meet him in Rome for more policy discussions. Loaysa strongly opposed this. Writing as confessor as well as councillor, he explained at length to Charles 'what is most suitable for your conscience and your honour'. He warned that 'even if Your Majesty only sleeps 4 hours a night while you are in Italy, and spends the rest of the 24 every day on the business that must be concluded if Italy is to be at peace . . . you will not be able to embark [for Spain] before the month of May' 1533. He therefore urged him to go only as far as Bologna to discuss with the pope 'whatever is relevant to your affairs and to the peace of Italy'.[17]

The emperor had reached the same conclusion. An outbreak of plague led him to abandon Vienna in mid-October and he did not stop until he reached Villach, the small town in the Austrian Alps to which he would flee in ignominy twenty years later. From there, the only feasible route to Bologna lay across the Brenner Pass and through Venetian lands, which created a delicate situation because Charles now travelled at the head of 10,000 veteran infantry, 3,000 cavalry and an artillery train, as well as his court and '6,000 or more women and boys'. Aware that only three years earlier he had threatened to invade the republic, the emperor now made clear his pacific intentions to the Venetian diplomats who came to pay their respects (and keep their august visitor under surveillance). At an audience, 'dressed in his riding habit and standing the whole time', he explained that 'he was on his way to Spain', but 'first he wanted to talk with the pope' and create 'a union for the defence of Italy and its states that would maintain each of them within their present boundaries; and he said this not as

emperor or king of Spain, but as king of Naples and an Italian ruler.' He predicted that he would be back in Spain by Christmas.[18]

His plan unravelled almost immediately because Clement delayed his departure from Rome, compelling Charles to postpone his departure for Spain. He therefore spent another month in Mantua where (the Venetian diplomats at his court noted disapprovingly) 'as soon as the sun has shone for an hour, His Imperial Majesty goes hunting with the nobles' until he 'injured the index finger of his right hand while hunting some very large boars', so that his signature became unrecognizable (Los Cobos attached certification that the emperor had indeed signed orders sent out in his name).[19] As occupational therapy, Charles attended balls, banquets and plays in the great Gonzaga castle, and when it snowed he had 'sledges in the German style' prepared, 'which gave great pleasure to the ladies, because they were new and unusual'. Everyone commented that Charles seemed 'very much at home' in Mantua, making do 'without any servants from his own household' and going out 'without any guards, and walking alone through the town and countryside'.[20] These walks took him to the house of Andrea Mantegna, with its distinctive design of a cube containing a circular courtyard. Suitably impressed, in November 1532, Charles 'gave orders to spend 12,000 ducats a year for four years in renovating the royal castle and palace in Granada, thinking to live there in tranquillity since they are the most beautiful places in the world'. His architects duly prepared a model of an Italian-style 'Palace of Charles V' at the heart of the Alhambra, and construction began the following spring.[21]

The month in Mantua left another notable artistic trace. Artists had done portraits of Charles since he was a child, but on the day he entered the city the duke summoned Titian. The result was a celebrated likeness of the emperor standing full length, his beard largely concealing his prognathism, while a hunting dog sniffs at his enormous codpiece. Titian did not work alone. Ferdinand's court painter, Jakob Seisenegger, had accompanied Charles to Mantua and produced an almost identical portrait, leading Diane Bodart to make the plausible suggestion that the emperor sat for both artists at the same time, perhaps in a competition similar to the one Alexander the Great had arranged between Lysippus and Apelles.[22] For almost a decade,

their works became in effect an ‘official portrait’, imitated by all who wanted to display a likeness of the emperor (Pl. 19).

Clement eventually entered Bologna on 10 December 1532, and Charles joined him there three days later. As before, ‘the pope and th’emprour be lodgid here both within wone house’ so that they could talk together without being observed. When they first met ‘the emperor with gret humyllite and reverence kyssed the pope’s foot’, and Clement took Charles ‘up in his armys, and kyssed hym on hys cheike’. Afterwards Charles spent two hours ‘describing everything that had happened since they parted’, but then (the Venetian ambassador complained) ‘although the emperor continues to meet with the pope alone, it is impossible to know what they discuss’. In their public appearances, pope and emperor showed complete amity – during a Christmas service Clement ‘blessed the imperial sword’ while Charles read one of the lessons – but ‘after the Mass ended, they returned to their palace together’ to resume their secret discussions.[23]

Clement announced a sensational consequence of these meetings just after New Year: he would summon a general council to settle outstanding religious problems and invite all the rulers of Christendom to attend in person. He then appointed a committee of cardinals to hold ‘interviews almost daily’ with imperial ministers (including Los Cobos and Granvelle) to finalize the details and thus ‘save the two principals the trouble of conferring personally’. At least one observer in Bologna realized that this was just a device to ‘waste the time of the Emperor’s stay here without concluding anything’ of importance concerning the general council:

> The pope professes to wish for it, but puts off the emperor with words, and deceives everyone. The two will never agree about the time and place. If Charles were wise, and saw the imminent danger to himself and all Italy, he would set about it in earnest, and not continue hoping . . . that time will bring a remedy; for the contrary is more likely.

Instead, Charles was foolish: just after taking his leave of Clement, he confidently assured Ferdinand that the council would meet in Bologna, Mantua or Piacenza and would prepare measures ‘for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy and the punishment of those who subscribe to it’.[24]

In his *Memoirs*, the emperor ruefully acknowledged that Clement had deceived him: their second (and last) meeting, he wrote, 'did not have the full effects that His Majesty had expected'. Why had he allowed himself to be duped by the pope, just as seven years earlier he had allowed himself to be duped by Francis? One common denominator is easily identified. The emperor brought to Bologna almost 10,000 troops 'beside his howsehold, and his counsel', and every night 500 men stood guard outside the palace where he and the pope resided, with another 200 inside. Faced with such overwhelming force Clement would claim (like Francis before him) that his concessions had been made under duress and so were not binding.[25] The concessions exceeded Charles's wildest dreams. On 24 February 1533, the emperor's birthday, and now also the anniversary of both the battle of Pavia and his coronation, Clement signed a secret agreement – 'so secret that only four people know about it' – by which he promised to persuade Francis to send assistance in case of another Turkish assault, to deny Henry VIII's petition to divorce Katherine of Aragon, and to make no treaties without Charles's consent. Three days later he also signed a 'league for the defence of Italy' that obliged him, as well as most other Italian states, to avoid providing any foreign power with either a pretext or an invitation to interfere in Italian affairs, and to create a war chest for mutual defence in case of invasion.[26]

While he distracted the emperor with these diplomatic ploys, Clement negotiated with the special envoys from both France and England who arrived in Bologna to press Francis's proposal that his second son Henry, duke of Orléans, should marry the pope's niece, Catherine de' Medici, and that Clement should meet Francis in person 'after the emperor leaves Italy'. The envoys also delivered a secret proposal: within eighteen months Francis would invade Italy and reconquer the duchy of Milan, which Clement would bestow on Henry of Orléans and Catherine.[27]

FAMILY LIFE AGAIN

Unaware of the pope's duplicity, Charles left Bologna in March 1533 to visit the battlefield of Pavia, where his generals showed him the exact spot where they had forced Francis to surrender, and the fortress of Pizzighettone, where the king had languished in prison. Then the emperor

returned to Genoa where the galleys of Andrea Doria waited to convey him back to Spain – but the crossing took more than double the normal time. According to the Venetian ambassador, ‘it was impossible to rest either by night or by day’ because ‘every galley, including that of the emperor, carried seventy or eighty men more than usual so that it was bad on deck and worse below’. In short, ‘it seemed like hell’. The last stretch was the worst, because the wind became adverse as the galleys neared the Spanish coast, ‘and the rowers, all of them naked, rowed two nights and almost two days until they were almost dead’. As soon as the imperial galley came within sight of the Catalan coast, ‘without saying a word, except to forbid anyone to follow him’, the emperor and a handful of courtiers went ashore in a small boat and commandeered ‘such horses as they could find in a nearby village’. Riding throughout the night incognito towards Barcelona, the emperor covered 150 kilometres in just twenty-four hours and ‘found the empress still in bed, because she had not yet got up. The emperor threw himself into bed too, and stayed there until 2 p.m. when they both got up and ate.’[28]

Charles had instructed his wife to bring their two surviving children to meet him when he disembarked. More than sixty years later Philip II still recalled the thrill of that reunion: ‘In 1533 I went to Barcelona with the empress, my lady, there to await the emperor’ and ‘I turned six while in Barcelona’.[29] The prince had greatly changed since his father left him, four years earlier, and so had the empress. In her early months as regent, she had felt the need to solicit ‘the general opinion of your subjects and ministers familiar with the matter’ before referring it to Charles for final decision; but gradually she gained in self-confidence. When in September 1530 her husband instructed her to prepare to fight a campaign in the Mediterranean the following year, she objected forcefully. ‘Each day we discover another shortage. We need to start preparing the equipment that the fleet will need immediately, because otherwise it will not be ready in time for next summer’s campaigning season.’ She also reproached her husband for keeping her in the dark: ‘I beg Your Majesty to order that in future less time elapses without sending me a letter, so that every 20 days or so I would have news of you’ – and she continually badgered him to come home because ‘I have more reason to desire that than anyone’.[30]

Charles spent almost two months with his wife in Barcelona before leaving to celebrate Corpus Christi in Montserrat and then meet the Cortes of the Crown of Aragon at Monzón; but no sooner had he given the opening address than news arrived that the empress was ‘very sick and at death’s door’, almost certainly because of a miscarriage. He now made the fastest journey of his life, covering in two days the 230 kilometres that separate Monzón from Barcelona to be by his wife’s side. He did not leave until she had recovered.[31]

Charles would spend the rest of the year wrapped ‘in the mortal coils of the Cortes’ at Monzón, rejoining the empress in Zaragoza to celebrate New Year. Then the couple moved to Toledo, which became their capital until May when the summer heat led them to move northwards. The empress and most of the court went to Valladolid, but Charles travelled through the towns of Old Castile that had been prominent in the Comunero rebellion: Segovia, Ávila, Salamanca, Zamora and Toro.[32] He even visited Villalar, site of the decisive battle, and spent time at the university of Salamanca, ‘saying that it was the treasure-chest that provided the judges and magistrates required’ by the kingdom. Charles began by greeting the bishop, Luis Cabeza de Vaca, his first preceptor, and then ‘he attended mass in the university chapel, and afterwards listened to a debate’ on a very relevant subject: ‘Whether a Christian prince may wage war to avenge injuries to an ally.’ After this, the emperor attended lectures by the foremost university luminaries: Francisco de Vitoria on theology, Juan Martínez de Silíceo (soon to become preceptor to Prince Philip) on philosophy, and the rest on medicine and law. In each lecture hall the emperor ‘sat down on a bench as soon as he entered’ and listened (although since all instruction took place in Latin he probably understood little) before visiting the university library. In all, he spent four hours living like a student.[33]

Then a family tragedy occurred. While Charles visited his mother in Tordesillas, ‘the empress miscarried a son in the eighth month of her pregnancy’. The chronicler Pedro Girón devoted a heavily corrected paragraph to this tragic event. Some doctors, he reported, asserted that it happened ‘because she had become pregnant while convalescing from her serious illness in Barcelona, and the ligatures were not strong enough’; others said that ‘while going to see her son the prince’ the empress ‘fell, and

the fall killed the foetus. God alone knows the truth.' As with the death of his son Fernando, the emperor 'treated the empress's miscarriage as a Christian prince should', and urged her to accept the loss as God's will. He himself showed the way by indulging in hunting and sports until 'playing tennis too hard' left him 'somewhat lame in one foot'. He also resumed conjugal relations: by Christmas the empress was pregnant again.[34]

By then, important developments had transformed the international scene. Henry VIII not only officially repudiated his wife Katherine and declared their daughter Mary to be a bastard, but also married Anne Boleyn and had her crowned queen of England. Pope Clement proceeded to excommunicate Henry, who retaliated by threatening to renounce his obedience to Rome. The pope then travelled to Marseilles, where he officiated at the marriage of his niece to the duke of Orléans. He also coordinated an anti-Habsburg policy with Francis: the two rulers agreed to oppose both a general council (because it would strengthen Charles's position in Germany) and the new Italian League (because it would thwart French plans to conquer Milan).

Charles could not ignore Henry VIII's humiliation of his aunt and he urged his siblings – Ferdinand in Germany, Marie in the Netherlands, Eleanor in France, Catalina in Portugal – to join him in declaring their support for Katherine, 'because it is not only a matter that involves conscience but also, given the current state of public affairs in Christendom, we must support the judgement and declaration of the church'.[35] Significantly, his letter twice included the caveat that action should be delayed 'for the time being [*pour maintenant*]' because Clement and Henry had both left the door open to a negotiated settlement – the pope deferred publication of his sentence of excommunication, and the king delayed final consent to legislation severing England's ties with Rome – but in March 1534 the pope ended the impasse by declaring Henry's marriage to Katherine valid and their daughter Mary legitimate. In a letter from Rome announcing this decision, an imperial diplomat crowed that this constituted the greatest of the emperor's successes because it opened the path to the conquest of England; but Charles's Spanish councillors felt less enthusiasm. Upon receiving the news three weeks later, they urged the emperor to send envoys to Rome, Paris and London to explore the likely reactions to a

Habsburg invasion of England, because ‘doing it suddenly and alone will make them suspect that Your Majesty wants to settle the matter without them’. Therefore, Charles should announce that he would continue to do nothing ‘for the time being’ so that ‘he could plan more effectively according to what time and events might bring’.[36]

Charles followed this advice. Despite general loathing in Spain for Henry’s new queen, reflected in the insulting term *anabolena* (meaning troublemaker and sometimes prostitute), which remains in use in parts of Castile even today, the emperor did nothing to help his aunt.[37] In letters to his brother he blamed his inaction on the ‘unrest and trouble in both Germany and Italy, which have heated up and caught fire ever since the summit at Marseilles’. In particular, Lutheran troops led by Philip of Hesse and funded by France invaded the duchy of Württemberg, restored the ruler exiled by Charles and Ferdinand, and drove out the Habsburg garrisons. Once again Charles failed to act, and he advised his brother to ‘gain time by temporizing and dissimulating’. In September he repeated his message to Ferdinand: ‘you would do well to forget or dissimulate the past’ in order to preserve the peace of Germany.[38] It proved to be prudent advice: an Ottoman fleet of 160 galleys had just entered the western Mediterranean and seized Tunis, a Spanish tributary state in north Africa only 250 kilometres from Sicily.

CAROLUS AFRICANUS

Stung by the defeats of 1532, Sultan Suleiman now adopted a different Western strategy. He summoned to Istanbul Khaireddin Barbarossa, who had long used Algiers as a base from which to terrorize Christians throughout the western Mediterranean with his galleys, and named him commander of the imperial fleet. Two years later Barbarossa sailed west and took Tunis, forcing its pro-Habsburg ruler to flee, and the sultan marched east to campaign against the shah of Persia. Charles could not ignore this combination of challenge and opportunity. An English diplomat noted that because ‘Tunis is a city as large as Rome, where Barbarossa can easily maintain his fleet and constantly menace Spain and Italy’, the emperor ‘will need either to become strong enough to be able to meet Barbarossa’s fleet in combat, or else mobilize constantly to defend himself’.

Charles agreed, informing his ministers in Italy that he had ordered ‘the provisions and other necessary items to be prepared so that next spring we will have a great fleet capable of resisting and attacking that of our enemies, and we will expel them from Christian seas’.[39]

Then in September 1534 the pope died. Although Clement had been a fickle ally, often plotting to use France to check Habsburg dominance in Italy, he had steadfastly supported the emperor’s efforts against the Turks. Charles worried that the next pope would renege on the defensive treaties signed by his predecessor and encourage Francis to enforce his claims to Milan and Genoa; but in the event Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who became Pope Paul III, immediately declared that he would maintain all existing alliances and take tough measures to reform the Church. In his first conclave he also announced support for Charles’s projected African campaign and proclaimed it a crusade; and in March 1535, on hearing that Suleiman had remained in Baghdad and begun a new campaign in Persia, Paul declared that ‘this is a great opportunity for the emperor to attend not only to everything required for Africa but also for a greater and more honourable enterprise’ – namely the conquest of Istanbul – and urged him ‘not to waste this wonderful opportunity given by God’.[40]

Once again, Charles’s councillors did not feel the same enthusiasm. Granvelle predicted an alarming escalation of potential disasters if Charles left to campaign in north Africa, because the French would then invade Italy to support the claim of the duke of Orléans to Milan, and afterwards ‘find some excuse or pretext to occupy Naples’ and perhaps some other independent states of the peninsula. Cardinal Tavera, president of the royal council and principal adviser to the empress when she served as regent, stressed the danger of ‘tempting Fortune as many times as Your Majesty has done, leaving these realms [Spain] and putting yourself at risk on the sea and in lands that you do not rule . . . Starting a war is a dangerous, prolonged and uncertain business, as we have recently found,’ he continued, adding unkindly: ‘Your Majesty should remember that Emperor Maximilian, although such a valiant prince and so experienced in war, saw his great enterprises miscarry because he failed to match his ends to his means.’ Tavera closed by repeating the arguments he had used to discourage a duel with King Francis: Charles must not ‘take the same risks

as a young knight, with nothing to lose and no one to whom he must explain himself . . . If Your Majesty should be captured, or if some other disaster should befall you', how could 'a child of tender age' like Prince Philip take over?[41]

At first, it appeared that the emperor would heed these warnings because in February 1535, from Madrid, he assured his brother that although he intended to travel to Barcelona, it was only 'so that from there I can observe and react to what Barbarossa might do, and improve the state of my own navy'. Charles promised that he would then return to Germany. Some believed him. Even though the naval and military preparations 'to make war in Africa against Barbarossa' impressed Pedro Girón, 'nobody thought at that time that His Majesty would go there in person'. Ferdinand's agent in Spain likewise reported complacently that the emperor travelled to Barcelona merely 'to get the fleet to sea and to prepare for any trouble from France'.[42] Their error first emerged through carelessness. On 28 February, Charles made a new will, stating explicitly 'that he had decided *to travel in person with his fleet*', and his secretary sent a copy to the emperor's sister Marie, who promptly shared the sensational news with Ferdinand – adding that their brother's 'reputation will not be maintained as it should be, because when all is said and done', he is 'going to war against a mere pirate'.[43] Three days after signing his will, the emperor set out for Barcelona, once more leaving his wife pregnant and depressed: according to one of the empress's ladies-in-waiting, 'she is as lonely as can be, God have pity on her'.[44] Three months later, the empress gave birth to another child, Joanna. As usual, she did so alone.

Rumours that Charles would lead the expedition in person galvanized his subjects, who now flocked to join him in Barcelona. According to an eyewitness, 'The excitement and the desire to attack the infidels was so great that the roadways were full of people. Fathers encouraged their sons to serve in such a just war . . . and wives went along with their husbands'. The participants included the empress's brother, Luis de Portugal, as well as the duke of Alba and a score of other prominent nobles from Spain. Contemporaries commented favourably on the quantity as well as the quality of the ships and soldiers converging on Barcelona. A Portuguese squadron of over twenty ships, including a galleon reputed to be the largest

in the world that carried some 2,000 men, arrived in late April, joining contingents from Vizcaya, Andalusia and Málaga. A galley fleet also arrived from Genoa, led by Andrea Doria. ‘When they passed before the emperor, they lowered their flags three times with a great shout of “The empire! The empire!”’, after which Doria came ashore to salute the emperor and then ‘they spent time alone together and made their plans in secret’.[45]

The emperor took important steps to ensure that Europe would remain at peace during his absence. Having won over the new pope, whom he expected to restrain France from attacking any of his own possessions, he instructed his lieutenants to refrain from attacking others – including Henry VIII. Henry of Nassau, commander of imperial forces in the Netherlands, received orders to ‘avoid raising troops this year’, because ‘it would be difficult if not impossible to undertake two major campaigns at the same time’. When Nassau protested, Charles replied firmly: ‘I fully understand that the matter of England is not something to be cast into oblivion, but we must adapt ourselves to the current situation and concentrate on the most pressing matters.’ He likewise reminded Ferdinand that ‘our intention and resolve is not to make war anywhere, unless we are forced to do so’.[46] Meanwhile, in Barcelona, ‘the emperor did not rest by night or by day, going to see one thing and provide for another’. He presided while the mints of Barcelona coined crowns from gold received from America, and oversaw the manufacture of pikes, arquebuses and other munitions (Pl. 20). When he heard that a fleet carrying men and provisions from Málaga was approaching Barcelona, he ‘rode to the top of Montjuïc hill because you could see the sails from there’.[47] Next, Charles held a general muster of his forces ‘fully armed, seated among his officials’. When some courtiers inquired where they were going and who would command the expedition, the emperor replied:

> ‘Do not seek to know your monarch’s secrets, but I will show you your commander.’ At that moment he gave orders to unfurl his standard, on which he had included a devout and splendid crucifixion scene, and said ‘You will see here your general, and you will obey me as his lieutenant.’[48]

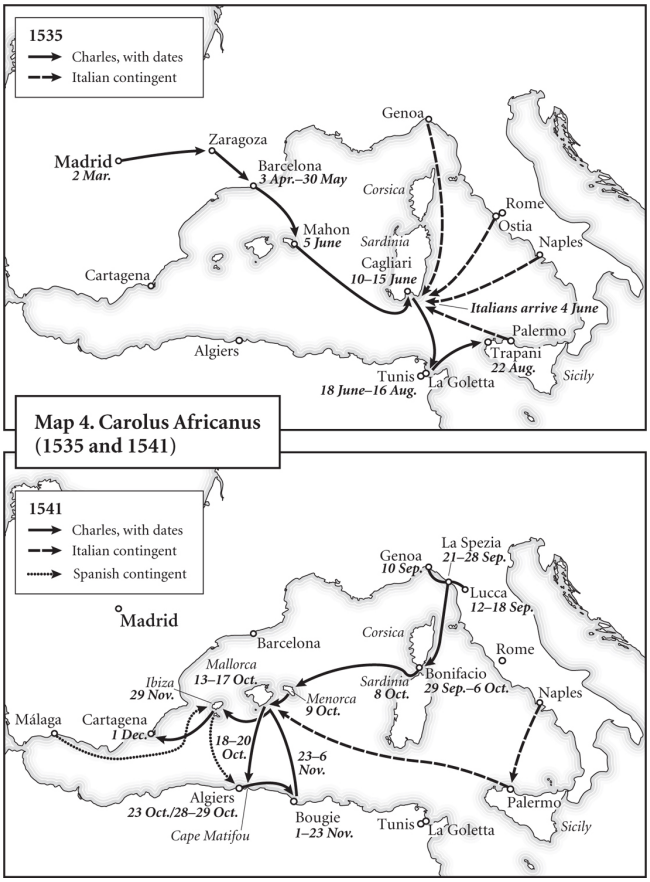
On 28 May, Charles ‘left before dawn to visit the monastery of Montserrat’ where ‘he confessed and received the sacraments, returning the same evening to Barcelona’. Two days later, ‘the royal trumpets sounded through the city’, summoning the army to board, and after attending Mass again Charles entered Doria’s galley. After ‘making the sign of the cross and lifting his eyes to heaven as he said his private prayers, he called for divine aid’, and his fleet of almost 250 vessels carrying 27,000 men set sail (Map 4).[49]

Meticulous logistical preparations ensured that Charles arrived at Cagliari in Sardinia just six days after the arrival of another imperial fleet of over 125 vessels, bearing troops and munitions from Germany, the Netherlands and Italy. It also brought many noblemen, including Ferrante Gonzaga, brother of the duke of Mantua, and Alfonso d’Avalos, marquis del Vasto. These men and their Iberian colleagues would bond together in the course of the campaign, creating at the heart of the monarchy a powerful international cadre on whose loyalty Charles could always rely. A hand-picked cultural entourage also accompanied the emperor (including the chronicler Jean Vandenesse, the poet Garcilaso de la Vega, and the war artist Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen), ready to exalt and disseminate his achievements. Thanks to them, and to the numerous foreign ambassadors embedded with the expeditionary force, it is possible to follow the Tunis campaign, and Charles’s role in it, almost hour by hour.

While his fleet took on provisions in Sardinia, the emperor discussed strategy with his principal ministers and prayed in several churches until on 15 June the grand fleet, now comprising over 400 vessels carrying some 50,000 men, sailed for north Africa. They arrived the following day. ‘The emperor very much wanted to be the first to jump ashore’, the foot soldier Martín García Cerezada noted with approval in his journal, ‘but he was prevented by his council of war’. Instead the fleet travelled to the site of ancient Carthage, where Charles and his troops disembarked and marched on La Goletta, the port of Tunis.[50]

They did not catch Barbarossa unawares – a diplomat sent by Francis to Istanbul had stopped at Tunis to update him on the emperor’s preparations – but the pirate king relied on the heat and the improvised defences he had thrown up around La Goletta to decimate the invading force. He therefore

failed to oppose the landing, allowing Charles time to pitch his camp about a mile from the town. The emperor spent almost a month ‘making off trenches, fossys and bastions for the saveguard of hys host’, acting as ‘general, sergeant and soldier, calling some “my brothers” and others “my children”’ and also taking part in the constant skirmishes. One day, ‘grabbing his lance and shouting *Santiago*, he rode out against the Moors’; another day he entered the trenches, asked for an arquebus, and fired three rounds at the enemy. Then, ‘as the time to open the battery approached, the emperor increased his efforts and took even greater care to provide whatever was necessary’. He offered a reward to ‘whoever was the first to enter La Goletta’ and:



Map 4. Carolus Africanus (1535 and 1541)

In his African campaigns in 1535 and 1541, Charles laid meticulous plans for a combined operation by large forces that started from both Spain and Italy. Given the delays and obstacles inherent in such a plan, especially in the age of sail, the successful junction of the different forces off the African coast represents a remarkable logistical feat.

> He visited the quarters of the German and Italian troops, and spoke with them; and when he came to the Spaniards he said ‘I know that my words are not necessary to strengthen your spirits, because I know how determined you are, nor do they reflect any doubt about who you are. In the other battles you have won you fought for me, but you are fighting this one for God. In this campaign, I am just his lieutenant.’

On 14 July, after the emperor and his entourage heard Mass, the artillery in the trenches and on the galleys began the simultaneous bombardment of La Goletta. After eight hours they made a breach through which the infantry launched a successful assault and promptly sacked the town.[51]

At this point, Charles claimed, ‘my entire council decided that we should abandon the campaign. I should embark, they said, because I had achieved what I came for’. Initially, ‘as a new captain I accepted their advice’, just as he had done in Hungary three years before; but now he overruled his generals and took the initiative. ‘After discussing the matter further, I changed my mind, and so on Wednesday the 20th of this month [July] I set off for Tunis.’[52]

It was a rash decision because Tunis lay 10 kilometres away across barren sand. Since his ‘army lacked carts to carry its baggage’, Charles ordered every man ‘to carry food and drink for two days’. Predictably, water soon ran short. Even Charles suffered. When he circulated among the troops, García Cerezada ‘looked at his mouth, and noticed that his teeth were covered with black dust and grime – very surprising, given whose teeth they were’.[53] Barbarossa had deployed his troops outside the city and when his artillery opened fire on the approaching Christian army, Charles calmly took his place among his troops, speaking to each group in their own language. When a senior officer protested about the risk, ‘the emperor laughed and reassured him that “There was no reason to fear, because no emperor has yet been killed by artillery”’. The imperial army then advanced and despite the heat drove off their adversaries, but afterwards the victors ‘collapsed with thirst’. Some just sat or lay exhausted on the ground. Then the Christian slaves within the citadel rose up against their captors, ‘shouting “Liberty!” and “Long live the emperor”’, and the imperial army entered, freed all the Christian slaves (20,000 according to Charles), and

started to plunder. Mosques, madrasas and homes were ransacked; and according to an English eyewitness, all Muslims ‘ther found were sold lyke bestys, and many women and children, a pytyouse sight to behold’.[54]

‘The continual anxiety, vigilance, and efforts appropriate to a regular captain rather than to an emperor’ left Charles exhausted. When the Ferrarese ambassador arrived to present his congratulations, he found the victor sprawled ‘on his bed, half dressed’, because ‘while taking care of business hither and yon’ during the encounter with Barbarossa he had fallen under a horse’ and injured his right leg. The next day, ‘having entered the city, and wishing to intervene in person to prevent the disorders of some soldiers, he slipped on some wet paving stones and again fell under a horse, injuring his left leg’. The enforced rest made the emperor realize how fortunate he had been. He confessed that ‘he had never thought Barbarossa could assemble so many troops’, and that ‘the citadel was so strong, and stocked with so much powder, shot, saltpetre and food’ that it could have withstood a long siege. He also complained bitterly that his local allies had failed to provide the assistance they had promised. The emperor soon put these perennial perils of campaigning in north Africa behind him, and instead thanked God for granting him victory ‘over an enemy who was not as weak or mean as we thought, but over one powerful on land and sea, in an operation that involved difficulty and determination’. He then restored the ruler deposed by Barbarossa, and imposed on him a treaty that permitted Catholic worship in the town, before moving back to La Goletta where his engineers repaired and improved the fortifications.[55]

Since it was only mid-August, and since Sultan Suleiman remained on campaign against the shah of Persia, some took up the pope’s appeal that Charles should now attempt even greater things. According to Lope de Soria, now imperial ambassador in Venice, ‘Everyone is convinced that you should go straight to Constantinople’, because both Barbarossa and Suleiman were far away. Such a favourable conjunction, he warned, ‘will not recur for many years’. The emperor remained unmoved: ‘taking account of the season and what is possible’, he stated that he preferred to quit while he remained ahead. ‘Having discussed, weighed and considered everything, seeing that the sailing season is ending, and that a large number of our troops have fallen ill or been injured . . . in conformity with the season and

the limits of the possible we have decided to embark together with our army and to visit our kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.' Having put a price on Barbarossa's head – '50,000 ducats to anyone who brought him in alive and 10,000 ducats to anyone who delivered him dead' – he re-embarked on his flagship and on 21 August set sail for Sicily.[56]

THE VICTORY LAP

According to an English diplomat, all Europe 'awaits the result of the emperor's enterprise because if it fails, the whole world' would abandon his cause. Moreover, 'if the emperor were to lose his life, or a great part of his army, or if he retreated', the French would 'enter Italy on the pretext of defending it' from Barbarossa, 'who, directly the emperor retreats, will be able to use his fleet to harass Genoa, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, and Sicily, which will be unprotected'. The commander of the papal squadron at La Goletta agreed: 'Since Barbarossa does not lack galleys, slaves and Ottoman troops,' he predicted, 'he will easily recover' from the loss of Tunis.[57] His prophecy came true the following month, when the pirate king sacked the town of Mahon on Menorca, killing or enslaving almost all its population, some 5,000 people. In spite of his relentless efforts and prodigious expenditure, Charles had thus failed to achieve his goal – 'to expel' Barbarossa 'from the Christian seas' – as the empress soon reminded him. 'The victories that Our Lord has given Your Majesty in Tunis have brought benefit to Italy,' she wrote pointedly, but in Spain it merely made the sack of Mahon 'hurt more than it would at some other time. They talk here of nothing else.'[58]

The emperor endeavoured to disguise this inconvenient truth by undertaking a victory lap. For the next eight months he travelled through Sicily and Calabria to Naples and thence to Rome, constantly presenting his African campaign as a game-changing success while propagating his vision of a united Italy under his protection and projecting a heroic image of himself as both Roman Imperator and Christian crusader. In this he once more defied his Spanish advisers. Before he left Spain, Cardinal Tavera had warned that 'if you go to Italy, Your Majesty would not be as strong or as well-provided as in Spain', because he would be 'among people who neither love nor obey you like your subjects here, and you would depend on

people who place their own interests above your service – men who will try to bleed Your Majesty dry . . . They would not worry if you were in danger because they would be thinking how to exploit it for their own ends.'[59]

Tavera's warning was well founded. Many members of the Neapolitan elite had supported the French during the siege of 1527–8; the nobles of Sicily had staged a rebellion during the transition from Trastámara to Habsburg rule in 1516–17, and in the 1520s several of them had tried to betray the island to the French. Nevertheless, as the first monarch to visit Sicily in a century, from the moment he landed at Trapani on the west coast in August 1535, Charles received a hero's welcome. In each town along his route the leading dignitaries received him outside the walls, often accompanied by local boys and girls (perhaps to demonstrate that the next generation would be more loyal than the last). After receiving from them the keys and some expensive gifts, the emperor confirmed local privileges and distributed some campaign booty before making his formal entry at the head of a procession composed of liberated Christian slaves, Muslim captives, soldiers and courtiers. He also visited the leading religious sites, which made his progress seem like a pilgrimage, and he rode on a horse beneath a canopy, dressed in gold and white, as he admired the triumphal arches that celebrated his recent victory in images and inscriptions, comparing him with Classical and Biblical heroes: Jason, Scipio, Augustus, Gideon, David. One memorable inscription, which greeted him first in Palermo and then in Messina, would later become an imperial motto: 'A SOLIS ORTU AD OCCASUM' (a phrase from Psalm 112, 'From the rising to the setting of the sun').[60] In addition, the emperor watched jousts, tournaments, plays and re-enactments (often Scipio's defeat of Hannibal and the destruction of Carthage) and he regularly went hunting; but he also worked hard. According to one chronicler, he 'immediately started to grant an audience to everyone, listening to quarrels and grievances'; while 'wishing to learn about the civil government, he studied the way in which magistrates administered justice and he even visited the royal archives'. The normally indefatigable Granvelle complained about 'being much occupied at present' in the domestic affairs of the island 'with which his Majesty is so engrossed, that, on my faith, I have scarce leisure to breathe'.[61]

Thanks to his careful combination of prayer, work and play, Charles's visit proved a resounding success. He presided in person over the Parliament of the kingdom, which voted him 250,000 ducats in taxes, and every town he visited seems to have commissioned a statue or at least a bust of its victorious sovereign, many of them still standing (Pl. 21). Other traces of his visit have survived: the city walls at Messina, designed in the 'modern' style at the emperor's direction, remain the essential skeleton of the city; the new town of Carlentini, near Syracuse, founded and named in his honour, now boasts 18,000 inhabitants; the city of Nicosia, where the emperor spent just one day, has preserved the special seat in which he sat and every year stages a re-enactment of his visit.

In November, Charles crossed to the mainland and progressed via the domains of important supporters, and places linked with the defeat of Hannibal, until he reached Naples. The city served as his capital over the winter, and his court staged jousts, banquets, hunts, plays, sightseeing and poetic competitions. On one occasion Charles 'showed great dexterity and elegance during a bullfight' and on another he took part in a cane game 'dressed in Moorish costume, in honour of his victory at Tunis'. Later, 'disguising himself with a mask he danced with the noblewomen, forfeiting some of his normal gravity'. In February 1536, although in mourning for Katherine of Aragon, who had died the previous month, the papal nuncio noted sourly that Charles attended a feast after which he 'danced and celebrated until dawn, showing how little the queen's death affected His Majesty'.[62]

In Naples, as in Sicily, the emperor combined business with pleasure. As he explained in a speech to the Parliament of the kingdom, he had not come 'just to visit, but to put things in order and to provide in this kingdom everything that will be of general and particular benefit to you, not only in matters that chiefly concern the proper administration of justice, and the peaceful existence of the people, but also in all your other concerns'. Charles had appointed as viceroy Pedro de Toledo, uncle of the duke of Alba, whose policy of executing and imposing exemplary punishments on those who had sided with the French during their failed invasion quickly made him unpopular. Some hoped that Charles would remove him from power, but they were disappointed: instead, Toledo remained at the helm

until 1553, disciplining both the nobles and the cities and raising huge taxes to finance the emperor's various projects – starting with a parliamentary grant of 500,000 ducats 'towards past and present expenses, and a million ducats spread over certain future years'. Charles hoped to apply the proceeds to achieving the goal of capturing the Ottoman capital set by Paul III, because (in the words of the emperor's secretary of state) 'Everything is fine in La Goletta, Tunis, Bone and Bizerta, and the sultan does not have the power to capture La Goletta; but the emperor certainly has the power to capture Constantinople, and I pray that God will grant him favour so that we will see him triumph.'[63]

In March 1536, Charles resumed his triumphal progress towards Rome. The pope had made extensive preparations to welcome him, despite the fact that imperial troops had sacked the city only nine years before. According to the author François Rabelais, who served in the French embassy as a physician, Paul 'put half of his palace and 3,000 beds' at the emperor's disposal and 'demolished and razed over 200 houses and three or four churches' along the old *sacra via* so that the new Caesar could lead 5,000 Spanish veterans, 400 cavalry and his courtiers (which now included nobles from Sicily and Naples as well as from Spain) beneath the triumphal arches of Constantine, Titus and Septimius Severus, through the Campo dei Fiori and across the Tiber to St Peter's, to meet the pope.[64]

Since he arrived in Holy Week, Charles 'visited classical and curious sites privately, with only a few members of his household' (a marked contrast with his ostentatious behaviour in Naples and Sicily), and as usual he spent much time in devotions. He took part in the Palm Sunday procession, carrying a palm frond, and 'with great devotion heareth daily services in St Peter's chapel, in the presence of the pope and the cardinals'. On Maundy Thursday he washed the feet of thirteen poor men, and on Easter Saturday 'he visited the seven churches, accompanied by twenty courtiers but without any guards'. The following day he attended High Mass in St Peter's Basilica 'in pontifical robes' and wearing gloves 'like a bishop' before a crowd of 30,000. Throughout the service, pope and emperor presented a notable display of harmony: they rose and sat down in unison, and whenever the pope removed and replaced his tiara Charles did the same with his imperial crown, 'as the emperors of old used to do'.[65]

As Karl Brandi pointed out, entering Rome ‘was like a homecoming’ for Charles, because ‘It was the culmination of all his desires’:

> He had made a personal contact with each one of the states over which he ruled . . . He had summoned and attended the Estates General of the Netherlands; the Cortes of Castile and Aragon; the Electors, princes and estates of the German empire both in local sessions, and at the general Diet; and last of all the Estates of Sicily and Naples. He had included some of the leading men of each of these lands in his Order of the Golden Fleece.

To illustrate the cumulative impact of so many triumphs, the Humanist Christopher Scheurl of Nuremberg published a pamphlet that drew upon ‘various letters in Italian and German’ to describe *The emperor Charles’s entry into the ancient imperial capital*. On the title page, under the emperor’s portrait, appeared Abner’s prediction to King David: ‘Thou mayest reign over all that thine heart desireth’ (Pl. 22).[66] Scheurl should have known better: the prediction had not turned out well for Abner, who was murdered soon afterwards by David’s followers. It would not turn out well for Charles either.

— TEN —

YEARS OF DEFEAT, 1536–41

TO WAR WITH FRANCE AGAIN

‘Charles, Charles, Caesar, Caesar, Empire, Empire!’ The enthusiastic chant of Charles’s subjects in Messina on 1 November 1535 encouraged him to start planning a return to north Africa the following year with the goal of capturing Algiers, but an event that same day, 1,300 kilometres to the north, changed everything: the death of the childless Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan. On hearing the news the French ambassadors in Rome predicted that ‘either by gentle or violent means his death will resolve, once and for all, not only the affairs of Italy but of the whole of Christendom’. They were almost correct.[1]

Since Sforza’s failing health had long given cause for concern, and since Milan was a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles had taken some precautionary measures. Although in 1530 he had pardoned and restored Francesco, imperial troops continued to garrison some strongpoints in the duchy; and three years later he arranged the marriage of his niece Christina of Denmark to Francesco, with the expectation that she would bear children loyal to the House of Habsburg. If not, the duchy would eventually escheat to the emperor. Now, since Christina remained childless when her husband died, the Senators of Milan immediately ‘took an oath of fidelity to His Majesty’ and recognized ‘Antonio de Leyva as their governor until new orders arrive from His Majesty’.[2]

Charles rejoiced that ‘the duchy of Milan has devolved to us, because it is an imperial fief’, and declared that it ‘should be kept in peace and quiet in our name until we can take the further action that seems best for its

benefit and for the good of Christendom and Italy'. Initially, he envisaged three options: cede the duchy to a member of the French royal family; keep it under direct imperial control; or bestow it on a deserving Italian.[3] For a moment the last option – the only one that could preserve the status quo – seemed the likely outcome. Leyva reported that 'we have found in the archives of the duchy a privilege granted by Emperor Maximilian that if the legitimate line of the Sforza should die out, an illegitimate line may succeed', and he recommended to Charles the investiture of an illegitimate cousin of the last duke. The candidate set off for Naples to present his case, but died in mysterious circumstances on the way.[4] This left only two options: keep Milan, or bestow it on a French prince. Leyva, who had spent much of his career fighting to acquire the duchy for Charles, strongly favoured the former:

> It has pleased Our Lord to revert Milan to Your Majesty in peace, quiet and calm; and I am sure that God has done so for a reason – even though at present we cannot discern it. Your Majesty knows better than I what this duchy means to you; and please remember that it is linked to Genoa, which I think is of no less importance, given its naval power – and, again, Your Majesty knows better than anyone the importance of this.

Leyva nevertheless recognized that retaining Milan would 'cause a great war to start', in which the fighting would be 'more harsh and bitter than ever before'.[5]

Charles pondered his options while holding court in Naples, on his way from Messina to Rome. According to the diary of a Neapolitan official, 'throughout the time the emperor was here, overtly [*nell'estrinseco*] he attended entertainments and festivals but secretly [*nell'intrinseco*] he made serious preparations for war in case France attacked'.[6] The most obvious manifestation of the secret agenda was a flurry of diplomatic activity. The new duke of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, arrived to marry the emperor's illegitimate daughter Margarita (as agreed in Charles's treaty with Pope Clement: p. 184 above), joining the dukes of Mantua, Urbino and Ferrara as well as envoys from Pope Paul, Venice and several other states. Their dilemma was clear. In the words of Lope de Soria, who boasted more

than thirty years' experience as a Spanish diplomat in Italy, 'even if they now think of Your Majesty as a friend, in time they will think what they might do should Your Majesty wish to conquer Italy'. Charles's task, according to Soria, was to present himself as the best guarantor of peace in Italy, and Francis as the principal threat, and above all to play for time.[7]

Charles felt the same. Both Marie in the Netherlands and the empress in Spain protested that they lacked the resources to mount another campaign, and in January 1536 the emperor instructed his diplomats 'not to break off talks' with Francis and instead 'to buy time until we get to Rome, and then we can see what we should do, according to the king's behaviour'.[8] He did not have to wait that long: the following month Francis invaded the lands of the duke of Savoy, married to the empress's sister, using as his pretext a struggle over the city of Geneva, which had attempted to assert its independence from Savoy. Late in 1535 the duke attempted to subdue Geneva and he asked the emperor to send him military support. Leonard de Gruyères, Charles's special envoy to the Swiss Confederation, supported this request, reminding the emperor that 'it is necessary to choose the lesser of two evils; and therefore in my opinion it would be better to make war abroad than to have one at home'. Charles and his council disagreed. 'Given the season, and given that the Swiss are not accustomed to campaign for long at their own expense', they discounted the risk of an attack.[9] They miscalculated. Geneva had concluded a defensive league with the Swiss canton of Bern, France's ally, and in January 1536 Bern sent a herald to declare war on Savoy. The following month Francis followed suit, claiming that his alliance with Bern obliged him to do so, and in March French troops occupied Savoy and almost all Piedmont, bringing his forces to the border of Milan.[10]

This represented a major failure of intelligence. As Charles's principal councillor, Granvelle, ruefully admitted: 'We did not foresee the sudden invasion by Bern, or imagine that the king of France would take such an unfortunate, damnable and outrageous excuse to attack' Savoy.[11] Now Charles had to react. For a time he entertained the hope that the French had mobilized 'merely to improve their bargaining position', but 'in case they want to start something they must not find us unprepared', and so he started to raise troops in Lombardy, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. He also

ordered that 400,000 ducats ‘coined from the gold and silver of Peru’ now in Seville should be sent to Genoa immediately, together with 3,000 Spanish troops, albeit ‘with the hope that matters will not come to rupture’ – in which case, Charles concluded hopefully, ‘we could undertake the enterprise of Algiers this summer, just as planned’.[12]

For a moment it seemed that a proposal from the pope might avert war: Charles’s niece, the widowed Duchess Christina of Milan, would marry Francis’s youngest son, Duke Charles of Angoulême, and they and their descendants would rule the duchy. The emperor accepted the suggestion, on condition that Angoulême renounce all claim to the French throne for ever and that if he and Christina died without children the duchy would revert to the empire ‘as is the custom in imperial fiefs’.[13] Francis rejected this offer, insisting that Orléans, his second son, become the next duke of Milan; but a letter from Queen Eleanor, ‘written in secret in her own hand’, revealed that despite her husband’s public statements he would in fact accept the investiture of Angoulême. Foolishly, the emperor ignored her, instead instructing his envoy at the French court to announce that he was prepared to discuss investing Orléans with Milan, but making clear in a cyphered addendum that he lied: ‘We want to make it absolutely clear to you that we have always refused, and still refuse, to invest Orléans.’[14] He therefore directed the empress to ‘prepare to suffer whatever God sends, which I hope will be favourable to us, and prepare everything in Spain with extreme diligence; so that in the end, with God’s help, we will smash the heads of the French.’ He assured his ambassador at the French court that he was making ‘such excellent preparations for war that either the king of France will be forced to accept the terms that we dictate to him or we will make him regret renewing the war’.[15]

Outwardly, Charles continued to pretend that all was well. He met regularly with the pope, assuring him that ‘we are happy to discuss giving the duchy of Milan to the third son of the King of France, with suitable guarantees’, in return for which Paul would ‘convene a general council and hold it in Mantua within a year’; but when a new ambassador arrived from France empowered only to discuss the transfer of Milan to the duke of Orléans, Charles pounced.[16] On 17 April 1536, Easter Monday, the pope, the College of Cardinals, and the diplomatic corps in Rome assembled at

the emperor's request in the pope's apartments, expecting to hear him report on the Tunis campaign and request support for an attack on Algiers. Instead, for well over an hour Charles denounced the duplicity of Francis 'very calmly, without showing any anger; and he spoke in Spanish'.[17]

According to Salinas, 'The speech lasted a very long time, because it included a narrative of the Italian wars from their beginning until the present, justifying our conduct and detailing the excesses of the King of France.' Charles began by quoting 'the wise words of the emperor Maximilian on the last occasion the king of France made peace with him, saying: "This is the eleventh time I have made peace with the king, and now as on previous occasions I do so because of my desire to bring peace to Christendom and not because I think the king will not break it – as he has done on all previous occasions."' Charles went on to list the broken treaties before denouncing the links Francis had forged with both Barbarossa and the sultan. He then asserted that he had 'always wished to deploy with pride all the power and grandeur that God has given us against pagans and infidels, enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith', but 'the king of France prevented both the peace of Christendom and the war we might have waged against the enemies of God'. He denied 'that I might want to be ruler of the world' and instead pointed to Francis's unprovoked invasion of Savoy and his insistence 'right or wrong' on acquiring Milan. To redress these injustices, Charles announced that he would leave the following day to join the army he had assembled in Lombardy and then invade France unless 'The king of France wishes to meet me in person on a field of honour, either fully armed or in our shirts with only a sword and dagger, on land or sea, on a bridge or an island, in a designated space or in front of our armies, or wherever and however he wants. I will say no more, except that I give him 20 days to make up his mind.' The two monarchs would wager Milan and Burgundy, with the winner taking both.[18]

In making this challenge, the emperor defied not only his rival but also his ministers. According to Salinas, 'Neither Los Cobos nor Granvelle knew about the speech in advance: His Majesty did it on his own initiative. I think it would have been more restrained if they had known about it – at least he would have omitted the part about the challenge.' When the French diplomats present asked Los Cobos and Granvelle for clarification, they

replied that ‘only the first part should be taken seriously’ – that is, Francis should ignore the invitation to a duel.[19] Charles, by contrast, took his challenge very seriously: on 4 May he asked his ambassador in Rome if a reply had arrived because ‘the twenty days that I gave the King of France to respond to the speech that I gave before His Holiness will expire next Sunday’. Francis eventually declined, joking that their swords were ‘too short to fight each other at such a distance’, but Charles immediately turned this careless response to his advantage, drawing a parallel with the abortive challenge of 1528: ‘[The king of France] is right to say that our swords are too short to strike at such a distance. I wonder if that is why in the past he only offered – in very insulting terms – to meet me in personal combat when I was in Spain and he was in Paris?’[20]

CHARLES ON CAMPAIGN

The emperor now left Rome to join the army assembling in Lombardy, passing beneath triumphal arches and receiving accolades in Siena, Florence and Lucca (each the capital of an independent state). Salinas reported that ‘His Majesty has been very joyfully received in these cities, some through love and others through fear’, because ‘besides the court, he brings with him 5,000 Spanish infantry veterans and 300 mounted knights. Light cavalry fill the other roads, so that troops are now on the move all over Italy.’ Salinas also reported that Charles ‘shows great enthusiasm for this war, and I do not think he will welcome any diversion that prevents him from invading France’. Instead ‘while he moves towards his army he spends time practising skirmishes . . . He is in good form – better than I have ever seen him.’[21]

Charles also ordered the empress, Marie and Ferdinand to mobilize the resources required to launch simultaneous attacks on Francis: ‘I do not know if the king wants peace or war,’ he told Marie, ‘but I will first prepare my weapons, and then negotiate.’ Marie agreed, confiding to Ferdinand that ‘even though I have always hated war it would be better to fight now, because I am not sure that everything would favour His Majesty as much at some other time’.[22] On 9 June, Charles announced to his brother that ‘the moment I am ready to march, I will send a herald to declare war on the king of France’, adding that ‘I shall do what I can to get my revenge on him’ – as

usual, revenge featured prominently in his political repertoire – ‘and I hope, with God’s assistance, to attack him so vigorously by land and sea that he will regret having started the war’. Richard Morison, a well-informed Englishman in Italy, foresaw a rapid imperial triumph, because although the French had started well ‘it’s not much of a victory when no one opposes you’. It would be different after they met Leyva’s soldiers, ‘who are now used to drinking blood instead of wine’.[23]

The emperor knew exactly how to deploy these bloodthirsty troops. He had already asked both Leyva and Doria to prepare plans should Francis declare war again, and both favoured another invasion of Provence, but they recommended one change: ‘When the duke of Bourbon attacked Marseilles’ in 1524, ‘France had to unite all its forces to relieve the city, and if we had brought a navy it would have fallen’; and so this time, Doria must use his fleet to blockade the city. The only outstanding question was whether Charles himself should direct operations, as he had done in Africa. Although Leyva ‘advanced many reasons why His Majesty should not enter France in person’, the emperor ‘could not make up his mind and so he asked his council of war to discuss the matter. Eventually, after a thorough discussion of the rationale, His Majesty decided he would take charge’ and on 17 July 1536 he set out for France, taking ‘the most challenging but shortest route at the head of the Spanish and German infantry’.[24]

At first all went well. Charles, just like his grandfather Maximilian, ‘dressed like a soldier’ as he started up the mountain pass, ‘wearing hose, a tunic and armour, with a sash of scarlet cloth, which is the distinguishing mark we all wear’. One of the Spanish veterans reported that ‘we marched at top speed [*a toda furia*], loaded down like ants because we each carried biscuit and rations for 6 days’. The emperor suffered along with his men when ‘we started to cross the mountain . . . starting each day at midnight and travelling with torches’. On 25 July they crossed the French frontier, but since Charles ‘was extremely tired, having visited his whole army to get it in order’, everyone rested for three days. The emperor showed no mercy to stragglers and deserters. One day:

> He spotted a man abandon the ranks and followed him. He cornered him in some woodland and ordered him to be hanged. The man asked the emperor to pardon him this time, but His Majesty refused,

> and so he was hanged from one of the trees there. The emperor did this so that in future everyone in his army would obey orders.[25]

Meanwhile, Henry of Nassau led another army from the Netherlands towards the River Somme. Initially, this threat worried Francis far more because Paris lay only 150 kilometres beyond the Somme: he transferred some troops to Picardy from Provence, which he abandoned ‘giving orders to remove as much as possible of the food in the region, and to destroy the rest, so that it will prove impossible for an army to subsist there’. Francis thus created a vast trap, from which the only exit was retreat.[26]

Charles pressed on regardless. He reached Aix-en-Provence on 5 August and declared himself count of Provence and king of Arles, two titles claimed by his imperial predecessors, perhaps hoping to annex the region; but developments elsewhere made this outcome unlikely. In Istanbul, Francis’s agents concluded a formal treaty of military and economic cooperation with Suleiman, to last for the lives of both sovereigns, and the sultan immediately honoured it by launching an invasion of Hungary that prevented Ferdinand from sending an expeditionary force into France as he had promised.[27] In the Netherlands, Marie worried about the growing coordination ‘between England, France and Guelders, and the way everyone is raising troops’. She begged her brother to authorize her to conclude a treaty of neutrality with France, but he refused, instead ordering her to support an attempt by their deposed brother-in-law Christian of Denmark to regain his throne. Although her troops seized the city of Groningen and the surrounding area (the Ommelanden), which she promptly annexed, they made little headway against the Danes. Worse, Ghent and other cities in the province of Flanders refused to pay any more taxes, which sabotaged Nassau’s efforts to reach the Somme.[28]

In Provence, a French herald arrived to ask Charles to explain why he had invaded the kingdom. The emperor responded by reminding him of something ‘that your king said: that our swords were too far apart for a duel. I have come here to reduce the distance as much as he wants, ready to meet him man to man or army to army. To that end I will await him here in arms, just as I promised the pope.’[29] Once again, the king ignored the challenge. The sudden death on 10 August of his eldest son, the dauphin,

offered a possible resolution of the struggle, because the rulers of Italy were unlikely to accept Henry of Orléans, who now became dauphin, as duke of Milan; but Francis refused to negotiate as long as Charles 'remained in his kingdom with such a large and powerful army'. Instead he waited until starvation forced the invaders to withdraw. That point came on 4 September 1536: having lost 'between seven and eight thousand soldiers through disease and hunger since we arrived', and 'after consulting in great secrecy what I should do next', the emperor warned Nassau that he would have to retreat.[30] He promised not to execute this decision until after attempting to capture Marseilles one more time; but his efforts failed when Cesare Fregoso, whom Francis named his 'governor of Genoa', led a band of exiles in a surprise attack on the city, forcing Doria and his galleys to abandon their station off the coast of Provence and hurry back to defend their base. On 12 September, Charles and his army began their long retreat.[31]

As they advanced, the French found the abandoned imperial camp full of 'dead horses and men, some buried still wearing their armour, with pikes and other weapons scattered through the fields'; and as they pursued the imperialists, 'You could see men and horses all piled in heaps, the dying mixed up with the dead, presenting a spectacle so horrible and pitiful that even the most determined and pertinacious enemy felt sorrow. Whoever saw the desolation could not consider it less than what Josephus described during the destruction of Jerusalem.'[32]

This signal failure affected Charles deeply. Salinas described him as 'very discontented and not very well. I think his past exertions are responsible, and he may also have a touch of the same illness he had in Regensburg [in 1532], because he has an itch in his scrotum'. Perhaps pain explains the emperor's extreme reaction when a garrison of twelve French sharpshooters and two boys, concealed in a tower, fatally wounded his friend, the soldier-poet Garcilaso de la Vega. The garrison eventually surrendered in return for a promise that they would not be sent to the galleys: the emperor kept his word – and instead 'hanged the twelve men and cut the boys' ears off'.[33] After this, Charles pressed on until he reached Genoa. He had certainly inflicted harm on his enemy – one eyewitness estimated the damage done at three million ducats; another predicted that it would take Provence a half-century to recover – but his ignominious retreat,

and the loss of half his army (including Leyva and many of the veterans ‘used to drinking blood instead of wine’), meant that he had lost the campaign. His surviving soldiers had to winter in and around Genoa ‘in great poverty, eating mushrooms for lack of bread’.[34]

Many rejoiced at the emperor’s defeat. In Provence, citizens composed verse epics in denigration and a French diplomat ridiculed him for conducting a campaign on the basis of ‘a map of the Alps and the plain of Provence in his hand or before his eyes. He studied it so often and so intently, using it to further his designs and his desires, that he began to think he had the country in his grasp instead of just the map.’ In Italy, Michelangelo, still smarting over the fate of his native Florence, likewise jested that:

> If only the emperor had ordered a drawing to be made of the course of the River Rhône before he entered Provence, he would not have met with losses so severe, nor retired with his army so disarrayed; nor would he have been portrayed in Rome as a crab who moved backwards when he wanted to move forward, with the columns of Hercules and the motto Plus Ultra.

Another placard in Rome showed a river instead of the columns of Hercules, together with the legend ‘NON PLVS VLTRA RHODANVS’ (‘No further than the Rhone’). Most cruel of all, a picture depicted the emperor on horseback with the motto ‘PLVS RETRO’ (‘Retreat further!’).[35] These jests contained an element of truth: for more than a year Charles had heard nothing but extravagant praise and lavish encomia that compared him favourably with both Classical and Biblical heroes. Perhaps it had convinced him that he was indeed invincible and invulnerable, guaranteed endless triumphs by ‘favourable Fortune’, and made him willing to take high-risk gambles.

THE STRANGE ROAD BACK TO PEACE

On 15 November 1536, although ‘ill with a head-cold, and so overwhelmed with business that he cannot deal with matters as rapidly as some wish’, Charles took another high-risk gamble: he ordered Doria’s galleys to take

him from Genoa back to Barcelona. This time Fortune smiled and he arrived safely three weeks later. Since he had ordered his family to meet him in Tordesillas, Charles now rode across Spain to join them. ‘He experienced no problems,’ Salinas reported, ‘although he had some falls from his horse, as is usual with those who ride post-haste’ – an interesting reminder of the everyday perils of riding on early modern roads – and afterwards ‘he stayed to relax in Tordesillas for 7 days’.[36]

His relaxation soon ended because 1537 brought a stream of further setbacks. In January the emperor learned that Francis had declared forfeit the counties of Flanders, Artois and Charolais, which he held as fiefs of the French Crown; and that conspirators who hoped to restore a pro-French republic in Florence had murdered his son-in-law, Duke Alessandro. Then in April, when Charles asked the Cortes of Castile to provide him with funds, a group of city representatives, led by Juan de Mendoza of Seville, vociferously objected. ‘When His Majesty learned what Don Juan had said he was furious and spoke opprobriously about him’; and when the Cortes ended and Mendoza requested the same reward as other representatives, ‘His Majesty replied that to make an example, Don Juan should not get what he asked for.’[37]

The emperor did his best to relax with his family over Easter, with jousts and bullfights in which he occasionally took part – when a bull gored Luis de Ávila, Charles himself came to the rescue, ‘hurling his lance right into the bull’ – but as soon as ‘he learned for certain that the empress was pregnant’, he prepared to leave court again. The empress protested, telling her husband that ‘she would come too, even if her womb came up to her throat’, but she wasted her breath: Charles left for Aragon without her in July and Isabella again gave birth alone, this time to another son who received the Trastámara name Juan. He died six months later, leaving Prince Philip once more as the couple’s only male child.[38]

Concern that his wife was approaching the end of her fertility led Charles to hurry back to ‘create another child’, but Pedro Girón (who as chief magistrate of the royal household had a privileged viewpoint) noted with surprise that, despite her husband’s presence, this time ‘the empress was very sad and made this plain to see in her face and her clothes. She never dressed as she used to do when the emperor was present, but instead

dressed in black as she did when he was away.' If this was an attempt to make her husband feel guilty, it failed: after less than a month Charles once again abandoned his newly pregnant wife.[39]

Anxious to resume his north African crusade, the emperor went to Barcelona to oversee peace talks with France. In October he had authorized his sister Marie to conclude a local ceasefire – albeit with some misgivings because the terms she proposed:

> . . . may well cause resentment among my subjects in other kingdoms and dominions, as you can imagine. Nevertheless given the complete confidence that I have in you, and since you understand better than me how much this will mean to my subjects in the Netherlands, since you are on the spot and I am so far away, I authorize you to do whatever seems best to you, and you can promise that I will ratify it.[40]

Now the emperor authorized Los Cobos and Granvelle to travel to Salces on the Catalan frontier and begin formal talks for a general ceasefire with their French counterparts. Although he remained in Barcelona, Charles took a close personal interest in the outcome. When a messenger arrived from Salces in the middle of the night with draft terms 'His Majesty heard me at once', and 'having discussed his response at great length' with Loaysa (still the voice of Charles's conscience), 'His Majesty said that he had been thinking of other approaches, but it was not yet time to make them public, nor would he do so until it was the right time – not even to his ministers or his wife.' When Loaysa urged him to consult at least Los Cobos, Charles 'replied that he wanted to find a solution by himself' and refused to allow any other ministers or diplomats to visit Salces.[41]

The reason for such stealth became clear when Charles met a French envoy in secret. 'As you can see,' the emperor told him astutely, 'all the difficulties come down in the end to a lack of trust.' Although the two monarchs could continue 'to declare their wishes and intentions to each other by means of their ministers', he believed that a face-to-face meeting between him and Francis 'was the true and best means to conclude peace'. He joked that the monarchs 'were not yet so old that they could not catch a stag, or currently so far apart that they could not get together for a good

cause’. Nevertheless, he recognized, ‘since there is so much distrust between the two monarchs it seemed necessary to have a third party not only to mediate between them but also to guarantee their safety’. He proposed Paul III for this role.[42] The pope accepted and suggested the port of Nice, one of the few parts of the duchy of Savoy not in French hands, as a neutral venue. Charles arrived by galley from Barcelona on 9 May 1538, and he and Francis spent many hours in separate sessions talking with the pope. After three weeks of bargaining, the emperor promised to transfer Milan to Francis’s younger son, Duke Charles of Angoulême, now promoted to duke of Orléans, who would marry one of Ferdinand’s daughters; and Francis agreed to withdraw his support from Duke Charles of Guelders.

The two sovereigns left Nice on 20 June, having agreed to a ten-year truce. Although they never met face to face, they resolved to continue discussions in a less formal setting at Aigues Mortes, a port-city that lay midway between Nice and Barcelona (and thus implied equality and reciprocity between the principals). On 14 July, as soon as he spotted Charles’s galleys approaching, Francis impulsively set forth without an escort to welcome his guest. Equally impulsively, Charles ‘descended two steps of the ladder to receive the king, so they could come aboard together’. Standing on the poop deck, in full sight of their courtiers, ‘with smiling faces they embraced five or six times’; and then (Charles reported) they spent about two hours alone together ‘exchanging gracious words and affirming our desire to be and to remain good and true friends. We also resolved that we would not discuss details, but delegate them to our ministers.’ When the monarchs emerged to dine, they strove to outdo each other in humility: they debated who should sit down first – ‘“You are older,” joked the emperor; “I admit it,” replied the king, “Older and more foolish”’ – and throughout the meal ‘the emperor usually tried to eat each dish only after the king had started’. It must have been a long evening.[43]

The trust shown by the French king in boarding his former enemy’s galley alone impressed Charles, and although memories of the murder of Duke John of Burgundy a century before had not faded, the following day he reciprocated by accepting an invitation to come ashore. He nevertheless took everyone by surprise when the Dauphin and his younger brother came

to receive him: he fell to his knees as he embraced them, an act of self-abasement that some saw as a request for pardon for the harsh treatment inflicted while the dauphin was his prisoner in Spain. After another enormous feast the two monarchs continued their amicable discussion and agreed ‘not to believe, do or cause anything detrimental to the other’; ‘to arrange some marriage alliances’ to further unite their families; and to coordinate efforts against both the Lutherans and the Turks. They then exchanged rings, and Francis declared: ‘I promise you, on my oath as a gentleman, that I will declare myself the enemy of all those who wish to act against your territories, pledging all my goods and placing at risk my person.’ The emperor ‘took a reciprocal oath’.[44]

No one seemed more surprised by this diplomatic breakthrough than the two monarchs. On the evening of 18 July, back aboard his galley, Charles informed Marie that ‘God has inspired us to this reconciliation and restoration of our friendship’, and instructed her to avoid any action that might jeopardize his ‘true and perfect friendship’ with Francis – who that same evening informed his ambassadors that ‘no princes have ever felt as affectionate towards each other as we do’ and ordered that ‘henceforth the affairs of the emperor must be deemed and esteemed as if they were my own’.[45]

THE EMPEROR AND HIS CRITICS

Charles returned to Spain from Aigues Mortes ‘determined to go in person’ on the crusade against Algiers that he had planned for so long. He realized that he would need ‘to keep his intention secret from our subjects here’, because they would not want him to leave again so soon, but (he assured Ferdinand): ‘I feel not only inclined but obliged to undertake this enterprise, which is more important than anything else, as much for you as for me and for our dominions.’[46] Developments in the central Mediterranean soon increased his determination. In September 1538, at Preveza at the entrance to the Adriatic, an Ottoman fleet under Barbarossa faced a combined Christian fleet, commanded by Andrea Doria. Eventually Doria withdrew, pursued by Barbarossa, but the following month storms destroyed many Turkish galleys and Doria seized the opportunity to capture the fortress of

Castelnuovo (now Herceg Novi in Montenegro) after a short siege, leaving 4,000 Spanish troops as its isolated garrison.[47]

Charles now convened the Cortes of Castile, and the long opening speech made in his name detailed both the achievements of his recent wars (all fought outside the peninsula) and their cost (over six million ducats raised in loans to be repaid in Spain), concluding with a demand for yet more taxes 'to cover the cost of the campaign he wishes to launch' in the Mediterranean. These included a temporary excise tax (*sisa*) to be paid by everyone. The seventy-five noblemen present in the assembly debated the issue for three months before resolving that 'His Majesty should not mention this excise tax again, nor should he leave the kingdom for a while.'[48] Initially, the emperor 'did not display either irritation or anger, but rather a wise detachment', recognizing that the opposition 'did not come from pride or hatred towards him but rather from concern for the kingdom's exhaustion'. Some years later, however, when the historian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda 'casually mentioned the Cortes of Toledo to him', the emperor replied: 'I think of that assembly as little as possible.' He would never again summon the nobles to attend the Cortes of Castile: henceforth each assembly consisted of only thirty-six members (two representatives from eighteen towns).[49]

'Everywhere I see darkening skies,' Salinas observed mournfully. 'I do not know when this eclipse will end, nor what will become of us'; but Charles seemed unaffected. He left 'to enjoy myself hunting for twelve days or two weeks' and on his return arranged a spectacular cane game, watched by his whole family as well as by a large crowd.[50] He also evidently spent time alone with the empress, because she conceived for the ninth time; but on 21 April 1539 she gave birth to another stillborn child. 'Ever since her pregnancy began,' according to Charles, his wife 'was always somewhat unwell'; and although she seemed better after the birth, ten days later she died.[51]

This unexpected tragedy left Charles devastated. 'I feel the anxiety and sadness that you can imagine at such a great and terrible loss,' he wrote to Ferdinand, just before retiring to the Jeronimite convent of La Sisla, outside Toledo, where he spent the next seven weeks grieving. The dynastic consequences of the empress's death did not escape Salinas. First, as he

slyly reminded Ferdinand (who had been Charles's heir until 1527): 'Since the emperor has no spouse, and no intention of getting married again, the succession to these kingdoms consists of one boy and two girls. We cannot tell what God will do with us all, but we humans must think of all possible contingencies', and he predicted that 'recent events will lead to some changes' in what the emperor had planned. He referred to the emergence of open resistance in the Netherlands.[52]

Charles's sister Marie had drawn up a budget for 1538 that showed income of £233,628, expenditure of £441,184 and a debt of £1,356,381 (almost 700,000 ducats). For this critical situation she blamed the cost of the wars against France and Denmark, and she warned that she dared not raise more taxes – especially since the city of Ghent refused to pay another penny, despite an imperial letter reminding the city's magistrates that 'we have always maintained the belief and hope that in our absence you would strive to aid, assist and serve us more than any others, because we also come from Ghent'.[53] The emperor warned that if they did not pay voluntarily he would force them to do so, but Ghent took no notice. Its elite refused to accept tax demands or troops from the central government and even declined to join the delegation sent by Marie to offer condolences on the death of the empress. In August 1539 the city's guilds seized control of the council and soon afterwards orchestrated the trial and execution of one of the magistrates for allegedly tampering with the city's privileges. The following month they sent a secret embassy to Paris to request military assistance.[54] At much the same time, news reached Spain that after a six-week siege Barbarossa had forced the isolated garrison of Castelnuovo to surrender, and afterwards he executed the Spanish commandant and almost all the defendants in cold blood.

Luckily for Charles, in this time of adversity Francis remained faithful to the accord reached at Aigues Mortes, and he welcomed the emperor's suggestion that he should travel from Spain to the Netherlands 'through France so that he could see the king again, enjoy hunting with him and also spend lots of time relaxing with him and his sister the queen [Eleanor]'. For a time the emperor's 'great grief over the death of the empress keeps him in seclusion', but he could not ignore the worsening crisis in the Netherlands, with much of Flanders in open opposition.[55] As Marie told her brother

bluntly, ‘What is at stake here is whether Your Majesty will be master or servant’: only his immediate personal intervention, she claimed, could now restore order and obedience. Other developments in northern Europe also caused concern. After the death of the childless Duke Charles, the Estates of Guelders recognized Duke William of Cleves as their new ruler; and Henry VIII chose as his fourth wife Anne of Cleves, the duke’s sister who was also the sister-in-law of Elector John Frederick of Saxony, leader of the League of Schmalkalden. An alliance between England and disaffected German rulers posed a clear threat to imperial interests.[56]

Charles had intended Doria’s galleys to come to Barcelona and take him to Genoa, where he would oversee arrangements for a new naval campaign against the Turks before crossing the Alps to reach the Netherlands; but in October 1539 the worsening situation in the north forced a change in his plans. Now he would travel through the heart of France, even though his decision required a double deception. On the one hand, he needed to explain this dramatic development to the pope and the Venetians, his allies in the Holy League, as well as to his own ministers in Italy; but, he explained to Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, his special envoy to Italy, ‘although they all need to know about this decision, at present it is better that they should not know more’ – that is to say, that his decision reflected the weakness of his overall position.[57] The second deception involved his Spanish subjects. Charles feared a general outcry when they learned that he planned to throw himself on the mercy of their traditional enemy, and he therefore begged Francis and his courtiers to write ‘affectionate letters to persuade me to make this journey, without mentioning that you already know exactly what I want’. He also asked for an assurance that no matters of state would be discussed while he was on French soil.[58]

As soon as the letters required to conceal his deception arrived from France, mindful of the rebellions that had almost cost him his throne the first time he left Spain, Charles took steps to create an acceptable regency government. He named his son Philip, now eleven, as his regent but invested executive power in Cardinal Tavera, who would serve as governor of the kingdom as well as president of the royal council and inquisitor-general. Charles also prepared two sets of instructions: one, addressed to his ministers, detailed their administrative duties and responsibilities (both

towards the emperor and towards each other); the other was ‘a warning, opinion and advice’ to Philip so that, in case ‘God is pleased to take me to Him’ before he had achieved his policy goals, ‘the said prince should know our plans’ and would thus be prepared to follow the correct religious, dynastic and political strategies ‘so that he may live and reign in peace and prosperity’. It was the first of many papers of advice that revealed to his son the emperor’s innermost thoughts, and thus began the prince’s long political apprenticeship.[59]

After enjoining Philip to love God and defend His Church, the emperor urged him to rely on his relatives:

> He should make and maintain a good, true, sincere and perfect friendship and understanding with our brother, the king of the Romans [Ferdinand], and with his children, our nephews and nieces; with the queens of France [Eleanor] and Hungary [Marie]; with the king and queen of Portugal [Catalina], and with their children . . . to continue the friendship and understanding that exists, and has always existed, between us.

Charles then addressed three contentious issues: France, the Netherlands and Milan. He saw them as linked, because the current amity with King Francis would only continue if the parties agreed ‘to remove and extinguish all quarrels and rivalries’ concerning the Netherlands and Milan, sealing the deal with marriage alliances. Although he had just agreed that the duke of Orléans (the former duke of Angoulême) might marry his daughter María, with Milan as her dowry, Charles revealed that both he and the empress in their testaments had stipulated that ‘should we have no other son than the said prince, as is now the case’, María would marry one of Ferdinand’s sons, and that the couple would rule the Netherlands. The issue had become of critical importance with the unrest in the Low Countries, caused by ‘the multitude of sects opposed to our holy faith, created with the pretence of gaining liberty and a new form of consensual government, which could lead to their complete loss not only to our dynasty but also to our Holy Faith’. The emperor therefore stated his intention of reneging on all previous undertakings, so that María could marry Orléans and the Netherlands ‘may pass to the said prince, our son, and that he may succeed us there if it can be

arranged'. Nevertheless, he assured Philip, if in the end 'we should confer the said dominions on our said daughter and her future husband, it will be to avoid these aforesaid hazards, for the great benefit of Christendom and of our said son, and for the benefit, peace and wellbeing of the kingdoms and other dominions that he is going to inherit'. This convoluted provision contained two remarkable insights: Charles was willing to renege on solemn promises made to his brother, as he would do again at Augsburg in 1551 (see chapter 14); and he foresaw the risk of a Dutch revolt if Philip inherited both Spain and the Netherlands (as indeed occurred a decade after Charles's abdication).

The emperor's instruction next laid out the policy Philip must follow towards three other states: Portugal, Savoy and England. The emperor's daughter Joanna must marry the heir to the Portuguese throne, Prince John, and the French must evacuate Savoy and restore it to the duke. Regarding England, Philip must 'take great care not to agree carelessly to something that might prejudice our [Catholic] faith' and allow Protestantism to triumph. Moreover, family ties obliged Philip to promote the interests of Mary, the daughter of Henry and Katherine of Aragon, and 'to assist and favour her as much as you conveniently can do'. A codicil to Charles's will, signed the same day, repeated the arrangements set out in his instructions, with one addition: in the event of the emperor's death, his ministers 'must place the duchy of Milan in the hands of our brother . . . the king of the Romans, and our presumed successor as emperor', whom he charged with executing the rest of his wishes.[60]

Although neither codicil nor instructions came into effect, because Charles survived, they identified several issues that would dominate Spanish foreign policy for the rest of the century: the need to maintain good relations with the Austrian branch of the family; to intermarry with the Portuguese royal family; to detach either Milan or the Netherlands (or both) from Spain; to restore the duke of Savoy to his dominions; and to uphold the Catholic faith and protect the Catholic claimant to the throne in England. The documents also revealed two practices that would undermine Spanish foreign policy for a century: the willingness to renege on solemn promises, and the reluctance to surrender any territory. Charles's

instructions of 1539 thus highlighted in striking fashion both the strengths and the weaknesses of the monarchy his son would inherit.

THROUGH FRANCE TO THE NETHERLANDS

Charles took leave of his children and set out for France with a small entourage on 11 November 1539. His departure caused almost universal astonishment. The veteran diplomat and historian Francesco Guicciardini told a confidant that ‘Even the emperor himself would not have believed this news, because it was unbelievable’; the French ambassador in London reported that ‘the whole world is astonished, especially the king’s ministers’.[61] Such incredulity is easily explained. Scarcely thirteen years had passed since the vanquished Francis had travelled to Spain, confident that he could settle his differences with Charles in one-on-one meetings, only to end up in prison under constant surveillance; and he had only secured his release by sending two of his sons into captivity, where Charles treated them badly. Nevertheless, now the dauphin, formerly one of Charles’s hostages, re-entered Spain to meet and greet the imperial party and led them to Paris, which Charles entered on 1 January 1540, watched by perhaps 200,000 cheering spectators. The ruler who barely two years before had been execrated as head of an evil empire now encountered everywhere triumphal arches, fanfares and speeches of welcome. There was another reason for incredulity: undertaking such a long overland journey in December and January might seem the height of folly, but once again, Caesar’s luck saved him: the winter of 1539–40 proved to be one of the warmest and driest on record in western Europe, with no precipitation recorded in some areas between October and March. As usual, Charles took it all for granted. ‘We have been so well-treated and feted, with great affection and enthusiasm, that we could not have wished for more,’ he reported, and ‘we spend all our days hunting and hawking, and the nights whirling and dancing until it is time for bed’.[62]

Two considerations explain his effusive reception. After many years of war and numerous reverses, most French men and women rejoiced to see irrefutable evidence that peace had returned at last; and Francis was anxious to dazzle his guest with the extent and wealth of his kingdom, culminating in the gift of a luxurious suit of clothes worth 40,000 ducats when the two

monarchs met. Although Charles declined the clothes, continuing to wear ‘black garments with a black felt hat, without any insignia, because he mourned the empress’, the overwhelming impression of wealth cannot have escaped him.[63]

From Paris the emperor continued his progress to the Netherlands, accompanied by Francis as far as the frontier. As agreed, the king refrained from raising the question of Milan, loudly proclaiming that a gentleman did not take advantage of his guests (as he had accused Charles of doing during his Spanish captivity), but Charles gave his promise that ‘after our brother the king of the Romans arrives at Brussels, and we have consulted him, we can do what needs to be done’ – which implied the transfer of Milan to the duke of Orléans.[64] First, however, he had to deal with his Flemish rebels.

The emperor took no chances. Before he entered Ghent in February 1540 he deployed over 3,000 German troops ‘all around the palace so that they could easily come together if necessary’, and ‘they were all together in the market square until I had passed through’ at the head of ‘my entourage and my guards: five companies of men-at-arms’.[65] Charles sifted through the evidence of treason by citizens of Ghent and other parts of Flanders, and eventually had over a hundred men and women executed, mutilated or banished, often after torture. He also confiscated their property and imposed a heavy fine, as well as collecting all the back taxes the province had refused to pay; he revoked the city’s privileges and abolished or weakened local institutions; and he confiscated all artillery and other heavy weapons. Then, as he had done in Valladolid after the Comuneros revolt, Charles presided over a final theatrical performance. On 1 May he retired to a monastery to commemorate the first anniversary of his wife’s death, and two days later, having again deployed ‘all the soldiers stationed in the city, fully armed, in the streets and crossroads’, Charles watched from a stage as the entire urban elite filed in front of him, bare-headed, with nooses round their necks and wearing only their shirts. They knelt and begged his forgiveness, but for a time the emperor ‘looked into the distance, saying nothing in reply, appearing to reflect on what the people of Ghent had done and whether or not he should pardon them’, until Marie begged him to forgive them ‘in honour and memory of his birth there’. This he graciously

granted. He also laid the first stone of a citadel to be erected on the spot chosen by his grandfather Maximilian after an earlier revolt.[66]

Ferdinand joined his brother and sister in Ghent, and the three evidently discussed the partition of Charles's possessions after his death because the emperor now proposed to Francis a dramatically different way of settling their disagreements. He offered to bestow the Netherlands on his daughter María, who would marry Orléans, and in return Francis would renounce all claim to Milan and Savoy. Charles would do the same for Burgundy. However, the emperor insisted that his daughter and future son-in-law would only be his 'lieutenants' in the Netherlands – Charles would remain their sovereign until his death – and if María died without heirs, the provinces would revert to Habsburg rule. He also demanded that Francis promise to help Charles to extirpate Lutheranism in Germany; to assist Ferdinand to drive the Turks out of Hungary; to allow Prince Philip to marry Jeanne d'Albret, heiress to Navarre; and to endow Orléans with extensive lands in France.[67]

This proposal, which differed dramatically from the earlier one, was totally unacceptable to the French – yet Charles seemed oblivious. Even a decade later, he wrote in his *Memoirs* that he had 'sent letters to the king of France offering such great concessions that it was remarkable that he did not accept them, and that the desired peace did not follow'. The emperor apparently could not appreciate how evacuating Savoy would weaken France, how the marriage of Philip and Jeanne would strengthen Spain's northern border, and how his demand that Orléans should receive control of a large power-base inside France resembled the creation of an appanage for the dukes of Burgundy that had almost destroyed the kingdom a century before. The French ambassadors at the imperial court warned that 'it is public knowledge here that the king [Francis] dislikes the offers made by the emperor, and the common people here believe talks have broken down and some already fear the outbreak of war'. Their English colleague Thomas Wyatt agreed. 'The thinges of Fraunce,' he wrote, 'ar as cold as tho the thinges passid had bene but dremis', and he predicted that 'the donation of Millan shall not conclud, not now, not ever'. He also opined that Charles had so offended 'the Frenche kyng that men think he rather tymithe the

matter till he be in redyness, then hopithe eni forder treting'. In short, he saw a new French declaration of war as inevitable. He was right.[68]

Although in May 1540, Francis proposed 'leaving things as they are for now', a suggestion that Charles accepted, both parties took secret measures to change the status quo. In July the emperor informed his brother that 'after thinking about public affairs, both yours and mine, I absolutely must return to Spain', both 'because of the state of my relations with France' and because in case of war 'I cannot be sustained except by my kingdoms of Spain'. Three months later he engaged in another major deception. Fearing 'a major war prejudicial to Christendom in general, as well as to our son, our kingdoms, dominions and subjects, and our brother' if Milan 'should fall into hostile hands, or those of someone unable to defend it', the emperor invested Prince Philip with the duchy as an imperial fief, and drew up a new codicil to his will revoking his previous orders that it should pass directly to Ferdinand 'whom we are sure will understand our reasons' – a phrase that proves that Charles had not informed his brother of this unilateral decision to reduce his inheritance.[69] For his part, Francis signed warrants worth 5,500 ducats in favour of Antonio Rincón, 'his chamberlain and ambassador in the Levant', and Suleiman granted Rincón an audience that lasted several hours – 'a thing which he had never done to any man in the world' – before sending him back to coordinate how he and his 'good friend and brother' Francis would attack the Habsburgs.[70]

Charles, meanwhile, took advantage of an unusually dry summer to tour his Netherlands provinces and reassert his authority in the wake of the troubles in Flanders. He also persuaded the States-General to approve a number of important economic, legal and religious proposals: they passed laws to regulate bankruptcies, monopolies, usury and the currency; to monitor the conduct of secular and ecclesiastical judges; to standardize regional legal codes; and to punish with death all those convicted of heresy. Charles also issued revised instructions to the three collateral councils that would advise Marie after he departed, adjusting their membership and protocols; and as usual he monitored developments in his other dominions, including approval of a suggestion from Los Cobos that he create a new archive in the fortress of Simancas, to which all surviving documents generated by the central government of Castile would be transferred.[71]

By then, Charles had decided that he would return to Spain via Germany, where he hoped to resolve all religious divisions as a prelude to a second campaign in Africa. He recognized the difficulties inherent in this task. Since leaving Germany nine years before, in return for Lutheran support against the Turks he had suspended the Edict of Worms, with its penalties for non-conformity, and agreed to refer all differences between Lutherans and Catholics to a future church council. Since the former saw little chance that the council would endorse toleration, in 1535 the members of the League of Schmalkalden had voted to prolong its existence for another twelve years and also solicited expressions of support from foreign rulers (notably the kings of Denmark, England and France), provoking some Catholic rulers to form their own defensive league. In 1539, alarmed by Charles's rapprochement with France, both leagues declared that they would not use force against the other, or expand their membership. They also promised to send theologians to a series of 'colloquies' (or friendly conversations) arranged by the emperor in the hope of resolving their differences; while Charles sought 'the advice of my confessor and learned theologians' on the issues to be debated at the next Diet.[72]

The pope tried to derail the talks by summoning a general council to meet in Vicenza, in the Venetian Republic, and he asked Charles to forbid further discussion of religious issues at the Diet; Charles replied that the Lutherans would not attend any council held outside the Empire. He also pointed out that, unlike a Diet, a general council would not produce funds for the defence of Hungary against the Turks. Luther likewise dismissed the idea that a general council offered any hope of reform in another intemperate polemic entitled *On councils and churches*. He, too, favoured finding a solution just for Germany. The colloquies therefore continued.[73]

By January 1541 the German theologians had made considerable progress, and Charles gave orders for a draft text to be debated in his presence at the next imperial Diet, scheduled to open at Regensburg. He also tried to create a united Catholic front. Gasparo Contarini, formerly Venetian ambassador at his court and now the pope's special envoy to the Diet, reported that at his first audience the emperor asserted that everyone in the Catholic camp 'must speak with one voice, and not diverge from one

another, if we want to bring this matter to a successful conclusion'.[74] To this end, Charles chose six theologians – three from each creed – and tasked them with finding common ground, and he appointed Granvelle and Count Palatine Frederick to preside over their discussions. On 6 April the Diet listened to 'a long statement recapitulating all that the Emperor had done' since they last met, namely his success in driving the sultan from Hungary; his attempt to make the pope convene a general council 'according to his promise at previous Diets'; his campaigns in north Africa (to defend Christendom) and Provence (to restore the duke of Savoy, a prince of the Empire); and his successful efforts to make peace with France and restore order in the Netherlands. Next the assembly heard a statement 'in his Majesty's name, in German (the Emperor not speaking that language fluently)', setting out his twin goals for the Diet: to find a formula of religious concord within the Empire and to prepare its defence against the Turks.[75]

In May, to general surprise, the theologians agreed upon the subject of Justification and turned to the crucial issue of the Eucharist, but Contarini denounced this as misguided on the grounds that the subject had been decided by previous general councils. Charles vehemently disagreed, not least because Sultan Suleiman once more approached Hungary at the head of a large army, which (as in 1532) made it imperative to make concessions that would secure Lutheran troops and taxes. He repeatedly expressed his frustration at the papacy's failure to understand his dilemma. When Contarini requested an imperial audience on 14 May and 'explained the errors of the Lutherans on the sacraments of the Eucharist and confession' and 'how it was impossible to reach an accord unless they changed their mind', Charles 'listened attentively' and then told the cardinal that 'I had done my duty well, because he himself was not a theologian' (perhaps a sarcastic comment since Contarini, the former diplomat, had only been a priest for four years). His lack of theological training did not prevent the emperor from arguing that 'the difference between the two sides concerning the Eucharist consisted of just one word: "transubstantiation"'. How difficult could it be, he asked, to find a definition acceptable to all? Two weeks later, Granvelle repeated the emperor's message. 'The word "transubstantiation"' was 'a subtle concept [*una cosa sottile*] of significance

only to the learned. It was irrelevant to ordinary people, who needed to know only that the body of Christ was in the Sacrament and must be revered.' Granvelle predicted that 'once we resolved this difficulty, it would be easy to reach agreement on the other articles'; but unless the two sides reached an accommodation 'within three months of the emperor's departure all Germany will be Lutheran'.[76]

At dawn the following day, 21 June 1541, Ferdinand arrived in Regensburg. On hearing the news, his brother arose and 'waited for him in his shirt at the window and after they had embraced and remained a short while together, they both retired to rest'. The brothers then pleaded with the Diet for funds to save Buda, now under Ottoman siege, but the Lutheran members of the Diet refused without guarantees that religious toleration would continue. As usual, they got their way: at the closing ceremony of the Diet, both groups agreed to refer all religious differences to the next general council, to be held on German soil, failing which a national council, or (if neither had taken place after eighteen months) at another meeting of the Diet. Until then, the toleration granted by the peace of Nuremberg remained in force and the Diet agreed to fund 24,000 troops to defend Hungary – but the compromise came too late to save Buda, which surrendered less than a month later.[77]

STORM OVER ALGIERS

Some contemporaries were astonished that Charles left Regensburg for Italy, instead of for Hungary, but this reflected a major change in his grand strategy. During his summit with the pope at Nice three years before, he had explained to a Venetian envoy that 'when the sultan advanced against Vienna, we saw that it is not always possible to force him to battle when one wishes, yet he commands so many horsemen that he can advance and retire, and devastate the countryside, at will'. This, Charles explained, led him to favour a defensive posture in Hungary, 'improving the fortifications and installing garrisons in the frontier strongholds, but otherwise not committing troops to any campaigns'. In future, he would make war on the Turks by sea; and, he told the ambassadors, 'having learned on my African campaign' that success required a far larger expeditionary force, he planned to raise and command 60,000 men, 200 galleys and 'as many ships as

necessary' for an attack on 'Constantinople, which is surrounded by sea on three sides, via the Dardanelles, which I am told can be captured easily'.[78]

When Marie heard of this, she composed a blistering memorandum warning Charles of the risks involved:

> Although Your Majesty is the foremost Christian prince in honour and in the number of your dominions and subjects, you are not obliged to defend Christendom alone, or with only a little assistance, and even less to attack our common enemy, especially one as powerful as the Turks. Moreover, even if Your Majesty might want to do this you need to consider if you have the power to do it successfully . . . However good and Christian the venture might be in itself, it should not be undertaken unless it will succeed.

Conceding that warfare 'is not my trade', Marie reminded her brother that 'I have listened to many people who are familiar with the Turks' (a reference to her years as queen of Hungary). She also reminded him of how much had gone wrong during his expedition to Tunis: 'In what state would you and your army have been if Barbarossa had not come out to do battle?' Yet Tunis 'is just at the doorway to your possessions': how would he overcome similar problems in the eastern Mediterranean? Next Marie condemned Charles's decision to campaign in person (the fact that her husband had perished in battle against the Turks gave her opinion added force). 'If some misfortune should befall you,' she asked rhetorically, 'what would become of your family and of us, your subjects and your lands, and of the entire Christian faith which, as everyone knows, depends wholly upon your life and your reputation? How would you answer to God if such a misfortune arose through your own fault?' She continued cruelly: 'Your Majesty's task is to vanquish, not to be vanquished':

> Even if the campaign starts so well that Your Majesty wins some town and begins to advance, if you lack the means to press on, think what a disgrace and cause for regret it would be. And if Your Majesty wants to keep your gains, please consider what it would cost and how hard it would be to supply and defend them against such a powerful enemy, given the distances involved.[79]

Perhaps chastened by Marie's arguments, Charles scaled back his ambitions and set his sights on capturing Algiers, Barbarossa's base of operations and therefore the preferred target of his Spanish subjects. As with the Tunis campaign, his strategy required the junction of two amphibious forces, one from Spain and the other from Italy, both of which he would command in person, but with two major differences: this time he would sail with the Italian contingent and the operation would take place in the autumn.

Several reasons explain the fateful delay. Above all, the Diet of Regensburg dragged on far longer than Charles had expected, yet he felt unable to leave until he had exhausted all possibilities of finding a formula for religious concord, and secured funds to defend Hungary. At last, on 28 July, the emperor ordered his household to pack and the following day 'he appeared before the Diet in his riding clothes' to give his consent to the final resolution (the *Reichsabschied*).[80] He then travelled at top speed, sometimes covering sixty kilometres a day, over the Brenner Pass and on to Cremona in Lombardy; but instead of hastening to join his fleet he diverted to Milan, where he spent a week before proceeding to Genoa.[81] There he halted again while he and his advisers discussed what to do next. According to Francisco López de Gómara, who travelled with the imperial party:

> While the emperor was in Genoa, he learned from letters sent by his brother how Suleiman had captured Buda and all of Hungary. This led to different opinions among his councillors about going to Algiers. The marquis del Vasto [governor of Lombardy] said that it would be better to stay in Italy, so he could send aid to Ferdinand or return to Hungary if necessary, and also to safeguard Milan, since the king of France threatened it.

'Andrea Doria felt the same,' Gómara added, 'because it seemed too late to campaign on the African coast'; but the emperor argued that the departure of Barbarossa and his galleys to sail up the Danube with the sultan offered a unique opportunity, because Algiers would be too weak to resist him.[82]

Charles embarked at Genoa on 10 September but almost immediately stopped for another week while he met the pope at Lucca. Paul sought to dissuade him from attacking Algiers, 'because the season is far advanced and these troops should be in Hungary'; Charles countered by urging the

pope to convene a general council on German soil and to uphold the truce with France, ‘so that he could continue to defend Christendom against the Turks’.[83] After three days of fruitless discussion, and two months after leaving Regensburg, Charles and his fleet finally set out on 28 September to join the expeditionary force from Spain off Mallorca (Map 4).

Bad weather now delayed Charles and his fleet, and they did not reach Mallorca until 13 October. There they halted yet again because Charles ‘felt great pain in his chest’. He used the enforced leisure to plan his agenda for the coming year, starting with a meeting of the Cortes of Castile in Seville as soon as he returned, after which he would visit Granada and inspect progress on his new palace in the Alhambra before travelling to Aragon, ‘so that the prince could receive the oath of loyalty’. When his chest infection persisted, he summoned his principal secretaries, Alonso de Idiáquez and Juan Vázquez de Molina, and told them that:

> Since he might die of this illness, either at sea or having disembarked at Algiers before concluding the campaign, he wanted to leave instructions on how to proceed so that everyone would know his intentions. He therefore created two set of instructions, one signed ‘Carlos’ [for the contingent from Italy], which he gave to Idiáquez to keep, and the other signed ‘Yo el Rey’, which he delivered to me [Vázquez de Molina, for the contingent from Spain].

This impressive example of forward planning could not compensate for the late arrival of the expeditionary force from Spain, commanded by the duke of Alba. It left the peninsula only on 30 September and took two weeks to reach Ibiza, 130 kilometres from Mallorca. Given the lateness of the season, Charles now decided that the two fleets should set sail straight for north Africa and join forces there. It was a high-risk gamble: ‘God grant that his decision succeeds,’ Vázquez de Molina sighed.[84]

At first, the Creator seemed to favour Charles. The imperial fleet sighted Algiers on 19 October 1541, the day after leaving Mallorca, and although rough seas prevented an immediate landing the ships from Spain arrived four days later. Disembarkation began immediately. The emperor swiftly deployed his siege artillery around Algiers and planned to use it, as

at La Goletta, in combination with the heavy centreline guns aboard the galleys (which could operate beyond the range of the artillery in the town and still bring down its walls); but on the night of 24 October a furious storm began.

Over the next three days, raging seas destroyed many of Charles's vessels and forced the rest to flee for shelter, while the high winds, freezing rain and hail demoralized his troops, 'who had disembarked without tents and without any coats or capes to protect them against the fury of the rains'. 'There was not a soldier who did not become in a moment as wet as if he had been thrown into the sea.' The storm also deprived the invaders of their tactical edge: 'Our firearms did not work because the rain ruined the powder and match', one of the participants complained, yet 'we were unfamiliar with making war with bows, crossbows, stones and other missiles', all of which their adversaries used to great effect. Unable to land provisions, 'without bread, wine, meat, salt or anything else', the troops only survived because the emperor ordered them to kill and eat the horses with his army: perhaps 2,000 animals perished. Once the storm abated, on 26 October, the invaders fled towards the surviving ships but no sooner had they re-embarked than another tempest arose 'so that each ship went wherever it could and many went in the opposite direction to the way that they should have gone'. Charles found safety in the fortified outpost of Bougie where he organized a fast and prayers for better weather until 23 November, when the winds abated and he led his fleet back to Mallorca. From there, most of the surviving troops and ships returned to Italy, while the emperor and the rest of the expedition made for Cartagena, where they staggered ashore 'half-dead' on 1 December.[85]

THE SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS

Sympathetic participants stressed Charles's personal involvement with all aspects of the campaign. According to a Genoese squadron commander, 'in spite of everything, this has been the best-organized war he has seen since he joined the imperial cause'; and once ashore, according to Gómara, 'the emperor was everywhere' and he showed no fear. When speaking to his men beneath the walls of Algiers, 'some of those whom he addressed were suddenly felled by enemy artillery, but the emperor showed no surprise on

that account, neither interrupting his speech nor changing his expression. He continued with the same serenity and authority that he normally showed.' Likewise, when the storm began, 'although he was wet, because rain soaked his shirt, and although tired from all his efforts since he disembarked', nevertheless 'he would not go to his tent, asking his gentlemen not to rest until all the wounded were safe'. When his men started to slaughter and eat their horses, 'the emperor wanted to taste it, and to encourage the rest, as he ate he declared it delicious'. He behaved throughout as 'a most excellent captain, in the opinion of everyone, both in efforts and prudence' – but it was not enough.[86] The Venetian ambassador with the expedition, angry and scared as storms battered his ship off Bougie, blamed his predicament entirely on Charles's foolish over-confidence: 'Just as His Imperial Majesty conceived this venture in his own head, and against the advice of all his councillors and principal allies, so he worked out in his own head how to command it. In this he made a major error', resulting in the 'cowardly and disorderly retreat of this army from Algiers'. He added: 'His Majesty cannot escape the blame for this error . . . All the Spaniards and Italians here complain about him.' So did the Burgundians: when Fery de Guyon compiled his memoirs twenty-five years later, he protested that 'it was the end of the campaigning season, but *nevertheless*, since His Majesty had made up his mind, we had to go' to north Africa.[87]

Charles himself gave two reasons for the failure: his detour to meet the pope ('this conference with His Holiness somewhat delayed His Majesty's embarkation'); and the judgement of God ('because God controls the weather, we embarked'). In others words, given the sacred nature of the cause, no doubt encouraged by his success against all odds at Tunis, Charles expected God to provide good weather. Muslim observers expressed remarkably similar sentiments: 'God the most high sent a violent storm' that 'drove many ships onto the rocks', wrote one; an imam whose prayers were said to have unleashed the storm became the subject of veneration.[88]

Certainly, the storm had decided the outcome. As Charles expected, the absence of Barbarossa and his galleys gave him an important advantage and he made the most of it, partly by using surprise, partly by pretending that he still intended to attack Istanbul. Even though the defenders of Algiers

feared that they might be the emperor's real target, leading them to 'employ 400 Christian slaves to repair the walls, rebuild what had fallen down, and furnish it with towers and cannon', as well as 'cutting down the trees in the gardens around the town, so that the enemy could not use them for concealment in combat', they did not know when the blow would fall. According to an Algerian eyewitness, the city's greatest weakness was that 'in the case of an amphibious expedition, the target remains unknown until three days after it departs', and since the imperial fleet travelled from Mallorca to Algiers in just two days it inevitably took the defenders by surprise. They therefore failed to prevent the orderly disembarkation of the invasion force comprising 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry who, by the evening of 24 October, had taken up their positions and installed their batteries and their galleys close to the town walls. In the opinion of Guyon, who boasted almost twenty years of military experience, 'If God had not sent the storm, I think the city would have been captured within two days.' The author of an anonymous German account agreed: 'Later information revealed that there were only 2,000 horse and 800 Janissaries in the city of Algiers and that the city was not so secure. If our forces had had provisions, without doubt, they would have won it without any difficulty.'[89]

Should Charles have foreseen the potential for disaster? After all, the ecology of the Maghreb did not favour major military operations, since the semi-constant skirmishing between Christians and Muslims dramatically limited food production, leaving most port cities permanently dependent on imports. Landing 44,000 men and their horses would inevitably strain local resources, and although Charles had anticipated this by loading copious stores onto his ships, the storms prevented disembarkation and created an acute food shortage ashore. Nevertheless, that was not the critical problem. As one survivor put it: 'We received some protection against the famine because the emperor allowed the slaughter of his horses', but 'we never found a defence against the rain'.[90]

Here, too, the risk should have been obvious. The months of October, November and December normally see the highest precipitation in and around Algiers, and much of it falls in torrential downpours. For example, 285 millimetres of rain fell in forty-eight hours in November 2001, and 227 millimetres of rain fell on Algiers in fifty hours in September 2012.

Although those who endured the storm that began on 24 October 1541 had no means of measuring the downpour accurately (Andrea Doria, then aged seventy-four, merely stated that ‘such a furious and terrible storm had never been seen’), they noted that rain and hail continued for fifty hours – very similar to the storms in 2001 and 2012. No army camped in the open could have withstood that unscathed.[91]

Invading an area with scarce resources in late autumn thus greatly multiplied the risks inherent in any complex amphibious operation undertaken in the age of sail. As Paolo Giovio observed, after meeting Charles at Lucca, ‘I would never have believed that Caesar’s brain, which is supremely cold-blooded, has turned into that of a lackey, because in spite of Doria and Vasto, to say nothing of Neptune and Aeolus [the gods of the sea and the winds], he wants to sail at top speed to Algiers’ in early October.’[92] His decision cost the lives of almost half his army. Some died in action; others were overcome by hunger and cold; others still were drowned or cut down as they staggered ashore after their ships sank in the storm. The expedition also lost much equipment (including 200 artillery pieces), almost all its horses and over 100 ships (seventeen of them war galleys); and many survivors lost all their possessions (the English ambassador, saved from shipwreck wearing only his shirt, reported that he had lost over 7,000 ducats in goods and cash as well as the expensive silverware loaned by his sovereign; Hernán Cortés lost his jewels). Charles himself lost part of his archive and for a time his guards had to travel around Spain by mule ‘because we lost so many horses at Algiers’. According to a French observer, ‘The total material losses exceed 4 million in gold’, to say nothing of the immense damage done to imperial prestige, and he predicted that ‘the emperor will remember for the rest of his life the enormous loss he has just suffered’. Indeed, he ‘has lost so much in this venture that he will not be able to put together another army for a long time’. There would therefore never be a better opportunity to break the truce of Nice and force Charles to make peace on disadvantageous terms. All Francis needed was a plausible excuse.[93]

— ELEVEN —

SETTLING SCORES, PART I: GUELDERS AND FRANCE, 1541–4

MURDER MOST FOUL

On 2 July 1541, while Charles was still in Regensburg preparing for the Algiers campaign, Cesare Fregoso and Antonio Rincón embarked with a small entourage on two river boats near Turin, in French-controlled Piedmont, planning to sail down the Po to Venice. Both travelled as diplomats in the service of Francis I, who had ordered Fregoso to represent him in Venice while Rincón would proceed to Istanbul and communicate the king's acceptance of Sultan Suleiman's offer of alliance (chapter 10). Warned by friends that they might be ambushed, 'to deceive the spies they embarked all their goods and servants on another river boat', which departed a few days before, 'and also sent between 10 and 12 men in disguise on horseback, so that any observer would think it was them'. The attempted deception failed: just after the two ambassadors entered the duchy of Lombardy, Spanish soldiers intercepted, abducted and murdered them. They then buried the bodies and disappeared.[1]

Charles had tried to eliminate Rincón before. Three Spaniards had come to Venice to murder him as he returned from Istanbul to France in 1532; and when they failed, Charles placed a price on Rincón's head.[2] But although imperial spies kept the French diplomats under continuous surveillance, so that 'they could not take a step without it being known', on 23 June 1541 Charles instructed the marquis del Vasto, governor of Lombardy, to leave Rincón alone because 'even if you could detain him, it would be contrary to

the truce of Nice, which must be preserved at all costs; and if you have already done so you must release him and set him free immediately, making it clear that he was detained without any order from me (which is the truth) and that as soon as we heard about it we gave orders to release him'.[3]

Although Vasto received this command before the assassination, he deliberately disobeyed. His grovelling subsequent apology stated that 'I would rather die a thousand deaths than allow this business to cause Your Majesty anger or disservice', but added 'the only thing that led me to do it [the murder] was knowledge that it would be to your advantage'. To make sure Charles understood his rationale he sent further details with a courier, begging Charles to hear the messenger 'in a place where only Your Majesty can hear what he says'.[4]

The emperor's response to Vasto's flagrant disobedience was of critical importance because murdering the ambassadors would bring about war with France. Charles's ministers had no illusion on this score. 'Given past disagreements, and with affairs in their current state, and since Your Majesty wants to avoid giving any grounds for a rupture', they opined that 'Your Majesty cannot approve what has been done. Nevertheless', they continued fatefully, 'we cannot deny that the deed has been well done, and is very appropriate to avoid something worse.' Therefore '*the dexterity he [Vasto] has shown should be praised* – although to avoid any risks, this must be done in the utmost secrecy'. Although the emperor rejected the final suggestion, he neither reproached nor disavowed Vasto. His failure to do so would unleash war not only with France but also with the Turks.[5]

Charles's approval of the cover-up is surprising because (as in modern politics) lying about an action often caused more damage than the action itself. He was certainly capable of overruling the marquis because the following year, when Vasto threatened to disobey another direct order and withdraw his forces from Piedmont, claiming that he lacked the funds to sustain them, Charles delivered a blistering rebuke:

> We refuse to believe that you thought or think of doing what you wrote, unless you wrote it to stress how much you need money; but be that as it may, we do not wish to hear or read about it because it is unworthy that someone of your calibre, holding the position that we granted you, should even think such a thing let alone express it.[6]

Why did Charles fail to issue a similar reproach to Vasto for arranging the murder of the French ambassadors? The surviving evidence suggests that the emperor thought he could lie his way out of trouble – and lie he did. Three weeks after the deed, he signed a letter to his ambassador in France asserting that 'whatever had happened to those two people, we had nothing to do with it'; he assured the nuncio that although Vasto had informed him of the chance to arrest the envoys, 'I told him that he must do nothing to imperil the truce'; and 'at the request of the king of France' he appointed a special investigator to go to Milan to 'locate and liberate' Rincón and Fregoso.[7] A few weeks later Vasto requested permission for the assassins to escape from the prison where he had placed them, and for one of them to send him a written confession that they had acted alone. He helpfully sent a draft of what the document might contain. The emperor not only approved this further deception but recommended a change to the draft: 'If you decide to let the assassins escape, and one of them writes you the confession as we have discussed,' he told Vasto, it would be good if he added that they burned everything '*except for certain documents found on them, which detail the wicked and perverse plots that they were hatching*' – namely alleged plots to wrest control of Genoa from the hands of Andrea Doria. Charles further suggested 'that the person who writes the document should be of a rank appropriate to a leader in such a matter, one whom the others would obey'.[8]

RINCÓN'S POSTHUMOUS REVENGE

Charles's decision to lie proved both a logistical and a political disaster. Anxious to join the expeditionary force he had assembled to take Algiers, he interrupted his journey from Regensburg to make a solemn entry into Milan, where he and Vasto showed their mutual regard. The marquis had engaged Giulio Romano, one of the foremost artists and architects of his day, to prepare triumphal arches (one of them crowned by a statue of Charles, mounted and dressed as a Roman emperor, trampling down a Moor, a Turk and a Native American); and he accompanied his master everywhere until, flanked by two cardinals 'and all the dukes, princes and lords of his court, His Majesty went to the cathedral to carry the son of the marquis to his baptism', becoming the child's godfather. Shortly afterwards

torrential rains and high winds destroyed most of the triumphal arches, which some saw as a harbinger of disaster. The emperor's ten-day sojourn in Milan, whether or not intended to demonstrate his confidence in Vasto, doomed the coming campaign: many believed that if Charles had arrived in north Africa ten days earlier, he would have captured Algiers before the catastrophic storms decimated his fleet.[9]

Charles's cover-up also proved a political disaster. As the French ambassador in Venice observed, once news arrived that the two diplomats had been abducted 'no one speaks of anything else', and he predicted (correctly) that it 'will be like the plague: as it spreads, no one discusses other illnesses'. King Francis – who had paid Rincón some 10,000 ducats just before his ill-fated departure – asked Henry VIII for 'council and advice on what I should do in this matter', and also sent a special messenger 'to tell the sultan the truth about what had happened to the envoys'. His chancellor angrily exclaimed that 'it was an act that not only violated treaties and promises but also international law, which guarantees the safety of ambassadors'.[10]

Although both Vasto and Charles continued to protest their ignorance of the murders, they chose their words with great care. The marquis insisted that he would never act contrary to 'the order issued by His Majesty when Rincón went to France, namely that neither he nor anyone with him should be troubled' (irrelevant, since Rincón had been coming *from* France). The emperor assured foreign diplomats that 'he had never given orders for his ministers to capture Fregoso and Rincón', and gave 'his solemn word that his officials would not have dared to undertake a thing of such importance and consequence without his knowledge and permission'.[11] Although these statements were technically true, they were also deliberately misleading – and Francis soon realized it. He therefore pressured Charles to release his diplomats, or at least to reveal where they were, by arresting and imprisoning George of Austria (one of Emperor Maximilian's numerous illegitimate progeny and thus Charles's uncle) as he made his way across France, and by seizing some Spanish merchants. He also sent a special representative to raise the matter at the imperial summit with the pope at Lucca, and although Charles 'refused to give the envoy an audience, or allow the matter to be discussed in his presence', Paul showed no such

scruples and ‘claimed for himself cognizance, trial and verdict in the case’, on the grounds that ‘he has jurisdiction over treaties of peace and truce between Christian princes, and particularly the one at Nice’, which he had brokered. The emperor reported that the pope insisted ‘I immediately deal with the restitution of Fregoso and Rincón, as if they were in my power and I could produce them!’ Before he left Lucca, having further perjured himself with the claim ‘on the soul of the empress that he knew nothing about the whereabouts of Rincón and Fregoso’, Charles reluctantly agreed to submit the diplomatic incident to papal arbitration.[12]

The discovery in October 1541 of the mangled bodies of the ambassadors on Milanese territory outraged Francis even more. He told a special envoy from the pope that ‘although he would take no action against the emperor until after [the latter] returned from his expedition to Algiers, he then expected His Imperial Majesty to give satisfaction’. According to an English envoy who overheard the conversation, the king defined ‘satisfaction’ very clearly: ‘If th’empereur woold deliver him Milan, with th’appurtenaunces, “Then we have peace already”; but if th’empereur would not, “There is no point in talking about peace”’. When reminded that Charles had offered to cede the Netherlands to the duke of Orléans instead, Francis replied that he ‘would not give his younger son the means to make war on the kingdom of France’. He wanted ‘Milan and nothing els’ for himself. Nevertheless, even after learning that Charles had survived his north African venture and returned to Spain, Francis remained cautious: when pressed by the nuncio, he admitted that although it would be easy for him to start a war immediately, ‘there are now so many irons in the fire that the time is not right’.[13]

King James V of Scotland was one of the irons. In 1537 he had married one of Francis’s daughters in Paris, amid lavish festivities, and after her death he married Mary of Guise, a prominent member of the royal court – an alliance guaranteed to keep Scotland in the French orbit. Francis used a similar strategy to win over the duke of Cleves. When Duke Charles of Guelders died childless in 1538, Charles V had a good claim to succeed, founded in the treaty of Gorcum (p. 186), but the representatives of the duchy instead recognized their neighbour William of Cleves as their new ruler. Marie urged her brother to hurry back to the Netherlands, warning

him that ‘to abandon them now would greatly undermine his reputation’. Charles replied that ‘the campaigning season was too advanced to wage war on Guelders, and that next year he would be fighting the Turks’; but Marie countered boldly that a decision to ‘fight the Turks and leave affairs over here in their current state’ would lead ‘a large number of your loyal subjects here to lose their affection towards Your Majesty’. The revolt of Ghent forced Charles to change his mind, and not long after he returned to the Netherlands, Duke William came to secure imperial recognition of his new title as duke of Guelders, hoping that the marriage of his sister Anne to Henry VIII would strengthen his hand; but the emperor turned him down flat.[14]

Perhaps his successful progress through France and the Netherlands made Charles over-confident. Sir Thomas Wyatt, the English ambassador at his court, reported that during an audience in December 1539 Charles had boasted that the duke of Cleves ‘“shall do me reason” . . . laying his hand on his breast, “And he hath of one a sovereign, a neighbour, and a cousin; and otherways he shall lose all three”’. The following month, when discussing Guelders, Wyatt observed in Charles a ‘vehemence that I have not bene acustomid to se. I notyd his lowder voice, his earnester looke and specially his imperius fashon in his words’. At another audience in February 1540, when Wyatt spoke up in favour of the duke of Cleves, the emperor merely ‘smild and wagid his hed, with making a “Tushe” at the matter’.[15] Perhaps over-confidence explains why Charles apparently overlooked both the reports that ‘all the triumphes’ erected in his honour as he traversed France and ‘left stonding after his departure in his memorie, ar now taken downe and broken in peaces’, and the welcome extended by Francis to the duke of Cleves: the two signed a treaty that guaranteed mutual assistance in case of attack and allowed France to raise troops in Cleves in case of need, and promised Duke William the hand of Jeanne d’Albret, heiress to the kingdom of Navarre, whom the emperor had hoped would marry his son Philip.[16]

The winter of 1541–2 saw more diplomatic activity at the court of France. The king welcomed refugees from Ghent and elsewhere who had defied Charles; signed a ‘lege defensive and offensive, freendes to freendes and enemye to enemyes’ with Denmark; sent envoys to conclude alliances

with Elector John Frederick of Saxony and with the king of Sweden; signed contracts by which several German mercenary leaders agreed to keep troops on standby for French service; and authorized his ambassador in England to propose a marriage between the duke of Orléans and Mary Tudor.[17] Most ominous of all, Francis finalized plans with the sultan for a coordinated campaign. Suleiman would lead an army of 60,000 men back to Hungary, and send Barbarossa with 150 galleys into the western Mediterranean; Francis promised to send a galley squadron to join the Turkish vessels, to allow their combined fleet to winter in a French port, and to attack the Habsburgs in Spain and the Netherlands.

In July 1542, since all his irons in the fire seemed hot, Francis unleashed attacks on multiple fronts and authorized his subjects to arm themselves and attack the emperor and his 'subjects and allies' wherever they could be found. The principal justification in his War Cry was that:

> The emperor has committed an injury so great, so execrable and so strange towards humankind, and especially towards those who boast the titles and qualities of princes, that it cannot ever be forgotten, suffered or tolerated: namely that by means of some of his ministers our ambassadors, Cesare Fregoso, a knight of our Order, and Antonio Rincón, were treacherously and inhumanly assassinated and killed as they were on their way to Venice on our business . . . In this, the emperor acted against the truce negotiated between him and me – something repugnant to all divine and human law, and contrary to the ancient and settled custom established and observed between kings and princes, states and republics, from the creation of the world until now.[18]

Suleiman used a similar rationale. In August 1541 he warned Ferdinand that he must 'secure the release of the ambassador [Rincón] who was coming to our Sublime Port on behalf of the emperor of France, whom your brother Charles has seized and arrested . . . unless you wish to cause the ruin of your own land'. The sultan also arrested the Habsburg ambassador at his court and threatened to inflict on him whatever 'outrage Charles had inflicted on Ambassador Antonio Rincón, who was on his way to see me'; and he later characterized his campaign against the Habsburgs as revenge

for the ‘great offence and indignity’ of Rincón’s murder. Thanks to the emperor’s duplicity, from beyond the grave the former Comunero got his full measure of revenge.[19]

A NEW WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS

The French declaration of war did not surprise Charles. In November 1541, Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, who had stayed in Italy after the Lucca summit, composed a perceptive position paper about the international situation based on the assumption that hostilities were virtually inevitable with either the French or the Turks, and possibly with both. He predicted that the principal blows would fall on either Navarre or Milan, perhaps preceded by an attack on the Netherlands ‘under the aegis of the duke of Cleves’. The main obstacle to mounting an effective response, Granvelle thought, was that ‘with so many things happening at the same time in different places’, everyone would demand Charles’s presence; the emperor must therefore ‘make his decisions in the light of all these problems, and not deal with just one while abandoning the others’. For example, although the imperial presence in Germany would ‘encourage the Germans to oppose the Turks, stimulate his affairs in Italy and the Netherlands, and restrain both the king of France and the Lutherans’, leaving Spain would irritate his subjects there, since he had only just arrived; and ‘it would cause desperation in Naples and Sicily if Your Majesty goes to Germany instead of going to their aid’. Moving to practicalities, Granvelle recommended extending the toleration enjoyed by the Lutherans of Germany, if necessary by twenty years, in return for a commitment to fight not only the Turks but also the French. He also advocated an alliance with England. Henry VIII might be a heretic, but that did not prevent Francis and other Catholic rulers from dealing with him; moreover (Granvelle added slyly) ‘Your Majesty often negotiates with the German Lutherans, who not only deny papal authority but also reject important issues of Catholic doctrine.’ Finally, he reviewed whether it would be better to wait for Francis to take the initiative or to launch a pre-emptive strike, concluding that ‘since Your Majesty is so far from the Netherlands and Milan’ prudence was preferable, but he urged the dispatch of funds to the emperor’s lieutenants in both areas to create a strategic reserve.[20]

Charles submitted Granvelle's paper of advice to his Spanish ministers, and having received positive comments he implemented its principal recommendations. In December 1541 he informed Ferdinand that 'given the current state of affairs between France and me', should 'the Lutherans demand guarantees of continued toleration in return for military assistance against his enemy', his brother could concede them (albeit for as short a time as possible). That same day the emperor promised Marie that he would 'raise a large sum of money and disburse it in Italy and Germany as well as in the Netherlands so that we can always be ready in case of an emergency, wherever it might arise'; and he presciently predicted that hostilities might begin with a coordinated attack on Luxemburg by French, Danish and Guelders troops.[21]

A few days later, while visiting his mother at Tordesillas, Charles started to plan his counter-moves. 'As you know,' he confided to Marie in a long holograph letter, 'I want to avoid war'; but given the overwhelming evidence that Francis 'intends to attack wherever he can cause me the most damage', namely in the Netherlands and in Navarre, 'I need to defend myself by thwarting his designs'. The previous summer he had devised 'plans to do everything in my power over the next two years to recover Guelders and punish the duke of Cleves', and 'I chose that timeframe because I need to put my other affairs in order, and to raise the funds that I lack for the venture here in Spain. But if France makes war on me again now, these plans will all be vain.' So, Charles wondered, might 'offence be the best defence', perhaps by marching through Italy and Germany to make a surprise attack on Guelders? He sought Marie's urgent advice on the matter because 'I cannot make up my mind what would be best for me do, since with Monsieur de Granvelle absent there is no one here whom I can consult' – a revealing admission – 'and if I raise the matter with the council here you can be sure that they will never agree that I should leave these kingdoms, but rather will do all they can to prevent me.'[22] By May 1542 he had made up his mind. He informed Ferdinand that he planned to travel to Barcelona 'with the intention of embarking there' for Italy, but 'all things considered, I cannot see how I can get to Germany until the end of the campaigning season . . . My plan is to arrive next winter and hold a Diet at

Speyer,' he continued, 'and afterwards take steps to recover Guelders, if necessary by force.'[23]

The emperor would adhere closely to this plan, but another bout of ill-health delayed its implementation. He suffered 'so much pain in my body, my side and my neck, that I can't believe it is all happening to the same person. I often have to use a cane. So you can judge,' he jested to Marie, 'whether I can serve as your fearless champion' in the coming war. 'Time will show me what I need to do,' he concluded philosophically, 'and I hope God will guide me and reveal where I can do the most good.'[24] For some time, the Lord's guidance seemed ambiguous. Hostilities began in June 1542, when the Danes seized all ships and goods belonging to subjects of the emperor and sent troops and subsidies to the duke of Cleves, who mobilized 14,000 foot, 2,000 horse and eighteen artillery pieces. The following month, reinforced by vengeful exiles from Ghent and elsewhere, this army made a bold dash for Antwerp and summoned the city to surrender in the names of the kings of Denmark and France. By then, a Danish fleet cruised off the coast of Holland, a French army led by the duke of Orléans had conquered most of Luxemburg, another army under the dauphin stood ready to invade Artois, Francis himself prepared to besiege Perpignan, and the king of Navarre mobilized to regain his lost lands. This remarkable coordination caught Charles and his ministers unprepared. Marie warned him that:

> I do not believe that these Netherlands have been in the same peril as I see them now since the wars of our grandfather, the late emperor [Maximilian], because we are under attack on so many fronts that I do not know which one I should deal with first. The worst of it is that our enemies are prepared and we are not: they have taken us entirely by surprise.

She made haste to arrest, torture and execute all Netherlanders suspected of sympathy for the invaders, thus eliminating a potential fifth column, but she argued that only Charles's presence could save his ancestral lands. She argued in vain: as long as French forces remained on Spanish soil he dared not leave the peninsula.[25]

In the event, Charles survived the crisis of 1542 relatively unscathed. The duke of Alba organized an effective defence of the Catalan frontier and forced the invaders to retreat, but it had been a close call. As the English ambassador in Spain noted: ‘Albeyt th’emperour, lyke a wise prince and a man of great experience, castyng upon the worste, made everye where great provision, yet the numbre and the diversitie’ of the attacks almost overwhelmed him. Charles agreed, confessing to his brother:

> The king of France thought he could not fail to surprise me here, attacking Roussillon as well as Navarre. He assumed that everything would be his, that I could not resist, and that having taken Perpignan by surprise he could press on as far as Valladolid. Well, to tell you the truth, if his army had set off at the time he intended, he would have placed me at a grave disadvantage because I never thought such an enterprise likely . . . But God gave me time to fortify, repair and provision Perpignan.

French incompetence also saved the Netherlands. Orléans led his army south as soon as he heard rumours that his father planned to fight a major battle with Charles, which allowed Marie to recover most of her losses. Nevertheless, as in Spain, ‘The attacks that the king of France and his adherents had planned against these Netherlands were so great, and so carefully and secretly prepared, that we must deem it a great miracle that their execution did not cause more damage here.’[26]

Once the crisis passed, Charles visited Catalonia and Valencia to persuade the Cortes there to vote taxes and recognize Prince Philip as his heir apparent, returning to Castile to celebrate Christmas with all three of his legitimate children (for the last time, as it transpired). Then on 15 January 1543 he ordered his household to prepare to accompany him to Italy, and six weeks later he set out for Barcelona. ‘I cannot do everything and be everywhere,’ he reminded Ferdinand, and so ‘you must not count on my help, because I have enough problems – indeed, I fear, too many – of my own’. Nevertheless, he added with heavy sarcasm, ‘I hope soon to reduce to reason our dear brother and friend, the most Christian King’ (the etiquette used by Charles in happier times to address Francis).[27]

The process involved some important diplomatic initiatives. After intense negotiations, Charles's envoys in Portugal reached agreement on the terms for another double marriage: Infanta Joanna was betrothed to the heir to the Portuguese throne, Prince John, and his sister María Manuela would wed Prince Philip. The need to secure papal dispensation for the numerous relationships between the fiancés caused delay (see Pl. 28), but King John III (the husband of Charles's sister Catalina) agreed to pay half of his daughter's dowry in advance. Charles immediately used the money to fund his journey to Italy.[28]

He also turned to Henry VIII, once the pariah of Christendom but now courted by both Charles and Francis. The emperor enjoyed several advantages. Although in public Francis professed enthusiasm about a marriage between his younger son and Henry's daughter, Mary Tudor, in private he harboured serious misgivings; his close alliance with James V of Scotland profoundly irritated Henry; and the imperial ambassador in England, Eustache Chapuys, had persuaded a French embassy official to copy and share prodigious amounts of his master's correspondence, which he used to sabotage every move made by the French.[29] In January 1543, Charles authorized Chapuys to liaise directly with Marie and Granvelle in order to work out together 'the best means of carrying out our intentions', and the following month he signed a treaty that settled all outstanding grievances and committed both sovereigns to invade France to secure Burgundy and Picardy for Charles, and Normandy and Guyenne for Henry.[30]

The emperor remained uncertain about the most effective strategy for the allies to follow. The same letter that empowered Chapuys to make terms with Henry also informed him unhelpfully that although Andrea Doria's galleys would 'convey us personally to wherever the danger may be greatest, so as to resist the enemy with all our power, we cannot at this time tell you to which of those points we shall personally go, not knowing for certain what the enemy's designs may be'.[31] Nevertheless, in preparation for his voyage, the emperor gathered troops, treasure, ships and munitions at Barcelona, and welcomed nobles and other volunteers who wished to take part in his next campaign. He also signed instructions for all those who would govern Spain in his absence. He spent Holy Week secluded in a

nearby monastery and then on 1 May 1543, ‘after the exequies and masse doon there for th’Emperatrice’ (the fourth anniversary of her death), Charles boarded Doria’s galleys and left for Genoa.[32]

HOW TO BE KING

Almost at once contrary winds forced the imperial fleet to spend ten days in the small Catalan port of Palamós, 130 kilometres north of Barcelona. Some thought Charles waited there to allow latecomers to join his fleet, but the English ambassador Edmund Bonner knew better: ‘It was bothe to be ridde of the infinite nombre of suters that combered hym at Barcelone, and also, beyng there in quyetnes, to settle and ordre all thinges fullye here in Spayne at this his departing.’ Charles used the ‘quyetnes’ to compose some of the longest documents he would ever write: two holograph papers of advice for Philip, who at age sixteen would serve as his regent of Spain. In the first document, ‘although I do not consider myself qualified to give you appropriate rules, nevertheless I trust that God will guide my pen as I tell you what is necessary’. Charles then provided a checklist of how a responsible ruler should behave: honour God and rule justly; avoid making promises that would prove hard to keep; and so on.[33] The second document was perhaps the most remarkable political analysis ever committed to paper by an early modern ruler. Although many monarchs provided written advice to their heirs, Charles himself had received none; and in any case, given the size and complexity of his transatlantic empire, the past provided no model for the lessons he now wanted to impart.

The emperor stressed that ‘I am writing and sending you this secret document which will be for you alone: you must therefore keep it secret, under lock and key where neither your wife nor any other living person can see it’ – and then he launched into a pessimistic assessment of the risks inherent in his voyage to northern Europe, ‘which is the most dangerous imaginable for my honour and reputation, for my life, and for my finances’. He apologized that he had ‘placed the kingdoms and dominions that I will bequeath to you in such extreme need’ so that, if he died, ‘my finances will be in such a state that you will encounter many problems, because you will see how small and encumbered my revenues are just now’. Nevertheless, he asserted grandiloquently, if he should lose his life in their defence, ‘I will

have the satisfaction of having lost it while doing my duty and helping you'.

He then laid out his grand strategy, so that 'if I should either be taken prisoner or detained on this journey', his son would know 'what I am planning to do':

> Should the King of France anticipate my actions and mobilize against me during my sea voyage and journey, I intend to defend myself from him; and, since I cannot sustain the cost, I may be forced to engage him in battle, risking everything. But if I find that he has not attacked me, I will attack him via Flanders or Germany, and this attack will be made with the intention of fighting him, if he so desires or finds himself compelled to do so. In order to reduce his strength, I intend the duke of Alba to invade Languedoc with the German and Spanish troops that are in Perpignan, together with the soldiers that the grandees and prelates and cities will raise; and to ravage Provence with the galleys by sea, and Dauphiné and Piedmont with the troops I have in Italy.

It was an excellent plan but, Charles noted regretfully, 'right now this cannot be done, partly because the necessary victuals are lacking, partly through the shortage of money and supplies, and partly because there will be great reluctance to allow these troops to fight outside the kingdom; and also because my galleys will not be free until I know what the Turks are going to do.' In any case, 'the risk that this journey involves for my honour and reputation is that I am going to undertake something so uncertain that I do not know what benefit or effect it will bring: time is running out, money is short, and the enemy is forewarned and prepared.' Nevertheless, he pointed to a possible solution for the financial crisis. Although after the Cortes of Castile in 1538 'I swore never to request' an excise tax (*sisa*), he did not consider that his oath bound Philip. Therefore in an emergency:

> I will write to you at once in broad terms about what needs to be done, with a note in my own hand to tell you that it is time for you to prove your worth, in doing what you should, both to aid your father and because it behoves you to relieve our poverty. At that

> point you can stand firm and speak to everyone, both in particular and in general, urging them to contribute [to an excise tax].

‘With that, with what comes in from the Indies (if it comes), and with what my subjects elsewhere will provide’, the emperor hoped that his daring strategy would ‘push our enemies down so far that they would then leave us room to recover and end the expenses they impose on us every day’.[34]

After repeating his injunction that his advice ‘must be for you alone and you must keep it very secret’, Charles reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of each of the ministers whom he had groomed to help him govern Spain, and on whose opinions the prince would have to rely ‘during my absence, especially if God should call me to Him during this journey’. The emperor had already warned his son orally of ‘the animosities and alliances and practically cabals that were forming or that have already been formed among my ministers, generating much unease among them and much disservice to us’; but now, despite the risk that his misgivings might one day become public knowledge (as indeed proved to be the case), he repeated them in writing, because ‘in public they will exchange a thousand compliments and sweet nothings, but in private they will do the opposite, and so you must be very aware of what they are doing’. Charles warned that every senior minister ‘will attempt to come to you under the cover of darkness in order to convince you to rely on him alone’.[35] He started with Tavera, who ‘will approach you with humility and holiness. Honour him and believe him in matters of morality, because he will give you good advice in them. Require him to advise you well and impartially in the matters he discusses with you, and in choosing good, impartial people for positions of responsibility. But in other matters do not place yourself in his hands alone, now or ever.’ Next came the duke of Alba: although in military matters ‘he is the best we currently have in these kingdoms’, Charles had excluded him from the prince’s innermost circle of advisers both because ‘it is best not to involve grandees in the government of the kingdom’, and because ‘ever since I have known him, I have found that he has great aspirations and seeks to become as powerful as possible, even though he came on the scene genuflecting, all humble and modest; so just think how he will behave around you, my son, because you are younger!’

The emperor then turned to Los Cobos. ‘He does not work as hard as he used to do,’ Charles lamented; moreover, although ‘until now, he has shown little partiality, now it seems to me that he shows some signs of it’. Nevertheless, ‘he has experience of all my affairs and is very knowledgeable about them. I am sure you will find no one else who can serve you better in those matters, and I believe he will do so well and honestly.’ Therefore, ‘you would do well to deal with him as I do, never alone and not giving him more authority than is contained in his instructions’. He concluded: ‘Favour him, because he has served me well. I believe that many wish him harm: he does not deserve this.’[36]

Charles felt the same about critics of Juan de Zúñiga:

> You must realize that since all the people who have surrounded you in the past and who currently surround you are indulgent and want to please you, this may make Don Juan seem harsh; but if he had been like the others, everything would always have been the way you wanted, and that is not good for anyone, not even older people, let alone youths without the knowledge or self-control that come with age and experience.

Nevertheless, the emperor continued, Zúñiga ‘is somewhat biased, mainly against Los Cobos but also against the duke of Alba . . . I think this partiality comes mainly from not having received as many rewards from me as he wanted, and thinking that Los Cobos has not helped him (and has even reduced)’ the rewards. ‘In addition, he measures the disparity of [their] lineages and the length of time in my service’ – a reference to the fact that Zúñiga belonged to a prominent noble lineage and had served Charles since 1506, whereas Los Cobos came from a humble background and only joined Charles in 1516. ‘Notwithstanding these partialities,’ the emperor concluded, ‘you will not find anyone who can advise you better, and more to my liking, than these two men.’

> As for information about the foreign affairs of these kingdoms, and about Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, France and England, and other kings and potentates and their governments, I am certain that no one understands them better, and has dealt with them more both

> in general and in particular, than Granvelle. I have been, and still am, very well served by him in these matters. He is faithful (I do not think I am mistaken about this) and you would do well to employ him.

Charles also praised Granvelle's son Antoine Perrenot, who had been consecrated bishop of Arras in Philip's presence the previous year. 'He is young but has begun well. I believe he will serve you well.'[37]

Charles was far more critical of three other senior ministers. He had little good to say about the prince's former preceptor, Silíceo. 'You know him – and we all know him – to be a good man; but he was certainly not, nor is he now, the most suitable person for your education. He has been too anxious to please you.' Currently 'he is your senior chaplain and your confessor. It would not be good if he wanted to indulge you in matters of conscience as he has done in your education.' The emperor therefore recommended that 'you should appoint a good friar to be your confessor'. He then turned to Loaysa, his former confessor, now archbishop of Seville and the minister charged with oversight of American affairs. 'He used to be excellent in matters of state and he still is in the main, although less so due to his ailments. I used to seek his advice, particularly in my choice of ministers and other personal matters, where he indeed offered very good counsel.' Philip could 'try him out as you see fit, but be aware that it seems to me that now he simply follows the lead of others. Whenever he wishes to leave for his diocese, you would do well to encourage him to do so, but tactfully and without disrespecting him.' Finally, the emperor evaluated Fernando de Valdés, president of the council of Castile.[38] Although 'he is a good man, he is not, as far as I can see, the sort of man that such a council needs, but I cannot find, nor do I know, anyone who would do the job much better'. The prince must make the best use possible of Valdés's limited talents.

The emperor thus provided Philip not only with a candid assessment of each minister, but also with advice on how to deal with those who proved self-serving or ineffective, as well as on how to get rid of an unsatisfactory senior official 'tactfully and without disrespecting him'. The difficulty of composing these critical evaluations is reflected in the numerous additions

and subtractions on these pages – more than in any other part of his instructions (see Pl. 9).

After almost three decades in power the emperor recognized more clearly than most statesmen the limits of the possible. ‘I am well aware, my son, that I could and should tell you many other things’, but:

> Of those I *could* say, some are not relevant right now, as I have already told you the most substantial ones; and each day, as need be, they will be repeated. The things that I *should* say are so impenetrable and uncertain that I do not know how to describe them, nor whether I should even offer you advice about them, because they are full of confusion and contradictions, either because of the state of affairs, or because of conscience.

So, if Charles died on campaign, Philip must:

> Take good advice so that you can make your peace with God, because I am so undecided and confused about what I must do that someone in my situation can scarcely tell anyone in the same situation what to do. Also the necessity in which I find myself is what causes my confusion. As I struggle to do what I must, I find no better solution than to place myself in God’s hands so that He can order everything to serve Him best. I will be satisfied with whatever He does and orders.

Having filled forty-eight folios, Charles read and revised both documents before signing each one *Yo el rey* and sending them secretly to his son.

The eminent Belgian archivist and historian Luis Prosper Gachard hailed the instructions as ‘monuments of wisdom and foresight, born of a mature experience in the art of government, and a profound knowledge of men and affairs. They alone suffice to place Charles V in the first rank of the statesmen of his day.’ He had given a masterclass in ‘how to be king’. As Ambassador Bonner observed, although the emperor ‘is not like of longe tyme’ to return to Spain, because he would need ‘to tarie in other places, especiallye in Flaunders and Germanie’, he had ‘taken good ordre for all thies his realmes’ while absent on his high-risk mission.[39]

Charles and his fleet of 140 vessels reached Genoa on 25 May 1543. Although impatient to begin his journey to Germany, the emperor detoured to meet Paul III again to try and resolve their differences. As Loaysa reminded him, ‘experience has taught us that little advantage or reputation comes from these meetings, but I still recommend that Your Majesty should endure it and dissimulate in order to get everything possible out of the Holy See’; and during the four-day summit, Charles fruitlessly urged the pope to declare war on Francis, in view of his open alliance with the Turks. The pope declined on the grounds that if he did so, the king would follow the example of Henry VIII and renounce his obedience to Rome. The emperor had more success in convincing Paul to convene a general council of the Church in the city of Trent on the southern border of the Empire, and therefore a location acceptable to his German subjects, and to raise and pay 4,000 soldiers to fight the Turks in Hungary. Then, much to Charles’s surprise, Paul offered to pay one million ducats if the emperor would invest his son Pier Luigi Farnese with Parma and Piacenza, formerly part of the duchy of Milan, which he argued would bring peace to Italy. Charles promised to think about it.[40]

As he prepared to leave, the emperor met Paolo Giovio, the most celebrated historian of his day. ‘With a smile on his face he [Charles] said to me casually: “You need to take up your pen again, Giovio, and make haste to write down in your *History* everything that has happened thus far, because the war that is about to start will provide you with a major new assignment.”’ Slightly more modestly, the emperor also assured his Netherlands subjects that ‘we have decided to come to your rescue in person’ so that ‘with your assistance and that of our Creator we will ensure that our enemies, whether they want to or not, will in future leave you in peace’.[41]

Initially, Charles found himself surrounded by enemies, just as he had predicted. Sultan Suleiman led another huge army into Hungary, capturing Esztergom (Gran) and Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg); Barbarossa led the Turkish fleet into the western Mediterranean, joining forces with the French to lay siege to Nice; and French forces invaded Hainaut. The emperor decided to ignore all these threats, and instead led his Spanish and

Italian troops to Speyer, where he joined several regiments of German veterans, a siege train of 120 artillery pieces and a flotilla of boats and barges ‘to conveye his hole armye downe [the Rhine] by water’. This gave Charles the initiative, because he could now choose whether to ‘begynne with the Duke of Cleves first’; or enter ‘the Moselle, and so by Luxenbourgh to entre ynto France; or to comme streight’ to the Netherlands. Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, the Florentine ambassador travelling with Charles, ruled out the first option because ‘making war on one of his own vassals would bring little glory, while the uncertain outcome of wars meant he could easily lose it’ – but Ricasoli erred.[42]

Charles and his army left Speyer on 3 August and sailed rapidly downstream until they reached Bonn, where they disembarked. The emperor then reviewed his whole army in person before advancing on Düren, one of the best-defended cities ruled by William of Cleves, and when it refused his summons to surrender Charles gave the order to ‘punish its disobedience and rebellion, as an example to others’. His Spanish and Italian troops were happy to oblige: after executing a daring assault, they slaughtered some 700 defenders. All the rest were captured, and the emperor decreed that ‘those who are most guilty – especially those who are our vassals in the Netherlands – will be punished’. According to a participant, in his presence ‘they hanged prisoners found to be his vassals and severed two fingers from any German who had used them to swear an oath of obedience to the emperor’.[43]

As in his previous campaigns, Charles led from the front. Just before the final assault he mingled with his troops ‘wearing full armour with a tunic made of cloth-of-gold, to make himself look good and to encourage his soldiers, as well as to communicate the hatred he bore the place and the revenge he wished to wreak on it’; and when someone, observing him ‘armed and mounted’, suggested that he should retire in case a cannonball hit him, ‘His Majesty replied that this was no time to abandon his men, even if a cannonball took out his eyes’. Ambassador Ricasoli scoffed that ‘He serves as general, colonel, sergeant-major, everything. The effort that he puts into going everywhere in full armour, constantly at work and wanting to see and do every little thing is truly astonishing. He is so diligent in this regard that he will soon be blamed because his desire to know

everything will delay the campaign.'[44] Once again, the ambassador erred. Anxious to avoid the fate of Düren, one town after another surrendered and on 7 September 1543 William of Cleves, protected by a safe-conduct, came to the imperial camp, 'threw himself on his knees, and with his hands clasped begged forgiveness'. As he had done at Ghent three years before, the emperor looked severe as he 'reminded the duke of his past offences' and pretended for some time that he would take harsher measures. Even after William received permission to kiss the imperial hand, he had to sign an ignominious settlement that ceded all of Guelders to Charles. Soon afterwards the Estates of his new duchy swore allegiance to the emperor, and in return he promised to respect their traditional privileges.[45]

To Nicholas Wotton, an English diplomat travelling with Charles, this seemed:

> One of the straungest thinges that chawnsidde [chanced] these menye yeres, for I cowde never have beleevidde that for one towne cowardelye loste by assaulte, suche a greate and stronge cowntrey shulde have ben holelye lossed, withowte yn a maner stroke strickinge, so that now Cesar [Charles] may as well wryte to his frendis, as [Julius] Cesar wrote to his frendis, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

Although the new Caesar did not use this presumptuous phrase himself, he told the duke of Alba that 'I rejoiced not a little with the victory that God granted me in Guelders, thanks be to Him for the great reward He has given me in removing such a thorn in my side'.[46] He had every reason to rejoice: the campaign had made safe the eastern border of the Netherlands (an achievement that had eluded both his father and his grandfather), and 'he had gained reputation everywhere, especially among the princes of Germany, all of whom are already trembling because he had obtained in a few days what they had thought and hoped would take him many months'. The king of France, by contrast, had 'lost all credit in Germany, where he is belittled, blamed and reproached by everyone' for abandoning his ally. To Wotton, 'It appeerithe that God hathe blyndidde, and entendithe to punisshe, the French Kinge, that hathe none otherwyse assistidde the duke of Cleves, for he moughte by hym have wroughte more displeasur to

th'Emperour withe a smalle powre, then by hym selfe he shall be able to do withe fowre tymes as muche.' Now, Francis 'is lyke to have the warre holelye at home, and to have his owne cowntrey destroyed'.[47]

Campaigning nevertheless took its toll on Charles. He lost so much weight that when he tried on his armour he found it 'a greate deale to wyde for hym, notwithstandyng that he made hym a greate doublet' filled with cotton to wear as an undergarment. When he declared that he would join his army besieging Landrecies, on the French frontier, and force Francis to risk a pitched battle, a horrified Granvelle did his best to dissuade him. It was, he told his master, 'the most dangerous thing I have ever seen you undertake, and I would rather die a hundred deaths than approve this decision'. It was rash to campaign 'in a place so full of marshes that even the healthy often die': therefore Charles's decision to risk his life on campaign 'was to tempt God, and no confessor or theologian would approve. You are no longer a prince who can undertake the ventures appropriate to young men,' Granvelle concluded, and 'you should not venture your person more than your health will allow. If some misfortune should occur (which God forfend), it will jeopardize and efface all the good things that you could have achieved – without any adequate excuse to offer to God or the world.' After listening impassively to his principal adviser, Charles confessed, took communion, and left to join his army in the camp before Landrecies.[48]

At first, the emperor concentrated on his siege guns, which included some mortars that lobbed explosive bullets into the town (evidently an innovation). At least one of his senior commanders condemned this as 'a waste of time' because 'the fortress cannot be taken by force; but the emperor obsessed about opening the battery'; but Charles, who commanded 36,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, now sought battle – perhaps encouraged by Loaysa, who urged him to lure the French into 'another engagement, which will be worse for them than Pavia'.[49] When news arrived that Francis and his field army approached, Charles consulted his council of war and on 3 November 1543 drew up his forces 'in battle order. They then began to advance across fields so flat that no one could avoid seeing them', hoping that his 'enemies would remember all the boasts that they had made of wanting to come and find him and give battle'. As he directed operations,

Charles lost his temper: ‘A great lord kept asking him questions, until the emperor rudely told him to stop. The lord said “Is Your Majesty annoyed?” To which the emperor replied: “Yes, I’m annoyed because you are old and yet you keep asking me questions!”’ No doubt this rebuke reflected the high stakes. If the two armies fought, wrote Bernardo Navagero, the Venetian ambassador, ‘it will be the greatest thing ever seen in our time’ – but in the end nothing happened. Perhaps remembering Pavia, Francis lost his nerve and withdrew his army ‘at full speed’ under cover of darkness. The imperial host ‘gave chase as soon as we found out, th’emperour himself being on horsseback with theym’, but they only captured a few enemy soldiers, ‘of whome th’emperour commaunded to kill all such as were subjectes of th’empire’.[50]

Charles reconvened his council of war and pointed out ‘that the tyme of the yere is farre past, and fowle wether now cumme at hand’. In addition ‘the cuntre rownde abowte [was] sore wastyd, and vitayles hard to cumme by, so as this yere no good exploit cowld be don’. Francis had demobilized his army, with ‘a gret part of the same bestowed in garnisons’, and Charles proposed that he should ‘do the same, asking all our oppynions, if we thought [it] not good so to do’. Everyone agreed, but before his troops dispersed the emperor entered the city of Cambrai, technically an imperial fief whose ruler had favoured France during the last campaign, and ordered the construction of a citadel. ‘Without this,’ he informed Ferdinand, ‘Cambrai and the surrounding area would be lost to the Holy Roman Empire’, whereas ‘the citadel being built will safeguard its authority’. The king of France might have captured Landrecies, Charles told Navagero smugly, ‘but I forced him to flee’, adding ‘The more the king tries to be a Turk and a Lutheran, the more I rejoice, hoping that God will defend His cause.’[51]

PREPARATION

Both rulers now prepared for the next campaign, starting with a desperate search for allies. Francis had already compelled his subjects to evacuate the port of Toulon in order to accommodate the crews aboard Barbarossa’s fleet of 115 galleys and 43 ships, which spent the winter there at French expense, ready to join in a French assault on Genoa, Naples or Sardinia in the spring;

but in March 1544, Barbarossa realized that his host lacked the resources to mount a Mediterranean campaign and two months later he led his fleet back to Istanbul. Francis's ostentatious alliance with the Ottoman had alienated all other Christian rulers, Lutheran as well as Catholic, for no gain.[52] Charles, by contrast, finalized an impressive strategy for the coming campaign with Henry VIII. In January 1544 the parties:

> . . . agreed that th'emperor shall with his armye make invasion into the realm of Ffraunce by the country of Champaign, and so marche towards Parys; and the kings majestie make the sayd invasion by suche passaige over the ryver of Somme as in the tyme of passaige shalbe thought most facible and easie, and from thens marche as commoditie maye serve towards Parys.

Both monarchs would invade in person no later than 20 June 1544, each at the head of an army of 32,000 men and 100 guns.[53]

Knowing nothing of this, Francis diverted his elite troops to make another effort to recapture Milan, and on 14 April 1544 at Ceresole d'Alba they won a dramatic victory over Vasto. According to Martin du Bellay, who as military governor of Piedmont saw his dreams about to come true: 'If the emperor had seen the duchy of Milan laid waste and in danger of being lost, especially given the powerful [Francophile] factions in the kingdom of Naples, he would have been compelled to re-deploy his forces to defend what he held rather than to conquer the territories of others, at the risk of gaining nothing.' But du Bellay's vision of war was out of date. On hearing of the defeat, the English ambassador at the imperial court observed that 'It seemith that the Frenche menne have had more glorye than profyt' from Ceresole, 'for I cannot perceive that sithe that tyme they have gotten anye one towne or castel, or that there is anye lykelihode of anye maner of innovation yn Lombardye for it.' Charles agreed, telling the Venetian ambassador that 'I grieve only for the poor soldiers who died in my service', because 'I have left the region strongly defended and well provided'.[54]

The emperor referred to a development in western warfare later known as the military revolution: transforming positional warfare so that defence became superior to offence, rendering battles largely superfluous. The

architect Gian Maria Olgiati had already constructed a chain of bastions with interlocking fields of fire around Genoa before he moved to Milan to redesign existing works and add a constellation of star-shaped artillery fortresses to defend the duchy: in all, he would design or build new-style defences in almost seventy places. His circuit around Milan, anchored on the huge Sforza castle, successfully defended the city down to the 1790s, and even today dominates the traffic flow of the inner city. The Habsburgs also commissioned artillery fortresses north of the Alps. In Hungary, Italian engineers added bastions to the principal border fortresses, and in the Netherlands they provided numerous new-style defences along the French frontier, with powerful strongpoints in reserve. The citadel of Ghent, built after the revolt of 1540, boasted walls 385 metres long and over seven metres thick; the enceinte around Antwerp, begun after the attack by Guelders forces in 1542, extended for almost five kilometres and included nine bastions.

Across the frontier, by 1544 over a hundred Italian engineers worked under the general direction of Girolamo Marini to upgrade the defences of selected French strongholds, but they concentrated on fortresses along the northern frontier and a few outposts in Italy, largely neglecting the eastern border of the kingdom. Therefore, just as the Maginot Line in the 1930s did not continue into Belgium, so the new-style defences of Francis did not continue into Champagne. In both cases, it proved a fatal flaw.

Charles spotted his rival's weakness and sought to exploit it. First, he convened the imperial Diet at Speyer and sought its military support for an attack on France. Initially, he seems to have considered this mission impossible, informing the nuncio that 'when he considered the misfortunes and burdens that beat down on my head almost hourly, I want to die' – a remarkable admission for such a staunch Catholic – but he persisted. On 23 May 1544, in return for a promise to abandon for ever the cause of his brother-in-law Christian II, he signed a peace treaty with Danish diplomats; and on 10 June, in return for a promise that religious toleration in the Empire would continue unchanged until 'a general, free Christian council of the German nation' met to resolve all differences, the Diet declared that 'one must deem the king of France as much of an enemy to Christendom as the sultan, and use force against him as well as against the Turks'. It authorized Charles to raise 24,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry 'to be

employed partelye against the Turke, and partelye against the Frenche kinge as it shulde seeme beste' to him.[55]

Following this triumph, Charles spent three weeks in Metz awaiting the arrival of his siege artillery and reinforcements, including cavalry raised by Duke Maurice of Saxony and Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Külmbach, two prominent German Lutheran leaders. Given the risks inherent in war, he also made another codicil to his will that explicitly revoked the various marriage commitments made after he met Francis at Aigues Mortes. Since, he claimed, 'experience has constantly shown us' that the same person could not govern both Spain and the Netherlands, because of the need to 'go from one to the other to take the measures that each requires, as we have often been forced to do at great risk, effort and expense', if he and Philip both died he stipulated that his daughter María would marry his nephew Maximilian and together they would rule Spain and its dependencies. His younger daughter Joanna would marry Maximilian's younger brother 'regardless of what we have solemnly agreed with the king of Portugal concerning her marriage to his son the prince', and together they would rule the Netherlands. Perhaps because of this breathtaking breach of previous promises, Charles sent a sealed copy of his codicil to Los Cobos, with orders to place it unopened with his will; and although he also sent 'a summary of the main points, which you can show' to the prince, Los Cobos must 'read it out to him, so that only you and he know about it'.[56]

Charles now concentrated on abasing France. Although his reliance on maps when he invaded Provence eight years before had provoked ridicule (p. 256), he now commissioned a huge panoramic map that showed Dijon, the capital of Burgundy on the far left and Paris on the far right, as well as all the major rivers – Marne, Seine and Yonne – and the bridges across them (Pl. 23). In the event, Charles never crossed any of the rivers, but he and his army still came within seventy kilometres of the French capital.[57]

'TO PUSH OUR ENEMIES DOWN'

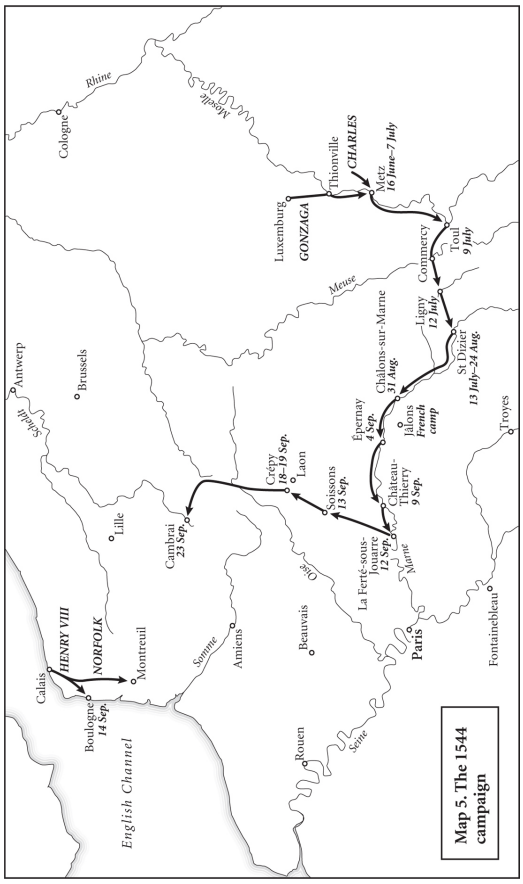
The imperial campaign began in May 1544 with a surprise attack that recaptured all the places in Luxemburg taken by the French the previous year. The victors then turned south to Champagne, and invaded France –

following not only the strategic plan recently agreed with Henry but also the route towards Paris followed by Charles the Bold of Burgundy two generations before (as recorded in one of the emperor's favourite books: the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commynes, an eyewitness). Charles's forces, like those of his ancestor, initially made rapid progress. Commercy, which Francis had expected to resist for three weeks, surrendered after a furious three-day bombardment, allowing the imperial army to cross the River Meuse, and on 4 July it reached the Marne at St Dizier – but there it encountered for the first time an artillery fortress, designed and defended by Marini himself (Map 5).

The emperor was in high spirits – some thought they 'had not seen him as healthy, handsome and happy in the past ten years' – but others worried about the risks involved. 'Counting all the troops that he has in all his dominions,' the ambassador from Ferrara observed, 'the cost of this war to His Majesty cannot be much less than 500,000 ducats'; and, no doubt recalling the recent Algiers fiasco, he added: 'A delay of twelve or twenty days, or an unforeseen event, can have immense consequences.' His Venetian colleague agreed: each day's delay 'is seen as disadvantageous for the emperor and a boon to the king of France . . . It is rare for things to turn out as planned, and even the best-laid plans always encounter some unforeseen obstacle.'[58] The first obstacle emerged just after Charles reached St Dizier. Worried that food and munitions alike were running short, he launched his Spanish and Italian troops in a surprise assault, just as he had done at Düren, but this time the defenders repelled them with heavy losses. Four hundred kilometres away, however, Henry VIII disembarked at Calais and joined the English and Netherlands troops besieging Montreuil and Boulogne, forcing Francis to withdraw troops from Italy and preventing him from relieving St Dizier. Once again, the emperor held the initiative.

After discussing with his council of war 'what to do for the rest of the year', on 20 July Charles explained his strategy to Marie. First, he would use artillery and mines to reduce St Dizier, because 'otherwise the enemy could harass my army and interrupt its supply of victuals'; then, 'as we had always planned, we will march on Châlons', further down the Marne. Henry's participation had led him to 'put on one side my personal interest in this enterprise, which is to enter the duchy of Burgundy, where I might have

conquered some places and carried out some notable exploit’; but now ‘we could not find a better target than Châlons’, because ‘it will astonish and hurt the king of France and his subjects more than any attack elsewhere; and the aim of this army has always been to penetrate into the heart of this kingdom, to reduce our enemies to reason’. As usual, Charles also considered logistics, and in particular ‘how long I will be able to pay this army. After considering and calculating everything,’ he told Marie, ‘I think we can keep going until 25 September, but no longer.’ While recognizing (like the ambassadors at his court) that ‘in war everything is uncertain’, he concluded piously that ‘I cannot think of anything else that would be pleasing to God; and so, with His aid, we will do everything we can’ to force Francis to his knees.[59]



In August and September 1544, Charles led an army of 40,000 men and an artillery train through France virtually unopposed, travelling along the north bank of the River Marne from St Dizier to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, seventy kilometres from Paris. He then turned north and marched towards an English invasion force led by Henry VIII – but at Crépy, Charles signed an advantageous separate peace with France.

Thanks to Marini's mastery of military architecture, St Dizier only capitulated on 17 August, after which the victors had to spend several days repairing the damage they had done so that the town could serve as a staple to store food and munitions for the advancing army. This unexpected delay forced Charles to change his strategy: he now planned 'to reconnoitre Châlons as if I mean to besiege it, although my intention, with God's blessing, is to press on to Paris'. The discovery that Francis had collected some 45,000 men in a fortified camp at Jâlons on the south side of the Marne led Charles to modify this plan too. He broke camp in the middle of the night, and led his army and artillery in a forced march by moonlight towards Épernay, where he hoped to cross the Marne and attack Jâlons from an unexpected direction; but he arrived just after the French secured the town and fortified the only suitable bridge across the river. Six years later, when dictating his *Memoirs*, the emperor indulged in a cautious counterfactual speculation about this outcome:

> If it is legitimate to pass judgement on the things that could have happened, one might well believe that if His Majesty had been able to reach Épernay that day (which he could not, even though it was less than three miles [five kilometres] away), so that he and the army could have crossed the river on a stone bridge in that town and on bridges of boats . . . they could have attacked the French encampment on the hill at a point that had not yet been fortified, and God would have given the victory to whomever He chose.[60]

The emperor therefore reverted to his original plan: to march down the Marne to Paris.

The foreign diplomats travelling with the emperor marvelled at the lack of French resistance: no skirmishers harassed the imperial host as it spread out to forage and to plunder; no troops protected the communities that lay in its path. As Navagero put it, 'Whoever would have thought that the French would leave the road to their own ruin open like this?' The Mantuan ambassador, Camillo Capilupo, who had considerable military experience, noted that 'between them, friends and enemies burned both sides of the river until the whole country seemed to be on fire. It was a terrible sight, and even the hardest heart was moved.'[61] As Nicholas Wotton observed,

because ‘th’emperor hathe deceyved the Frenche king’s expectation, for he looked not for hym so nigh unto hym this yere’, and because ‘we have as fayre wether as we can wisshe and find plenty of al thinges by the waye’, the imperial army advanced so fast that even larger towns failed to prepare adequate defences and instead surrendered without resistance. At one point Charles, who travelled with the vanguard, summoned a Burgundian cavalry unit ‘and asked us what part of the country we were in’. In Rome, according to Giovio, ‘Everyone here is in suspense, with sweat pouring from their foreheads, with supporters of both monarchs balanced between hope and fear’ as they awaited news of the outcome.[62]

They did not have long to wait. On 12 September, with some of his troops at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, only seventy kilometres from Paris, Charles suddenly turned north and forced Soissons to surrender, thereby gaining a bridgehead across the River Aisne, the only major obstacle between him and Henry – whose army forced the surrender of Boulogne two days later. The allies were free at last to join forces and advance on Paris.

This double blow placed Francis under intense pressure to make peace. He had tried to engage the emperor in negotiations almost since the start of the campaign, but (as Charles observed with satisfaction in his *Memoirs*) he tried ‘much harder after he saw His Majesty bypass Châlons with his army’. The emperor played for time, reminding Francis that he could not make a separate peace without Henry but (he added smugly) ‘since he had advanced so far into France, he had no news of what the king [of England] was doing nor had he the means of sending him his own news’. On 7 September, Charles secured a safe-conduct for Antoine Perrenot to travel to Boulogne and inform Henry of the peace terms under discussion, and to ascertain ‘if he wishes to continue the war, and for how long? If he wishes to set his army on the march immediately? And if so, which route will he take?’ Perrenot also carried a secret ultimatum: unless Henry ‘was prepared to invade immediately, I will be compelled to withdraw my army and accept the terms offered by the French’.[63]

The bluster concealed a major dilemma. Should Charles conclude a separate peace with Francis that secured most of his goals, even though it meant abandoning his English ally, or should he coordinate with Henry a joint advance on Paris that would compel Francis to make even more

concessions? Granvelle strongly endorsed the first alternative. Continuing the campaign, he argued, would mean ravaging more French territory, 'which would achieve nothing except to increase and perpetuate the enmity of the king of France and his subjects'. It would also oblige Charles to pay and supply the garrisons of the towns he had captured, but do nothing to unify Christendom as a prelude for a new crusade against the Turks. Granvelle concluded his advice with what a later age would call a dose of *Realpolitik*: 'There is, sire, a maxim in affairs of state, just as in other matters: that one must pay attention to the reality of the matters under discussion, to determine what is possible and what God and reason suggest is attainable, rather than take big risks because of personal considerations, as seems to be the case here.' Granvelle warned that Henry would never keep his promise to march on Paris: instead, once he had strengthened the defences of Boulogne he would go home. Charles must make a separate peace before that happened.[64]

Two practical considerations reinforced this rationale. Although the weather had been mostly favourable since the surrender of St Dizier, at any moment autumn rain could prevent further progress; and without money, the troops became restless – indeed on one occasion some German troops 'became so mutinous that the emperor had twenty of them drowned in the Marne and struck several more with his hand'.[65] Charles had originally calculated he could afford to campaign only until 25 September, and that date was fast approaching. Los Cobos warned that 'in all Spain there is nowhere to raise a ducat this year or next'; Loaysa urged him to settle as soon as possible 'even if it means forfeiting some of your rights'; and, after stressing that 'we have no way to raise money here', Prince Philip asserted that 'you would now gain as much honour in the world if everyone sees that when it is in your power to destroy your enemy, you granted him peace'. As for the Netherlands, the emperor complained that 'even though he had enough money there to pay his troops, he had no way of getting to it'.[66]

His situation appeared unsustainable until Francis received news of the fall of Boulogne, and in desperation agreed to concede virtually anything Charles asked in return for an immediate peace. Shortly afterwards, Perrenot arrived at the imperial headquarters bearing Henry's grudging consent to a separate settlement and on 18 September, at Crépy near Laon,

ministers acting in the name not only of Francis but also of his two sons promised to surrender all claims to Naples and the Netherlands; to end the alliance with the Turks and instead contribute troops to a new crusade to be led by Charles; to return all conquests made since the truce of Nice (including Landrecies); and to provide hostages to guarantee his compliance. In return, the emperor agreed to restore all his conquests within France and to renounce for ever his claim to the duchy of Burgundy. He also repeated his proposal that the duke of Orléans could marry either his elder daughter María, whose dowry would be the Netherlands (albeit Charles would remain sovereign until his death), or else Ferdinand's daughter Anna, whose dowry would be Milan (to take effect within one year of the treaty). The emperor promised to decide between the alternatives within four months, and Francis swore to evacuate Savoy-Piedmont as soon as the transaction took place, and to endow Orléans with a large appanage of territories in the heart of France.[67]

The next day, Francis signed a secret treaty that promised to provide both Charles and Ferdinand 'with our full assistance and favour in the reduction and pacification of religious discord in Germany whenever it is required'; to declare himself the 'enemy of those who seek to prevent the said pacification'; and to allow 'the assistance of infantry and cavalry that we have promised against the Turks to be used if necessary against the said heretics'. In addition, the king would send a full delegation to a general council, to be held at Trent 'or wherever the emperor wishes', to reform the abuses of the Church and end the religious schism; and he would persuade the Swiss cantons to return all territory that had once belonged to the duke of Savoy, including Geneva. Finally, if Henry VIII ever declared war on Charles, Francis promised that 'we will publicly proclaim ourselves to be the enemy of the said king of England'.[68]

Charles had won a stunning victory. For ten weeks he had marched through France at the head of some 40,000 men and a large artillery train, covering almost 300 kilometres, and he had either captured and garrisoned, or sacked and burned, the towns and villages along his route. His arch-rival had proved powerless to stop him, and in the end granted his every demand. The emperor had not only recovered the 'reputation' lost at Algiers, but also achieved the ambitious goal that he had outlined to his son eighteen months

earlier: ‘to push our enemies down so far that they would then leave us room to recover’.[69]

Paolo Giovio agreed. Upon learning the public terms of the peace of Crépy, he confessed to a friend, ‘I don’t know whether to laugh or cry over this peace’, which would end hostilities and thus spare innocent civilians, and also create a united Christian front against the Turks, but left Charles supreme in Italy. He found it hard to believe that Francis ‘had fought for the duchy of Milan for twenty-three years almost continuously to maintain his reputation, with so much money, effort and damage, only to sacrifice it with a stroke of his pen’. The king’s promise to provide hostages while receiving none in return seemed particularly humiliating. ‘The only trick’ that Charles could still play on the French, Giovio chuckled, ‘was to seduce their women’.[70] He was unaware of the secret clauses of the treaty: the emperor’s next trick would be played not on the women of France but on the Lutherans of Germany.

— TWELVE —

SETTLING SCORES, PART II: GERMANY AND ITALY, 1545–8

THE ALTERNATIVE

Having won another war against France, Charles now had to win the peace. This was not easy: after the imperial army demobilized, removing the immediate danger, many French men and women denounced the treaty of Crépy – led by the dauphin, who registered a legal protest against renouncing his claims to Naples, Flanders and the rest, as required by the peace. He also resented the provisions in favour of his brother the duke of Orléans, who would receive extensive lands in France as well as either the Netherlands or Milan, because they threatened to create a dangerous counterweight to royal authority.

Charles, for his part, regretted the need to alienate any part of his empire, but initially sublimated his sorrow in the normal way: in pastimes and prayers. On 2 November 1544, accompanied by his sister Eleanor and Orléans, he watched in the marketplace of Brussels as ‘60 men of armes, wel trymed after the Morisco, shewed the feate of the Jugo de Cannes’. Afterwards he retired to a monastery ‘to be in quiet shryven and communicated’, because he had not done so at All Saints. Then he went hunting and injured his knee, which forced him to transact business ‘sitting in a very lowe chayre, with his legges wrapped in a blak cloth, and layde forth as high as his bodye’.[1]

The treaty of Crépy allowed Charles four months to decide between the Alternative (as it came to be known) of ceding either Milan or the

Netherlands, and he spent the time consulting his close relatives, his ministers and his allies. Henry VIII, who was the first to provide advice '[out] of our freendly and amycable love and affection', strongly opposed giving away the Netherlands, 'considering the greate charges and defrayes th'empereur hath bene enforced to make by reason of these warres, and what dammage and trouble his subjectes have susteyned by the same', and also considering that the Infanta María would be 'heritier to th'emperour of all that he hath', should Prince Philip die. He therefore advised Charles to allow Orléans to marry one of Ferdinand's daughters. Moreover he noted that, as an imperial fief, Milan might 'after the deceasse of th'empereur, cume into sume controversie to whom it shalle descende, and yet canne not, when it is hadde, be kept without inestymable charges' – in other words, it was a poisoned chalice.[2] It was an excellent analysis, and many of Charles's ministers would concur.

On 1 November 1544, Alonso de Idiáquez, 'the chief manne abowte th'emperor that medelithe yn the affaires of Spayne', arrived in Valladolid where he explained to Philip and his advisers 'everything necessary to understand perfectly Your Majesty's intentions' concerning the Alternative. While the prince went to ascertain his sister María's preference, his senior ministers met 'four or five times' during his absence to discuss the options.[3] The prince ordered a secretary to record the opinion of each councillor at these meetings, and the record (punctuated with sighs that some 'gave a long speech', and others 'spoke at such length that it is not necessary to write it all down') clearly revealed the extent of 'the animosities and alliances and practically cabals' among his ministers that Charles had described to his son two years before (p. 290). Loaysa, who spoke first, noted that Charles had recently offered to cede the Netherlands to the French, but 'they did not want to accept', so there seemed little point in repeating the exercise. Moreover, since Francis 'had always preferred the duchy of Milan, he was convinced that even if we give him the Netherlands it would not bring an enduring peace because it is not what he wants'. Cardinal Tavera, who spoke next, took a similar position for different reasons. Not long after Charles left the peninsula in 1529, the cardinal had urged him to 'turn his thoughts to the conquest of Africa' which 'in the end . . . was what would last and could be bequeathed to his successors',

whereas ‘gains in Italy are a transitory glory’. He now repeated his view ‘that no king of Spain should hold Milan, because of the great and continual expense that accompany it’. By contrast, ‘what matters to His Majesty, and what will retain his pre-eminence in the Empire and Germany is possession of the Netherlands’, because ‘it played an essential role in keeping the king of France in check’. The duke of Alba, the only member of the council with practical experience of all parts of his master’s empire in Europe, disagreed:

> [Milan] is the gateway through which we come and go to Germany and the Netherlands, and provide for the conservation of those states and maintain the authority and obedience of the Empire. Without Milan it would seem that [the Empire] cannot be governed, and the kingdoms and states of Your Majesty will remain separated and divided from each other.

The duke supported his argument with a domino theory: ‘Given the greed and ambition of the French, it goes without saying that if they gain a foothold in Milan they will try to gain Naples and Sicily, and Your Majesty will not be able to send them any help’, because whoever held Milan would control Genoa, and ‘no help can come from Spain because we will lack any port between Catalonia and Naples capable of sheltering a fleet’. Charles must therefore retain Milan and surrender the Netherlands.[4]

After presiding over a final meeting of senior ministers, Prince Philip summarized their divergent opinions in a letter to his father. Five councillors followed Loaysa and Tavera: Charles should retain the Netherlands and marry the duke of Orléans to Ferdinand’s daughter, with Milan as her dowry. Five others agreed with Alba: Spain could not defend the Netherlands effectively from French aggression – indeed, they noted, previous attempts to do so had dangerously depleted the resources available to defend Spain and Spanish Italy – whereas Milan was the hub and heart of the entire empire. The prince himself sided with the second group: he advised his father to allow Orléans to marry María, with the Netherlands as her dowry.[5]

Charles’s Netherlands ministers vehemently disagreed. Marie and her council prepared a dossier on ‘Matters to consider concerning the

declaration to be made on the Alternative contained in the treaty of Crépy'. It took the form of questions and answers, including:

- 'Which of the Netherlands nobles should the emperor consult on the matter, and should it be done individually or collectively?' (Answer: Do it individually, because it would then be easier to keep the consultation secret.)
- 'Would it be possible to find some expedient to gain time and defer the declaration?' (Answer: Not without raising French suspicions that the emperor might renege.)
- 'If His Majesty decides to allow the marriage of his daughter' to Orléans, with the Netherlands as her dowry, 'how will he secure the consent of his subjects here'? (Answer: 'Everyone here would prefer to remain the subjects of His Imperial Majesty and his descendants, failing whom the children of the king of the Romans [Ferdinand]. They would accept no one else.')

The council also reminded Charles that 'he is a native born in this country, who knows the great loyalty of his subjects here, the immense contributions, losses and damage they have sustained, their precarious location surrounded by enemies, and the danger of religious confusion'. They begged him 'not to abandon them or let them out of our hands as long as we live'.[6]

Charles's subjects in Milan made similar entreaties. A delegation arrived in November 1544 'to requyre th'emperour that He delyver not the state of Mylan to the Duke of Orléans', in part because the transition from Habsburg to Valois rule would force into exile those who had supported the emperor, and return their vengeful enemies to power. Charles had intended to travel to Germany to discuss his dilemma with Ferdinand in person, but 'my health has not allowed us to meet as we planned'. He therefore sounded out his brother 'by letter and via some of his trusted officials', ascertaining that Ferdinand, too, favoured the cession of Milan.[7]

According to the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, the bitter debates on this dilemma at his court left 'the emperor greatly troubled in mind, because he does not want to renege on his faith and his word, yet every day he becomes more aware how fulfilling his promises might harm

him and his descendants'. The ambassador thought the stress undermined the emperor's health, and he suffered another attack of gout which (Charles told his brother) 'started in my left shoulder, with pain throughout my arm and now my hand' – he started to put his left arm in a sling – and when it spread to his feet, he took to his bed. He also started a course of guayacán (*lignum vitae*), a remedy for gout recently imported from the Caribbean, but it produced jaundice, a urinary tract infection and a severe fever that kept the emperor 'weak and restless, constantly getting in and out of bed'. He could not procrastinate indefinitely, however, and in February 1545 he announced that 'we have resolved to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orléans', who would marry Ferdinand's daughter.[8]

PREPARING TO EXTIRPATE THE LUTHERANS

According to Charles's *Memoirs*, the swift collapse of Guelders in 1543 'had opened his eyes and alerted him to new possibilities, so that henceforth it seemed that the great pride of the Lutherans could be overcome by force, and that it could be done very easily if one chose the best time and strategy'.[9] An unrelated series of developments inside and outside Germany now permitted the emperor to turn those 'new possibilities' into reality.

The formation of the Schmalkaldic League in 1531 provided Lutheran princes and city-states with some protection. The League's lawyers blocked all attempts by the imperial courts to restrict freedom of spiritual and secular action (including the secularization of Church property), and their troops provided an effective defence – and sometimes offence. In 1534, at the head of the League's army, Landgrave Philip of Hesse forced the Habsburgs to evacuate Württemberg and restore both its former ruler and Lutheran worship. In 1541, however, Charles concluded a treaty with the landgrave: the emperor declared that since 'you have gained our affection and friendship, we have pardoned and forgiven everything that you may have planned or done against us or our brother'; and in return the landgrave promised not to ally with any enemy of the emperor (including France), and instead to support him both in the Diet and in international affairs.[10] The following year, together with Elector John Frederick of Saxony, the landgrave took advantage of his new alliance with the emperor to attack and occupy the lands of the Catholic Duke Henry of Brunswick, on the pretext

that he had threatened two Lutheran towns. On this occasion, the princes failed to consult the other members of the League before acting; and when they belatedly demanded funds to maintain their troops, the Lutheran cities (which provided more than half the League's budget) refused, asserting that the occupation had 'until now brought us no benefits. Instead we have suffered damages and disadvantage because of this affair, and we have no reason to expect any advantage to come from it in the future.'[11] Charles offered to place the duchy of Brunswick 'in a third pair of hands' while the protagonists settled their differences but they refused. Instead in September 1545 hostilities resumed until Duke Henry surrendered against a promise 'that he would be treated as he deserved'. The landgrave promptly sent his rival to prison, prevented all contact with the outside world, and pressured him to convert to Lutheranism.[12]

The Brunswick war created a rift between the landgrave and his son-in-law, Duke Maurice of Saxony, who had personally assured Henry of Brunswick that he would receive generous terms if he surrendered. A rift already existed between Maurice and Elector John Frederick. The Saxon territories were the most extensive in the Empire after those of the Habsburgs, but a half-century earlier they had been partitioned: John Frederick held the Electoral title and ruled the larger segment, including Wittenberg where Luther lived and preached, leaving his cousin Maurice with a smaller segment. The rivalry between the two culminated in 1542 when John Frederick occupied some lands that had been administered jointly with Maurice, driving out the latter's officials. Unable to withstand his powerful cousin, Maurice decided to ingratiate himself with the Habsburgs: in 1542 he fought with Ferdinand against the Turks in Hungary; in 1543 and 1544 he fought with Charles against Cleves and France, and indicated that he might be willing to help the imperial cause yet more in return for support against John Frederick.[13]

Charles might not have dared to exploit these divisions among the German Lutherans without important international developments. In 1545, Francis launched an amphibious assault on England that occupied part of the Isle of Wight, and the following year Sultan Suleiman sent his army against Persia and his navy against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Schmalkaldic League thus lost simultaneously their most powerful foreign

supporters. Charles nevertheless ordered the imperial Diet to convene at Worms in another effort to reconcile his Lutheran and Catholic subjects. He arrived in the city on 16 May, his tender left arm still in a sling, and two days later granted an audience to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the pope's secretary of state (and also his grandson). When the cleric began by apologizing for past disagreements, Charles graciously interrupted him – 'There was no need to talk about the past; we should open a new book' – and then Farnese revealed the purpose of his secret mission: to convey Pope Paul's offer to assist Charles with men and money if he agreed to wage war against the Lutherans.[14]

The emperor had already dispatched an envoy to Istanbul with instructions to liaise with the diplomats sent by Ferdinand and by France in order to seal a deal that would prevent 'those who have deviated from our Holy Faith, who call themselves Protestants, from taking advantage of the war in Hungary to reinforce their errors and make exorbitant demands', as they had done before. A few days later he informed Cardinal Farnese that although he welcomed the pope's offer of assistance, it needed to be improved before he could commit to a campaign. A month later a new papal offer arrived: if the emperor declared war on the Lutherans now, the pope would contribute 200,000 ducats in cash, with another 100,000 to follow, and also pay for an expeditionary force of 12,000 foot and 500 horse. In addition, Paul promised to authorize the sale of 500,000 ducats of monastic land in Spain to help finance the war.[15]

Charles ordered his ministers to draw up a detailed plan of attack, but they soon concluded that 'the season is too far advanced to prepare a campaign for this summer'. Specifically:

> We cannot assemble an army before mid-September, and after that the rain and cold will make it difficult to wage war, especially in this country. Starting the war without finishing it would be to exhaust our resources to no effect, and it would allow our enemies to prepare better, losing all fear and becoming more obstinate. It would then be difficult to recover our advantage.

Nevertheless, Charles added, 'although it is impossible to campaign now, I would be just as keen to do so next year'.[16] In August the emperor

suspended the Diet – which had made virtually no progress towards resolving the religious issues facing Germany – and sailed down the Rhine to Cologne, where ‘for the sake of his conscience’ he berated the archbishop, Herman of Wied, for favouring Lutheranism. From there he went to Brussels, ready to invest Orléans as duke of Milan – but on 9 September 1545 the duke suddenly died.[17]

Five years later, Charles recorded in his *Memoirs* that news of the death reached him ‘nine days before the deadline agreed in the peace of Crépy’ for the investiture, and so ‘it came at such a good time that it might seem as if God had arranged it for his secret purposes’. Naturally, he did not use this argument openly at the time, instead assuring Francis that he was ‘determined to keep his word without deviating one iota’, and suggested that Prince Philip (whose wife María Manuela of Portugal had just died) might marry a French princess, with Milan passing to their firstborn child. Although Francis seemed amenable to this, he refused Charles’s demand to evacuate the lands of the duke of Savoy without prior agreement on the other issues. The emperor did not press the matter, because as long as the Anglo-French war continued Francis could do him little harm. Instead he encouraged the rumour that the money and men he was raising were destined for a third crusade in Africa.[18]

Paul III took advantage of these developments to take two critical initiatives. He invested his illegitimate son Pier Luigi Farnese, duke of Castro, with the imperial fiefs of Parma and Piacenza – something he would never have dared to do had Orléans become duke of Milan. Although the emperor refused to recognize the transfer, he did not disavow it for fear of jeopardizing Paul’s support in Germany. The pope also summoned the long-delayed general council of the Church to meet in the town of Trent, on the border between Italy and Germany, in December 1545, and he charged it with redefining doctrine before turning to the reform of abuses – the exact opposite of what Charles wanted, but once again he accepted in order to avoid jeopardizing the pope’s promise of support in Germany.

As the emperor prepared for war, his principal advisers urged caution. From Spain, Los Cobos expressed concern about ‘the remedy to be applied to the German Protestants: since they are so numerous and obstinate, great trouble will be experienced’; and Prince Philip saw fit to ‘remind Your

Majesty that you should look carefully at what you plan to do, so that you have the protection and resources required for a favourable outcome', not least because although 'His Holiness now offers goodwill and aid, sometimes these things fail, and afterwards the burden and responsibility for everything will fall on Your Majesty alone'. From Brussels, Marie lamented that 'the accursed sect has expanded so much that it is hard to know who the good Catholics are', and she reminded her brother that a century before, Emperor Sigismund had 'attempted to reduce the Bohemians [Hussites] by force, and sent several armies against them to that end, assisted by all the princes of Germany, but they never succeeded. In the end they had to leave them as they were.' In addition, she observed, 'the Huns and Vandals came from just the same regions as the Lutherans today, and they ruined France, Spain and Italy before crossing to Africa'. It would therefore be better to leave them alone.[19]

Philip, Los Cobos and Marie all proved excellent prophets, but Charles ignored their advice – although he proceeded with great caution. In February 1546, after receiving confirmation that the sultan had signed a one-year truce, he re-entered Germany to preside over another imperial Diet in Regensburg with an escort of some 500 horsemen, inviting all whom he met on his route to 'see for themselves that he had brought with him only the entourage that always accompanied him, and that he preferred to solve the problems of Germany through peace and concord rather than by force and discord'.[20]

Although these assertions were totally false, they allowed Charles to travel through Germany unscathed, and to hold informal meetings with several Lutheran princes, including Philip of Hesse. The surviving accounts of their encounter shed interesting light on how far the emperor was prepared to lie about small things. His *Memoirs* claimed that 'in the landgrave's conversations with His Majesty in Speyer, he showed such great insolence that, with few words, His Majesty dismissed him'; but unknown to His Majesty, the landgrave kept a detailed record of their conversations. According to this source, Philip told Charles that although he doubted that a general council could bridge the religious divide, 'I have better hopes concerning a national gathering', just for Germany. The

conversation then turned to the archbishop of Cologne's Lutheran leanings. According to Philip, the emperor asked jovially:

> 'How can that man introduce reforms? He knows no Latin and I hear he has celebrated Mass no more than three times in his life, and does not even know the *Confiteor* [one of the key prayers in the Mass].' To this I replied 'I want Your Majesty to know that he has read many books in German and has an excellent understanding of religion.' The emperor then said: 'Reformation does not mean introducing a new creed.'[21]

Another eyewitness account of the meeting confirms the cordial tone. When the emperor asked about the state of the League of Schmalkalden:

> The landgrave replied enigmatically: 'My revered lord emperor, we lack only one person.' The emperor cautiously asked who it was, and the landgrave replied: 'I would like Your Imperial Majesty to join the godly, too.' This made them both laugh and Caesar said: 'No, no, I will not join those who are in error.'

This hardly amounts to 'great insolence', as Charles would later claim! Moreover, after conversing for 'more than three hours', the emperor, the landgrave and their courtiers went off hunting together. 'Judging by external evidence,' the Florentine ambassador reported, 'they all seem happy.'[22]

Despite the landgrave's apparent confidence, the League of Schmalkalden caused him grave concern. It now boasted thirty-six members but it 'suffered from its immense extent and inadequate density' from Strasbourg to Pomerania and from Constance to Hamburg. A common religion formed its sole common denominator, 'unsupported by common economic interests, common political traditions, or common problems of regional security'. The league 'was too large and too lacking in centralism to act like an effective state in the sixteenth-century manner'. As the landgrave lamented to some colleagues two months after meeting Charles:

> We no longer have the spirit and feeling that we all used to have. When we were far fewer in number, we formed the League, took upon ourselves large tax burdens and with God's help achieved many great things, both individually and collectively. But now, when Fortune is on our side and our religion is in great need and faces a battle, we are so small-minded and so stingy with our money.[23]

By the time of the landgrave's lament, Charles had reached Regensburg where he remained for four months. He found time to hunt ('for my recreation I went to join the duke of Bavaria, where I spent 7 or 8 days hunting'), and to seduce Barbara Blomberg, the teenage daughter of a city artisan; but not everything went his way.[24] Despite Luther's death in February 1546, his creed continued to gain important converts, notably Frederick, erstwhile suitor of Charles's older sister and now Elector Palatine and husband of the emperor's niece Dorothea of Denmark. A few weeks before entertaining Charles at Heidelberg, Frederick and Dorothea expelled the Catholic clergy from their lands and brought in Lutherans. This increased the number of Lutheran Electors to three, none of whom attended the Diet. Ferdinand also stayed away from the Diet, claiming that he was too busy dealing with his own problems until Charles, furious, demanded that his brother join him within three weeks because 'the importance of the matter I want to discuss makes it more than necessary that we talk about it in person together . . . It cannot be handled by intermediaries or in writing.' He promised 'you can return to take care of your own affairs after we have talked together for four or five days' (an interesting insight on the importance the emperor attached to executive diplomacy); and he offered a clue about the matter he wanted to discuss by ordering Ferdinand to 'inspect and repair your artillery, to gather all the munitions you can', and to place on standby the Spanish infantry stationed in Hungary. The emperor concluded with a classic passive-aggressive flourish: 'You can see how much this matters to us, and that we are wasting time that cannot be recovered. I therefore beg you to make haste and be here as soon as possible, because this affects you more than anyone.'[25] Ferdinand dutifully dropped what he was doing and rode into Regensburg on 28 May 1546.

A few days later the brothers persuaded the duke of Bavaria to allow them to use his territories as a base for operations in case of war, and to contribute to their costs, in return for a promise that his son could marry a Habsburg princess; and they persuaded Maurice of Saxony to remain neutral should war break out with the Schmalkaldic League.[26] Charles also signed a formal agreement with the pope's representatives, triggering the dispatch of the promised troops and money from Italy, and ordered his German supporters to mobilize. On 9 June he also empowered the count of Buren to raise 10,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry in the Netherlands for service in the Empire, because 'there is no way to deal with our problems here except by force of arms'; and he informed Marie that:

> I have decided to start the war against the Elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse as disturbers of the common peace and the laws, rejecting the authority of the Empire, citing their detention of the duke of Brunswick, his son and his lands. Although this covert pretext for war cannot prevent the Protestants from thinking that this is a war of religion, it may still provide a way of dividing them, or at least of delaying and complicating their mobilization . . . As happened in the last war [over Brunswick], it may also deter [the Lutheran cities] from supplying Saxony and Hesse with money.

Charles also signed a series of letters to the leading princes and cities affirming that 'This warre is for the restitution of the Duke of Brunswike, and not for the cause of religion . . . and repressinge of rebels'. A week later he signed patents and instructions to the staff officers of a new army to serve him in Germany.[27]

Had Charles planned to attack the Lutherans all along, despite his repeated assurances to them that he wanted peace? Sir John Mason, who had long served as a diplomat at the imperial court, could not believe that the emperor would lie like that, telling Frederick of the Palatinate:

> I can hardelye be persuaded that he, who hath so often declared himself, both by speache and writing, to desyre nothing more then peax and the weale and quyet of Christendom, wolde now, all thinges being compownded and at a good poynte in the rest of the

> worlde, begynn a sturr, and that against himself. For I recken Germanye to be a parte of himself, and anything that he sholde move against that nation, to attempt it as it were against his owne entraylles.

Frederick knew better. When Mason asked him who the new imperial army would attack: '"The Protestantes", quod he, "against whome elles?"'[28]

Four centuries later, Karl Brandi reached the same conclusion. Brandi conceded that when Charles reassured his German subjects that 'he desired nothing more than peace and order, and would not appeal to arms unless he was driven to it, in a sense he was speaking the truth'; but, he added, 'it was not the whole truth'. Manuel Fernández Álvarez disagreed: 'We need to remember that Charles resorted to war because he thought that the Protestant princes would not be willing to negotiate, but prudence required that he should not make his thoughts public. That means that if he had found in Regensburg a greater deference among the Schmalkaldic League he might not have continued to think about war.'[29] Perhaps: but this overlooks both the extent and the cost of Charles's military preparations. We may discount as hindsight bias the emperor's claim in his *Memoirs* that he had decided to wage war on the German Lutherans as soon as he had defeated Guelders; but in February 1545, in the same letter that informed his son about his decision on the Alternative, intended to cement the peace with France, he announced that he would not be able to return to Spain on account of the 'pressing important affairs' in northern Europe, especially those of Germany. One year later he revealed to his son that he intended to crush his German Lutheran subjects using the same strategy that had worked so well in Guelders: if he could 'capture some territory and inflict on it an exemplary punishment, as it deserves, all the rest will surrender . . . Ending a matter of such importance will greatly advance God's service and our reputation, and secure our dominions, especially the Netherlands.'[30] One might argue, like Fernández Álvarez, that the intransigence of the Lutheran leaders at Regensburg meant that further negotiations would be futile, but Charles's complete failure both to exploit the favourable international situation, and to leverage his thinly disguised military preparations, strongly suggest that talks no longer interested him.[31]

Nevertheless, Charles had miscalculated. In June 1546 several prominent members of the League ordered their procurators to leave the Diet, and they sent agents to France and England to request financial assistance. Shortly afterwards they began to mobilize, and by mid-July the League had assembled 70,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry and 100 artillery pieces at Donauwörth, only 130 kilometres from Regensburg. According to an English diplomat: 'By all men's voyces here, th'emperor hath begon a daungerous war, a war thretenyng greatly his estate, a warre of great moment.' His Venetian colleague agreed: 'Considering the time, the place, and the situation in which the emperor found himself, the decision to undertake this venture was the boldest – or more accurately, the most risky and most dangerous – that he has ever taken.'[32]

According to the semi-official campaign history by Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, *Commentaries on the wars of Germany waged by Charles V, the greatest* [*el Máximo*], if at this point the Lutheran troops 'had arrived, they would have chased His Majesty from Regensburg, and in chasing him out of there, they would have chased him from Germany'.[33] The divided command structure of the League's army made it impossible to exploit this advantage. Alarmed by the unilateral action of the Elector and the landgrave in attacking Brunswick, the League's other members insisted that in future all military decisions must be taken by a council of war, with ten members nominated by the cities as well as the princes. The decision proved a disaster: the council could not even agree on who should serve as commander-in-chief – John Frederick and Philip of Hesse competed for primacy with Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach, commander of the urban contingents and a veteran with extensive experience. Nor could they agree on the best campaign strategy: the Elector, fearing an attack on his home base, opposed Schertlin's proposal to occupy the Alpine passes and thus prevent the arrival of imperial reinforcements from Italy, and although Schertlin at first prevailed the council recalled his troops before they had achieved their goal.[34]

Charles's delicate military situation explains his intemperate reaction on learning that the pope had delayed sending the promised 200,000 ducats. He summoned the nuncio, who found him 'in a most evil disposition', because

‘he had assumed that His Holiness would provide the entire sum immediately, and his failure to do so leaves us scandalized because the whole enterprise depends on it’. He complained bitterly that without these funds ‘he would be forced to go and kiss the landgrave’s feet’.[35] Although Charles stopped short of this, a few days later he fled Regensburg and rode south to Landshut, a fortified town in Bavaria, where he composed a letter of naked blackmail to his son, urging him to raise and send funds immediately because:

> If we are not able to keep our army in the field at least until the end of October it will imperil not only the Catholic faith but also our honour, our reputation and even the Netherlands and Italy. We cannot foretell how things will turn out, nor what will become of our person and those who are here with us, but we must not hazard everything for the sake of 300,000 or 400,000 ducats!

Charles also browbeat Los Cobos, using flattery rather than shame. He admitted that he had phrased his letter to Philip as if he feared that ‘God might take me’ and to show ‘what he has lost’ by recent developments. By contrast, he expressed complete faith that his loyal minister would know from experience what to do: although the scale of the new demands for money ‘will cause you to shed some tears, do not be surprised because you have been with me in many similar situations, and since you got me out of them I trust that you will do the same this time’. After all, he was defending the cause of God, ‘who has led me here for the sake of His faith and to serve Him’.[36]

No sooner had Charles signed these letters than the tide began to turn in his favour. Schertlin’s troops reached Donauwörth on 5 August totally exhausted from their long and fruitless march to the Alps and back: they demanded four days’ rest. The League’s council of war used this hiatus to compose a formal renunciation of their allegiance to Charles on the grounds that he had broken his promise to tolerate those who subscribed to the Augsburg Confession. The Elector argued that they should not even address Charles as ‘emperor’, but as ‘Charles of Ghent’; and although he was overruled, the document arrived ‘in a forked stick, which is the way they declare war in Germany, when one ruler wishes to attack another’.[37]

The herald bearing the challenge arrived at the emperor's camp the day after papal and imperial reinforcements arrived from Italy (in flagrant violation of Charles's Election Agreement never to bring foreign troops into Germany). The emperor refused to receive the challenge and instructed the duke of Alba, his principal field commander, to tell the herald and the page who accompanied him that 'the proper response to their mission was to hang them, but His Majesty would spare their lives because he wanted to punish only those who were to blame'. They returned with a copy of an imperial edict declaring the League's leaders to be traitors and rebels, and threatening all who supported them with loss of life and property.[38]

The emperor now commanded 10,000 Italians and 8,000 Spaniards, as well as 16,000 Germans, and he led them provocatively to Ingolstadt, a Bavarian city less than 60 kilometres from Donauwörth. Charles reconnoitred a suitable location for his camp in person, and also initiated a 'false alarm' to see how quickly his troops could reach their appointed station. Count Stroppiana, the Savoyard ambassador, reported this exercise 'was a splendid and inspiring sight. It was also good to see His Majesty, fully armed and wearing his helmet, moving through the camp, visiting each unit and surveying the trenches and the artillery and the places where the enemy might mount an attack'. Charles fortified his camp with bastions and ramparts made from 'barrels filled with earth', drafting not only soldiers but also 'women and children, of whom there are many in this camp'.[39]

These preparations were put to the test on 31 August 1546, when the Lutheran army took up position a few hundred metres away and began 'a battery with all their artillery, firing so fast and with such fury that it seemed as if were raining cannonballs'. Almost 1,500 rounds, some of them 'bigger than a man's head', landed in the imperial camp. Stroppiana reported that the bombardment 'made my heart beat triple-time, but the emperor displayed a fearless spirit. More than 27 balls passed between the feet of his horse or close to its head and cropper: they could not have come closer without hitting him'. Yet even when the emperor 'saw the bullets coming towards him, he did not move from his place but, immobile as a rock, he smiled'. Somewhat later, 'His Majesty was standing in the trenches to see when the enemy was about to fire his guns and although he shouted

to those around him to duck, he himself remained standing'. Stroppiana speculated that 'without the special and all-powerful protection that God provides on special occasions, I believe that the emperor would no longer be among the living' (Pl. 24).[40]

The emperor made light of his courage. 'We are here, exchanging artillery fire with our neighbours and good friends,' he informed Ferdinand with heavy sarcasm, and 'the greatest pleasure they could give us would be to come and plant a kiss on our defences because, God willing, it would cost them dear.' Ferdinand was not impressed, rebuking his brother for risking his life, on which the success of the entire enterprise depended, and urging him to desist; but Charles replied: 'The truth is that while we were under attack we did not have enough men. That was not the time for me to set a bad example to others, and that was why I took those risks.'[41] Charles promised to take better care of himself in future, and on 4 September the League made this easier by retreating.

Some speculated that the besiegers withdrew because they lacked water, others that they 'wanted to tempt the emperor into following them'; but whatever the reason, the League's generals had lost their best chance of victory – and they knew it. Schertlin recorded in his autobiography that 'If my advice to launch an assault on the imperial camp had been followed, it would have meant the end of the House of Austria. In all his life, the emperor never experienced such anxiety and distress.' The landgrave agreed: 'If my advice had been followed,' he wrote in a confidential letter, 'we would have brought the emperor to battle – but too many councillors, too many heads and too many cooks spoiled the broth.' He continued:

> The Lord God gave us a marvellous opportunity at Ingolstadt, if we had known how to exploit it, as I repeatedly told the Elector and the council of war. If it had been up to me, I would have ordered an assault, but they feared the walls and ramparts. I truly believe that we would have suffered fewer casualties from attacking the enemy than we did later from sickness.[42]

As the League army retreated and its casualties mounted, the landgrave became desperate. First he challenged his adversaries to a duel – 'If His Imperial Majesty and the duke of Alba would bring 1,000 cavalry troopers

into the field, the landgrave would also bring 1,000 to fight them' – and then he resorted to insults. When an Italian diplomat 'mentioned some proposal by "His Imperial Majesty" the landgrave objected and said "What Imperial Majesty? He is Charles of Ghent, just as I am Philip of Hesse, and if Germany could elect him emperor, it can also depose him."'[43] The emperor ignored the insult for the time being, even though he gained numerical parity with his adversaries when on 14 September Buren arrived at the head of 12,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry and twelve field pieces from the Netherlands.

This remarkable logistical feat demonstrated the emperor's clear military advantage. He had ordered Buren to raise an army on 9 June, and the count began his march into Germany on 20 July although at that point neither he nor Charles knew where the rendez-vous would be (Buren even had to ask 'Your Majesty to tell me who are your friends and your enemies, so that I know which route to follow'). On 23 August the expeditionary force skilfully crossed the Rhine near Mainz, where Buren received Charles's orders to march towards the Danube, through the heart of enemy territory, which required his troops to fortify their camp every night, in case of attack – and an attack seemed likely because the landgrave publicized his intention of intercepting Buren, so that either 'the emperour shal be forcidde to tempte the fortune of the batayle hymself', or Buren would march 'streighte to the boucherye'. But Charles sent constant intelligence on how best to avoid the Lutheran army, and Buren led his entire force safely into the imperial camp outside Ingolstadt, having covered over 800 kilometres in eight weeks.[44]

The emperor's expert directions reflected the 'paintings and maps that he took with him, some of all Germany and others of individual provinces, so that he knew the location of each place and the distances between them, and of the rivers and mountains'. He nevertheless accepted the risk-averse strategy proposed by Alba: to avoid a pitched battle and instead drive the army of the League northwards by constant skirmishes, capturing the hostile cities in his path until (in Charles's own words) 'one of the two armies is obliged to disband either through force, bad weather, hunger, or some other necessity'.[45]

The Lutheran army disintegrated first. When news reached the League's camp that Maurice and Ferdinand had signed an offensive and defensive alliance, and planned to invade Saxony, John Frederick led his forces back to defend their homeland, leaving his allies to fend for themselves, and on 16 November the League's council of war reluctantly decided that they must disperse into winter quarters.[46] Jacob Sturm, representing the city of Strasbourg, protested to the landgrave that this would allow 'not only His Imperial Majesty but also the Antichrist in Rome' to subjugate the Protestant cities and states of southern Germany one by one, 'which will deprive us Germans of our reputation among the nations, and imperil the Protestant faith'. Surely, Sturm asked, either League members or their French and English allies could provide enough money to keep the Lutheran army in being for a little longer? In his reply from 'our camp', the landgrave berated Sturm for failing to understand the military situation. 'We now have 2,000 fewer cavalry and 8,000 fewer men than before,' he complained, 'and those that remain diminish daily through demoralization, sickness and desertion', whereas the emperor 'receives reinforcements and now outnumbers us'. As for money, 'one-third of the funds promised have not been paid . . . and we have not yet seen a penny from England and France'. The landgrave concluded: 'We cannot and will not remain here any longer, having kept the army together thus far only through prayers and promises.' He seems to have signed his letter while in the saddle, because that same day he broke up 'our camp' and dispersed his army, abandoning Württemberg, all cities south of the Danube and even his wounded soldiers to their fate.[47]

The emperor did his best to exploit these advantages thanks to abnormally favourable weather. According to a diplomat travelling with the imperial army, 'This 100 yeres hathe not bene sene so good wether in this country this tyme of the yere, (as they say here). Yt rainithe sometyme; often tymes ther be fowle mistes, and colde nightes continually, but as yet neither suche accustomed snowe, nor suche frostes as was wont to kill bothe man and beste.'[48] Charles still suffered. On some days he travelled 'in a litter, because he suffered greatly from gout'; on others he managed to mount his horse, but 'because his right leg was badly afflicted by gout, he used a piece of fabric as a stirrup'. Nevertheless he 'reconnoitred enemy

positions with his own eyes, to avoid making the wrong decision based on reports by others'; and whenever combat seemed possible he 'donned his armour and moved constantly from one contingent to another, talking to the soldiers of each nation and encouraging them to fight bravely'. His troops, 'seeing His Majesty come among them so unpretentiously, as if he were their equal and comrade, raised their arms and with a loud voice shouted "Emperor: to battle! Emperor: to battle!"'[49]

Although no battle took place in 1546, once the League's army disbanded the Lutheran rulers of southern Germany had little choice but to make their peace with Charles one by one, just as Sturm had predicted. Some surrendered when his army approached, others offered a submission at a humiliating public ceremony at which they 'fell to their knees' (*Fussfall*) before the emperor, who pardoned them in return for a large indemnity – thereby (in the words of a Spanish participant) 'reducing the strength of our enemies without losing anything ourselves'.[50] Frederick, Elector Palatine, who had rashly sent military support to the duke of Württemberg, was the first to submit. On 17 December he 'entered the chamber where his majesty sat on a seat, because of the pain in his legs,' and begged forgiveness. According to an eyewitness, after listening impassively Charles 'pulled out of his pocket a letter from the Elector that had been intercepted and said gruffly "Read this", adding "Go and discuss your business with Granvelle"'. Frederick now burst into tears and the emperor replied:

> Cousin: it hurts me to the core that you have recently taken sides against me. You are my relative and I raised you in my household, yet you sent troops to serve my enemies and against me, and you supported them for many days. Nevertheless, since we grew up together, and since you have expressed remorse . . . I have decided to pardon you and forget what you have done against me.

For Ávila, 'seeing a notable gentleman of such a venerable dynasty, the emperor's own cousin, with his white hair exposed and tears in his eyes', occasioned 'great compassion in those who witnessed it'. Charles remained suspicious, however: 'We need his actions to prove his good intentions,' he confided to Marie.[51]

Next, Duke Ulrich of Württemberg came to beg forgiveness. Charles pardoned him, too, in return for a fine of 300,000 florins ('in view of the great cost of this war to His Imperial Majesty'), the surrender of all artillery and munitions, and the admission of imperial troops to three of the duchy's fortified cities 'as a guarantee that the treaty will be honoured'. Ulrich hesitated before accepting these humiliating terms, but he eventually 'took up his pen and, turning his eyes to heaven, said: "If God has been pleased to grant the emperor two harvests in Germany in the same year, why should I not do what His Majesty wants?" And then he signed.' The Venetian ambassador, who described this scene, reported that even the normally imperturbable Granvelle showed elation at this further example of Caesar's luck: 'It is really something that when the affairs of His Majesty seem most adverse, at that very moment everything changes and he is successful again.'[52]

Charles assured Ferdinand, who had hoped to regain the duchy lost a decade before (chapter 9), that he had 'thought a lot about' whether or not to pardon Ulrich, but did so 'considering the present state of affairs', with both the Elector of Saxony and the landgrave still in arms, and also because of 'the insupportable cost that conquering Württemberg would involve' and the need to avoid the impression 'that we are putting our own interests first, given the widespread envy that exists towards our House of Austria'. Now, Charles mused, 'I cannot decide how best to exploit the advantage that it has pleased God to grant me'. His three long-term goals remained the same – 'to improve the religious situation in Germany'; to 'restore our authority in the Empire'; and to 'create peace and unity' so that Germany could better defend itself against foreign attack – but how best could he achieve them? He asked his brother for advice: should he convene the Diet at once and form a league with those who attended against those who remained in arms, or should he 'extirpate and defeat those who remained in arms, to gain the authority and reputation to convene the Diet, and then settle outstanding matters, notably the religious issue'?[53]

Charles favoured the second alternative: 'it is necessary to exterminate' both John Frederick and the landgrave, he told Ferdinand, 'otherwise it will not be possible to reduce and pacify Germany for the service of God, your authority, and mine'; and Ferdinand obliged by invading Electoral Saxony

jointly with Maurice. Then news arrived that Francis I had at last offered support to the Lutheran leaders still in arms and was raising troops for their support. Publicly Charles made light of this development, reminding a French ambassador that 'I could be within your kingdom in two weeks, I know more than one way to enter it, and if necessary I also know how to remain there'; but privately he feared that Francis might mount a surprise attack, as he had done in 1542. 'I can't decide what to do,' he told Ferdinand, citing his usual dilemma: 'given the desire I have to come swiftly to your aid in person, and the need for me to be present elsewhere'.[54]

In the end, John Frederick forced a decision by laying siege to Leipzig, Maurice's chief stronghold, and by persuading some of Ferdinand's Bohemian subjects to rebel. Charles now led his troops eastwards to Bohemia, and although illness confined him to a litter or to a carriage heated by a travelling stove, the combined forces of Ferdinand, Maurice and Charles moved against the Elector. The allies sighted the Lutheran army across the Elbe on the evening of 23 April 1547, just as it encamped at the village of Mühlberg on the eastern bank. Imagining themselves safe, the Lutherans sent their artillery down the river towards Wittenberg and retired for the night, but Charles arose at midnight and prepared for immediate action. As his army crossed river under cover of a heavy morning mist, the emperor rode to battle in full armour mounted on 'a dark chestnut Spanish horse' with 'a caparison of red velvet edged with a golden fringe, wearing nothing over it except a broad crimson sash edged in gold. He wore a German morion and carried a gilded sword and a half-lance, almost a javelin, in his hands' – just as he appears in Titian's striking equestrian portrait (Pl. 25).[55]

The javelin conceit proved appropriate, because Mühlberg resembled a hunt rather than a battle. The Lutheran host lay spread out over several kilometres, and so offered little resistance. Nevertheless, the emperor 'spent 21 hours in the saddle, fully armed, without a break' and (according to a Venetian report) 'when he returned to his camp he dismounted from his horse and said cheerfully: "Get my dinner ready because I have spent the whole day hunting, and I have taken a boar – a very fat one"'.[56] He had indeed. John Frederick was easily identified because of his enormous girth,

and Charles's soldiers surrounded him as he fled on horseback. To their surprise the Elector pulled out a pistol and killed one man, and struck down another with his sword; but then someone landed 'a heavy sword blow on the left side of his face', which meant that he could neither fight not flee. He therefore surrendered and was brought before the emperor, with blood pouring from his wound. 'He made three attempts to dismount, but lacking the usual and necessary assistance, on account of his huge size he remained on his horse', saying only: 'Most worthy emperor and lord, my fate has brought me here as Your Majesty's prisoner. I therefore ask that you treat me as my rank and name deserve.' The emperor replied coldly: '"Now you call me emperor: that's a different title from the one you used to call me!" He said this because when the Elector and the landgrave were on campaign they referred to the emperor in their writings as "Charles of Ghent, who thinks he is emperor"'. Charles cut short the meeting with the same ominous phrase that the landgrave had used to Duke Henry of Brunswick: 'I will treat you as you deserve.'[57]

Despite the Brunswick precedent – and Duke Henry still languished in prison – John Frederick assumed that the emperor's statement meant that he would be well treated, but immediately after the victory Charles's Confessor Pedro de Soto argued at a meeting of the imperial council for the Elector's execution. Alba and Perrenot advised against it, however, because it risked making him a martyr and prolonging the war: better, they argued, for Charles to 'keep him alive and in his power, and take him round in triumph' to all the places that had supported his rebellion. On 10 May the emperor duly signed a warrant sentencing the Elector to death and confiscating all his lands, offices and goods, as punishment for his armed rebellion – but offering to spare his life provided the heavily fortified city of Wittenberg submitted to him. It did so nine days later.[58]

On 25 May 1547, Charles entered the city and visited (among other locations) the Castle Church where Luther lay buried. Bartholomew Sastrow, who resided in the imperial camp before Wittenberg, wrote in his *Memoirs* that when Charles and his entourage returned 'they claimed that the lamps and candles burned night and day before Luther's tomb and that prayers were recited constantly, just like with saints' relics in Catholic churches'; but he did not record an exchange that later became a legend.

According to oral tradition, the duke of Alba called for the Reformer's bones to be exhumed and defiled, but Charles replied, 'Let them rest until Judgement Day'; and when Perrenot repeated the suggestion, Charles snapped back 'I don't make war on the dead, only on the living'. Some have doubted the veracity of this exchange, but an English diplomat who visited the imperial camp noted the intense hatred for Protestants in general, and for Luther in particular: 'The Spanish soldiers say nothing but the word: *Luther, Luther*.' It would have been strange if such hatred had not produced calls to desecrate his tomb when Charles entered the city and had the power to do so – calls that he resisted.[59]

After Wittenberg surrendered, Charles kept his promise to spare John Frederick's life, but insisted that he renounce his Electoral dignity, surrender most of his lands to Maurice, and solemnly swear 'that he would join the court of His Majesty, or of the prince his son in Spain, until further orders. His Majesty would choose the location and duration.' For the next five years, just as Alba and Perrenot had suggested, John Frederick accompanied the emperor as a prisoner, a constant reminder of the consequences of rebellion.[60] The harsh terms reflected a dramatic improvement in Charles's overall situation, both abroad and at home. The death of Henry VIII in January 1547, and of Francis I two months later, offered assurance that at least for a while he had nothing to fear from either England or France. The Bohemians who in March had opened talks with John Frederick made haste to reassure Ferdinand of their loyalty shortly after hearing about Mühlberg. News of the imperial victory also accelerated the conclusion of a five-year truce with Suleiman, signed on 19 June. The sultan now turned his resources against Persia, leaving Charles secure against Ottoman attack.[61]

These developments left the landgrave dangerously isolated. At first he made light of his plight. After hearing about Mühlberg, Philip of Hesse stated grimly that unless Charles granted reasonable terms, 'God willing we will defend ourselves in such a way that we can hold out for another year'; and a month later he ordered his subjects to prepare for a new campaign.[62] Early in June, however, he authorized Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg (also his relative) to meet with Antoine Perrenot and the imperial vice-chancellor Georg Seld and negotiate his surrender. Their

discussions secured far better terms than John Frederick had received: the landgrave would forfeit no territory; his life would be spared; and he would pay an indemnity of 150,000 florins, surrender all his artillery and munitions, and raze all fortifications in his dominions except for one (to be chosen by Charles). He would also abandon all his allies, both inside and outside Germany, and free all the prisoners he had taken during the war. In return the Electors promised in the emperor's name that the landgrave would not spend the rest of his life in prison. They also urged him to make his *Fussfall* before the emperor immediately, and to reassure him they issued their safe-conduct for his journey.[63]

ALWAYS READ THE SMALL PRINT

The landgrave reluctantly recognized that he was unlikely to secure better terms and on 19 June 1547, having ratified the terms agreed by Perrenot, Seld and the Electors, he entered the chamber where the emperor sat, surrounded by 'a crowd too large to count who had come to watch'. Before falling to his knees, however, the landgrave 'paused beside the Electors, talking and laughing with them. This greatly irritated the emperor', who refused to give his hand to the landgrave after his *Fussfall*, as he had done to other opponents. Instead (according to Bartholomew Sastrow, an eyewitness) Charles 'pointed his finger angrily and said, "Well, I will teach you to laugh"'.[64] The landgrave evidently did not take this threat seriously because after his submission he accepted an invitation to dine with the duke of Alba, who promptly arrested him and placed him under a Spanish guard.

This horrified the two Electors, who had not only persuaded Philip to accept the emperor's terms but also issued their personal safe-conduct, and late that night they engaged in an acrimonious debate with Alba and Perrenot that lasted until 2 a.m. the following morning, protesting vociferously that imprisoning Philip slighted their honour. The imperial ministers countered that the capitulation, which all parties had read and approved, only stated that he would be spared perpetual prison: it said nothing about incarceration for a specific period. When Charles heard about the debate the following day, he sided with his ministers. He also denied all knowledge of a safe-conduct. This outraged the Electors even more and they sent an embassy to Ferdinand (who had just campaigned with Maurice)

complaining that they had issued their safe-conduct because they believed Charles had guaranteed that the landgrave 'would suffer neither pain of death nor any imprisonment'.[65]

It is important to establish Charles's personal involvement in this matter because, as with the assassination of Rincón and Fregoso five years before, his treatment of the landgrave would become a *casus belli*. Some contemporaries and many historians argued that the emperor deliberately chose the words '*einiger Gefencknus*' ('any imprisonment') in the draft agreement, so that with a single stroke of the pen it could later be changed without anyone noticing to '*ewiger Gefencknus*' ('permanent imprisonment'). The accusation is ingenious, but implausible. Although Charles could converse in German, he lacked the fluency to devise such a word-play. Seld later provided a more plausible explanation, during dinner with friends. He recalled that he and Perrenot (both eminent lawyers and both fluent in German) had first plied the two Electors with drink, and then negotiated with them while their legal advisers were absent. The Electors therefore failed to notice that a formula proposed by Perrenot, '*nit in ewiger Gefencknus halten* ['not to place him in permanent prison']', still allowed Charles to imprison the landgrave, subject only to the provision that the sentence not be permanent.[66]

Even if Charles did not devise the formula, however, he exploited its ambiguity. On 15 June, four days before the *Fussfall*, Charles pointed out to his brother that the landgrave 'expressly agreed to surrender unconditionally'. He continued:

> Admittedly the two Electors demanded a promise that I will not punish him in his person or in his possessions, except as specified in the treaty, or by perpetual imprisonment; and since they used the word 'perpetual' I accepted their proposal for the reason you already know: to keep him in my hands at least for a time. I therefore plan to detain him as my prisoner when he comes to make his submission. The Electors cannot object to this, because I will not be breaking the assurance that I gave them, which mentioned 'prison' with the added word 'perpetual'.

The emperor proceeded to ask his brother's advice on the nature and length of the detention after the landgrave had honoured all the other terms of the capitulation, given the risk that after his release 'if I am absent from Germany, he might do his worst'. Ferdinand recommended setting the captive free, once he had made all the agreed sacrifices and provided adequate securities for his good conduct, in order to avoid offending the Electors 'who have become involved, and also so that the landgrave does not become desperate'; but Charles disagreed.[67] In a letter to his brother written just after the *Fussfall* he argued that, unless the landgrave remained in prison, 'I have no other guarantee that he will execute what is in the treaty. Currently he is playing for time until I have demobilized my forces'. Furthermore, the emperor now felt that his honour was at stake. The Electors had 'impugned my honour by questioning whether or not I would keep my word'. This infuriated Charles, because (he claimed) 'I have always taken singular care to keep my word, even when I forfeited excellent opportunities for personal profit by doing so'. He therefore informed his brother that 'The matter has gone too far for me to withdraw: if I retreat from my position about imprisoning him, the world will think that I was wrong to do it, and that I have been forced to change my mind.' He would wait and 'see if the landgrave makes haste to proceed in good faith', and then decide on the duration of his incarceration.[68]

Once again, Ferdinand urged caution: although he agreed that the landgrave must remain in prison until he had fulfilled all his treaty obligations, thereafter, 'rather than alienate the two Electors, provided it can be done without great prejudice to your affairs, I think Your Majesty could agree to release him', perhaps taking the landgrave's sons as surety. But Charles rejected all calls for clemency and instead instructed his Spanish troops to keep Philip under close and constant guard. As Sastrow grimly observed, the landgrave found that 'the emperor's words "I will teach you to laugh" were not an idle threat'.[69]

Charles would later regret rejecting Ferdinand's advice, but initially his triumph seemed total. The landgrave's only consolation came a few days later. As he departed in a cart surrounded by Spanish soldiers Charles came out to gloat, 'wearing a velvet hat and a black cloak trimmed with velvet', but a sudden downpour of heavy rain forced the emperor 'to turn the cloak

he wore inside out and to place his hat under it, letting the rain pour down on his bare head. Poor little man!', Sastrow jeered: 'He had spent so much gold on the war, but would rather stand bareheaded in the rain than let it spoil his velvet hat and cloak!'[70]

Sastrow was right about the immense cost of the German war. Charles took out loans payable in Spain worth almost three million ducats in 1546, and over 700,000 the following year, while Marie borrowed a further 750,000 in the Netherlands. Against this, the emperor could set only the papal subsidies (200,000 ducats), the fines imposed upon those who had defied him (perhaps 800,000 ducats in all) and the value of the heavy artillery confiscated from the various Lutheran towns and princes, which he ostentatiously redistributed around his dominions as a symbol of his victory.[71] It was not the only symbol. Although he demobilized much of his army before travelling to Augsburg, where he would meet a new Diet, Charles retained 3,000 of his troops 'to guard all the gates and squares of the city', with 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry as garrisons in Ulm, Württemberg and elsewhere 'in the neighbourhood', leading the Protestants to dub the assembly 'the Armed Diet'. According to several sources, immediately after his victory at Mühlberg, Charles boasted: 'I came, I saw, and God conquered': he now aimed to exploit his overwhelming military advantage to solve once and for all the religious and political opposition he had encountered in Germany.[72]

THE ARMED DIET

Perrenot claimed that Charles approached the Diet 'hoping to complete his business there quickly', but added, 'in truth I believe that when it comes to hastening negotiations to get everything in proper order, we will encounter more difficulties than we expected'.[73] Perrenot was correct: the Diet would last ten full months, from 1 September 1547 to 30 June 1548, and generated documents that fill 2,760 printed pages. Imperial officials proposed a raft of initiatives designed to bolster the emperor's authority within Germany: measures to standardize law enforcement and the coinage; to strengthen and streamline the Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*); to recognize the emperor's various Netherlands territories as a distinct division (*Reichskreis*) of the Empire; to create a new League (*Reichsbund*) that

would bind imperial subjects to the Habsburg dynasty (rather than to the Empire); to raise money for the defence of Hungary against a possible Turkish attack; and to create a reserve to fund the mobilization of an army of 27,000 men 'in case anyone in future wished to rebel against the edicts and commands of the emperor and the Empire'. Most controversial, they also proposed a new framework for religious unity in the Empire.[74]

Eventually the Diet would either approve all these measures, or allow the emperor to create special commissions to deal with the rest, but it is difficult to establish Charles's exact role in the debates and decisions. The detailed travel journal kept by his valet, Jean Vandenesse, recorded the emperor's presence at only a few major public events over the winter: on 30 November 1547 he attended a banquet of the Knights of the Golden Fleece; at Epiphany 1548 he attended Mass and 'offered three cups containing gold, frankincense and myrrh', just like the Three Kings; on 30 January he summoned the Electors to his presence to discuss recognizing the Netherlands as a separate *Reichskreis*; and on 24 February, his birthday, 'in his imperial robes and on his imperial throne' he solemnly invested Maurice as the new Elector of Saxony. According to Vandenesse, the emperor missed other solemn occasions – even the opening ceremony, when Ferdinand's eldest son Maximilian deputized for him – but this concealed the fact that members of the Diet regularly came to the house of Anton Fugger (nephew of Jakob), where Charles resided, to discuss business with him face to face.[75]

Charles often failed to appear in public because he was ill. Sometimes he gave audiences 'seated, with one arm supporting his neck and his feet elevated on a stool with cushions'; and during the winter he sought relief from pain by climbing into a huge metal stove 'or, more accurately a furnace, in which most people would stay for a quarter of an hour, but he remains there the whole day'.[76] Pain no doubt helps to explain some of Charles's intemperate outbursts. In February 1547 he told a papal diplomat that Paul III had syphilis, adding 'we cannot help remembering what they say in Italy: you can forgive a young man from getting French Pox [syphilis], but not an old man'. When the diplomat protested that he knew nothing of this, so that it must be something 'new', the emperor 'continued on the same theme, saying that it must be a long-standing illness'; and when

the envoy again tried to object ‘we took our leave, saying it was now time to hear Mass’.[77]

Even without the pain, Charles had two reasons to be angry with the pope. Paul had withdrawn his expeditionary force from Germany (on the grounds that Charles had not made the vanquished rulers restore Catholic worship); and he had commanded the general council of the Church to move from Trent to Bologna, in the Papal States, a location totally unacceptable to German Protestants – and therefore to Charles. ‘We will never accept this relocation,’ he informed his commissioner at the council, and he ordered the prelates to remain in Trent ‘for the sake of God’s service and mine’ (an arrogant equation that the emperor now used with increasing frequency).[78] He also resurrected the idea of finding a religious formula acceptable to all Germans – something Luther himself had advocated in his last major publication: ‘Let our dear emperor make the pope hold a general, free, Christian council somewhere in Germany, or else hold a national council.’ As usual, Granvelle took the lead in this initiative, issuing an ultimatum for the pope in August 1547: ‘Either the council returns to Trent, or it must be suspended until we see the outcome of this Diet.’[79]

The situation changed dramatically the following month when Charles’s troops seized the city of Piacenza, killing the pope’s son Pier Luigi Farnese in the process (see below). Paul now declared that he would never allow the council to return to Trent unless the emperor restored Piacenza, and Charles responded by seeking an interim religious settlement just for Germany.[80] In February 1548 a commission comprising delegates chosen by him, by Ferdinand, by each Elector, and by the princes, the prelates and the towns represented in the Diet, convened to formulate a religious text acceptable to all parties. The Catholic rulers soon made clear that they did not recognize the ecclesiastical powers claimed by Charles, and since he lacked the means to coerce them, he authorized Catholic states to maintain their current religious practices. By contrast, he insisted that Lutheran rulers must follow the practices laid out in the new text, known as the *Interim* because it would last only until the general council made permanent decisions. This temporary status explains the document’s many contradictions. For example, it declared clerical marriage and communion in both kinds, two of the most visible symbols of Lutheran liturgy, to be ‘errors’ temporarily

tolerated in order to preserve the peace; and although it defined salvation as requiring faith and grace, but not necessarily good works, the document explicitly permitted Catholic ritual practices condemned by Lutherans (such as veneration of saints and memorial Masses for the dead, which implied a belief in purgatory).

Church historian Nathan Rein has suggested that the Interim contained so many ‘similarities and echoes’ of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 that they ‘cannot be unintentional. In their phrasing and choice of metaphors, the Interim’s authors were self-consciously making reference to the stock expressions of Lutheran thought, which no informed reader could have failed to notice.’ Those same authors also skilfully separated the theology of salvation from the performance of ritual, which they left to secular rulers, who could now control the liturgical life of their subjects in the interests of preserving public order (at least until a general council decided otherwise).[81]

Charles decided to conceal the contents of the document from the pope and his representatives until the last moment. ‘At lunch time’ on 15 May 1548 he ‘summoned all the princes to join him at 4 p.m. because he intended to publish the Interim’. Antoine Perrenot visited the nuncio ‘just before 4 p.m.’ and told him, ‘by order of His Majesty, what the Interim would contain’. He also asserted that ‘His Majesty had waited as long as possible, but now could delay no more.’ At the appointed hour, in the presence of the emperor and the full Diet, Vice-Chancellor Seld read out the document, published almost immediately in both Latin and German.[82]

Now the hard part began: ensuring compliance. Paul III offered no help, instead sending a legate to reproach Charles ‘for publishing the Interim without waiting for the authority of the Holy See’. At an audience that lasted two hours the legate protested that ‘it does not conform to the doctrine and customs of the Holy Church, yet it regulates almost everything concerning the Christian life’. Charles immediately conceded that ‘the Interim was not perfect, as he would wish, but people must be attracted back to the Catholic faith and our Holy Church little by little’. He was confident that ‘a general council and the authority of the pope will do the rest and make it perfect’. Meanwhile, he continued, ‘when Germany accepts this Interim, it will also accept the authority of the pope and of the Church –

and it seemed to him that for this he deserved congratulations and not complaints'. The legate asked whether Charles would make any changes, for example on Mass and clerical marriage, but he replied that no alterations could be made because the Diet had ended.[83]

Some Lutheran rulers proved compliant. According to Sastrow, the Elector of Brandenburg accepted the Interim in return for payment of his debts; the duke of Württemberg and the landgrave endorsed the document in the hope of improving the terms of their surrender; Elector Maurice had already promised Charles that he would comply, and he pressured the theologians of Wittenberg (now his subjects) to cooperate. Almost all of them obliged, but some Lutherans elsewhere rejected the Interim, led by former Elector John Frederick who held fast to Luther's teaching even after Granvelle and his son put pressure upon him (first by hinting that compliance might secure his freedom and, when he refused, by confining him to his room, removing his books, and sequestering his chaplain). The Lutheran Church would remain divided for a generation.[84]

Once the weather warmed up, Charles appeared in person again. He presided at the solemn closing of the Diet on 30 June 1548, and five weeks later he deployed his soldiers to all strategic points in Augsburg, closed the city gates, and summoned all public officials to assemble in his presence. Seld ordered them to perform a *Fussfall* as a punishment for sending men and money to the League army, and then to swear a new oath of allegiance to the emperor. Next Seld announced the revocation of the city's charter, the dismissal of all its officials, and the abolition of all its guilds (which had previously chosen the council) before naming a new slate of office-holders to run the city, almost all of them members of its elite. Anton Fugger and Bartolomaus Welser, the emperor's bankers, took two of the seven seats on the new Secret Council. A few days later the emperor's Spanish troops moved against Constance, another Protestant city that had sent troops and money to the League, leading its terrified magistrates to submit to Ferdinand, who suppressed its charter, restored Catholic worship, and then annexed the city to his own dominions. Charles briefly contemplated erecting a citadel in Constance (as he had done in Ghent, Utrecht and Cambrai) and desisted only because he feared it might provoke unrest in the Empire.[85]

The emperor next moved to Ulm, another city that had supported the League, and again presided over a ceremonial *Fussfall* after which Seld revoked the city's charter, dismissed its officials, abolished its guilds and imposed a new government run by patricians. He also ordered the city's Lutheran preachers to accept the Interim (something he had not done at Augsburg), arrested those who refused, and compelled clerics who conformed to abandon their wives and children. Lutheran preachers in Speyer, Worms and other Rhineland cities fled to avoid similar treatment; and in 1551–2 imperial officials revoked the charters, abolished the guilds and installed a new patrician governing council in twenty-five southern German cities.[86]

Some at the time, and many afterwards, claimed that Charles acted from confessional motives – 'The reform of the urban constitutions was a harbinger of the Counter-Reformation,' wrote Ludwig Fürstenwerth in 1893: 'The ultimate aim was the preservation or restoration of Catholic worship in the cities' – but this fails to explain why the emperor took steps to tighten his grip over Catholic as well as Lutheran cities, some of them staunchly loyal to him during the recent civil war. The eminent historian Wolfgang Reinhard searched the surviving papers of Charles and Ferdinand for 'some kind of manifest programme', but he failed to find one and concluded: 'This is not because so far it has escaped historians, but because none ever existed.' Rather, the emperor strove primarily to restrict urban independence in general, and the power of the guilds in particular, and only secondarily to combat Lutheranism. Therefore, the theatrical humiliation of Augsburg, Ulm and other German cities closely resembled Charles's treatment of Ghent in 1540.[87] Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, a Sienese exile, perceived a general pattern: 'The ministers of the emperor have always pursued the same policy,' he wrote in 1552. 'They have always tried to provoke civil discord, and then oppressed liberty and the common good by means of an oligarchic and tyrannical government.' He had in mind not only Charles's recent treatment of cities in the Netherlands and Germany, but also in Italy.[88]

SETTLING SCORES IN ITALY

The early successes of the Schmalkaldic League emboldened some of Charles's opponents in Italy to defy him. In Lucca, a small imperial fief in semi-constant rivalry with Florence, the patrician Francesco Burlamacchi and a group of exiles plotted to overthrow Medici rule and unite Lucca, Siena and Florence in a Tuscan republic. He was betrayed in August 1546, and condemned to life imprisonment in Milan.[89] Then, 'at midnight on January 3, 1547, the city of Genoa almost experienced a revolution'. Count Gian Luigi Fieschi, a prominent and popular figure who had studied 'the book of Niccolò Machiavelli called *The prince*', brought into the harbour of Genoa a war galley that concealed 200 followers. He invited Andrea Doria and his heir Giannettino to a banquet with the intention of murdering them both and then gaining control of the city.[90] Although Andrea accepted the invitation, he felt ill and did not attend; but Fieschi decided to go ahead with the plot anyway. Half his followers seized the city gates while the other half captured Doria's galleys in the Arsenal, freeing the oarsmen. Their jubilant shouts attracted the attention of Giannettino, who was fatally shot as he tried to regain control. Andrea Doria fled the city he had dominated since 1528 and crowds ran through the streets shouting 'Liberty! Liberty!' The coup failed only because Fieschi, wearing full armour, fell into the harbour and drowned. As Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, the veteran Spanish ambassador in Genoa, realized, his death 'was a gift from God, because had he lived everything would have been lost'.[91]

A few months later, Naples also almost experienced a revolution. Viceroy Pedro de Toledo caused a major upheaval when, at his request, the pope appointed a special inquisitor to root out heresy in the kingdom. The local elite immediately protested, but the viceroy ignored them. Then in May 1547 three local men tried to save a colleague arrested by the inquisitors and the viceroy had them executed, which provoked major demonstrations. Toledo used his Spanish troops to disperse the crowds and trained his artillery on the popular quarters of the city 'as if', a chronicler remarked, 'Naples was a French or Turkish city, instead of one belonging to the emperor'.[92] Those exiled after the imperial victory in 1528 began to return, and imperial authority hung in the balance until the arrival in August of a galley squadron sent by Doria from Genoa, carrying 3,000 Spanish

soldiers. Once they had restored order, Charles deemed it prudent to pardon all but a handful of rebels.

This spate of challenges to Habsburg hegemony reflected both a powerful nostalgia for the return of an Italy ‘where no prince could impose his will on another’ and an astonishing complacency on the part of Charles and his ministers.[93] Fieschi had taken part in Fregoso’s attempt to seize Genoa in 1536 (p. 255), but five years later, at Doria’s request, Charles pardoned the count and granted him a pension. Rumours that one of Fieschi’s relatives was in Paris trying to secure French support for a coup reached Genoa in May 1545, but neither Doria nor Figueroa took them seriously; and when news arrived that Fieschi had purchased four galleys from Pier Luigi Farnese, Figueroa assured his master that ‘I believe it would be better for Your Majesty’s service if the galleys were in the hands of [Fieschi] than of another.’[94] Such insouciance almost proved fatal, because Charles’s relationship with Genoa depended on the personal bond (*condotta*) made with Andrea Doria two decades before. Ferrante Gonzaga, who became governor of Milan in 1546, warned Charles of the risk ‘that a place like Genoa, so important to the affairs of Your Majesty in both Spain and Italy, should depend on the life of a man who is eighty years old, without any plan for what should happen after his death – something that could occur any day’. He requested instructions on ‘what you would like us to do in the event of Doria’s death’. One day later Fieschi and his supporters launched their revolution.[95]

Fieschi’s failure (yet another example of Caesar’s luck) produced a more aggressive imperial policy. Gonzaga immediately led 1,000 Spanish veterans to the frontier of the Genoese republic, ready to intervene if necessary; he advocated the confiscation of all Fieschi property in the duchy of Milan, to show what happened to those who opposed the emperor; and he sent a messenger ‘to ascertain in complete secrecy [*con ogni dissimulatione*] what Your Majesty thinks’. Initially, the emperor felt helpless – ‘Until we receive details concerning the origins of this event, and what else may have happened, we have no more to say’ – but a few days later, having reflected on ‘how beneficial it would be if we could secure and control that city and its forts’ and ‘not have to worry that anyone can do what they want when Doria dies’, he instructed Figueroa to suggest how

best to secure Genoa, for example by constructing a citadel.[96] At the same time he granted Gonzaga's request to seize all Fieschi fiefs.

Charles also authorized moves against Pier Luigi Farnese, the new duke of Parma and Piacenza, because in selling galleys to Fieschi 'he had failed to act in a way that advanced our affairs'. Therefore, 'with dissimulation and secrecy', Gonzaga must 'look into persuading some gentlemen from the area' to overthrow him. Charles even specified a timeframe: Gonzaga should 'win over supporters' in both cities so that 'should a good opportunity such as a *sede vacante* suddenly arise . . . the plot would be ready for immediate execution'.[97] The idea of waiting for a *sede vacante*, the period between the death of one pope and the election of his successor when the Papal States descended into chaos, made good sense – Paul III (like Andrea Doria) was almost eighty, and his death would remove his son's principal ally – but Charles soon changed his mind. The confessions of captured Fieschi plotters revealed that the pope and his son had provided support to the emperor's enemies: apart from the suspicious sale of the galleys, Pier Luigi had apparently promised to send 1,000 soldiers to Genoa from Piacenza 'before any other troops could come and dislodge them'. According to the Spanish ambassador in Rome, 'the suspicion grows by the day that what happened in Genoa was orchestrated by the pope'. Still Charles hesitated to grant Gonzaga a free hand to implement 'the plan to recover Parma and Piacenza, which seems excellent to us', because 'it is possible that when you decide to carry out the plot, the situation in Germany or France may make it inopportune to act against His Holiness and his interests, and it would be better to wait'. Therefore 'before you carry out the plot, since delay will not matter, you must consult us' so that 'according to the overall state of our affairs, we can inform you what would be best'.[98]

Charles finally abandoned his cautious stance when news arrived that Farnese had promised to support another plot to overthrow Doria's rule over Genoa, led by one of Fieschi's brothers and by Giulio Cibo Malaspina, marquis of Massa. Gonzaga promptly arrested Massa, and on 13 June 1547 he advanced two arguments why the emperor should give immediate approval for the conspirators he had recruited in Piacenza to act: the new citadel would soon be completed, making Piacenza impregnable; and, since

the conspirators needed to act before then, if Charles did not promise aid and protection, they would call in the French. ‘If we lose this opportunity to regain the city,’ Gonzaga added, ‘another one may not arise for a long time’, and he therefore sent ‘an express courier to humbly’ – humbly! – ‘beg Your Majesty to make up your mind with the speed that the importance of the subject requires’. Two weeks later, with his principal enemies in Germany either reconciled or in custody, the emperor gave his consent – but on two conditions: ‘under no circumstances must you lay hands on the person’ of Pier Luigi, who must be exiled; and ‘under no circumstances could it be said that it was done by our orders’.[99]

These restrictions placed Gonzaga in an awkward dilemma. He feared that if Farnese remained at liberty he would seek revenge both against him and against the conspirators; and he hesitated to take responsibility for ‘the decision myself, to avoid repeating what happened in the case of Fregoso and Rincón’. He therefore devised an ingenious subterfuge to suggest that neither he nor his master had been involved: as soon as the plotters gained control of Piacenza, they would offer it to Charles provided he could take possession within twenty-four hours – a condition with which he obviously could not comply – after which they would feel free to offer it to the French. All Gonzaga needed to do was move close to Piacenza, with 400 horsemen, just before the conspirators struck. This ruse, he pointed out to the emperor, ‘would require me to act without consulting Your Majesty, and would also justify my action as the result of necessity, not choice’. Charles approved the plan and on 10 September 1547 the conspirators seized control of Piacenza, murdering Pier Luigi Farnese in the process, and immediately offered the city to the emperor.[100] The following day the cavalry that Gonzaga had secretly stationed just across the frontier arrived, and on 12 September he took possession of the city in the name of the emperor. Although his plan to capture Parma by surprise failed, the following month imperial troops entered Siena and started work on a citadel.[101]

These successes sealed the fate of Charles’s other enemies in Italy. On Gonzaga’s orders, Francesco Burlamacchi of Lucca was beheaded in Milan in February 1548, and Giulio Cibo Malaspina of Massa followed him to the scaffold in May. Gonzaga also eliminated two of Charles’s Florentine

enemies. He captured Piero Strozzi, a prominent exile, and had him murdered at the Gonzaga residence now known as Villa Simonetta; and he sent two assassins to Venice where they stabbed to death Lorenzino de' Medici, the murderer of Duke Alessandro (Charles's former son-in-law) eleven years before.[102]

Everything now seemed to be going Charles's way, but appearances were deceptive. On 2 September 1548, at Speyer, Charles signed a letter to Philip that celebrated his success 'in making changes to the councils' of several German cities 'and replacing them with others who will be more amenable, and in expelling the Protestant preachers'; but then he made a startling admission. He now needed to demobilize his army because 'in no circumstances can we sustain the number of troops currently on foot, because of the excessive cost'; but this compelled him to return to the Netherlands because without those troops 'we do not want to risk remaining here [in Germany] on account of the lack of security for our person and also to avoid something happening in our presence that cannot be remedied, causing the loss of the reputation that (thanks be to God) we have recently gained'. To economize, he proposed to remove the German troops who currently garrisoned Württemberg and replace them with 2,000 Spaniards, who would be paid by the local population. A month later Ferdinand warned his brother of two other threats. Some Lutheran states in the north still 'refuse to submit to Your Majesty' and accept the Interim; moreover, despite his elevation as Elector, Maurice of Saxony remained resentful about the imprisonment of the landgrave. 'Because he has a hot head,' Ferdinand continued, 'he should not be driven to despair or be provoked to make an alliance or confederation with neighbouring cities and rulers.'[103]

By then, Charles faced another challenge to his authority: some 10,000 kilometres away, the conquistadors of Peru had rebelled. According to one courtier, 'although the emperor had faced other rebellions and uprisings by his Spanish vassals against his royal person, he resented none – not even those in Germany – as much as the revolt of Peru', led by someone else with 'a hot head': Gonzalo Pizarro.[104]

— THIRTEEN —

THE TAMING OF AMERICA[1]

THE FIRST AMERICA

In the dedication to his triumphalist *Hispania Victrix* (*Spain victorious*) of 1553, Francisco López de Gómara informed Charles that ‘The greatest event since the creation of the world, apart from the birth and death of its creator, is the discovery of America’; and, he added, ‘no nation has spread its customs, language and arms, or travelled as far by land and sea, as the Spaniards’, especially in such a short time.[2] The truth of the second part of Gómara’s claim is easily demonstrated. When Charles first set foot on Spanish soil, Castile’s transatlantic possessions were confined to a few outposts on the isthmus of Panama and a few islands in the Caribbean, with a total area of some 250,000 square kilometres (about half the size of Spain) and a population of perhaps two million indigenous inhabitants, 5,000 Europeans and a few hundred African slaves. When the emperor abdicated forty years later, his possessions included not only the Caribbean islands but also two million square kilometres on the American mainland (four times the size of Spain), inhabited by perhaps ten million indigenous inhabitants and 50,000 Europeans, all of them incorporated into the Crown of Castile and treated (at least in theory) ‘like vassals of our Crown of Castile, because that is what they are’, as well as several thousand African slaves.[3]

Government activity also increased rapidly. In the 1540s the viceroy of Mexico issued over 500 orders (*mandamientos*) each year to officials and individuals, half of them Spaniards, and in the 1550s the annual total approached 800.[4] The church structure of the New World expanded in step: from four bishops at Charles’s accession, all reporting to the archbishop of

Seville, to two independent ecclesiastical provinces at his abdication, with three archbishops and twenty-one suffragans, all of them appointed directly by the Crown, and informal outposts of the Inquisition, reporting to the inquisitor-general in Spain.

As the Latin American historian Horst Pietschmann observed: 'The construction of a government structure in America proved perhaps the most successful venture that Charles ever undertook.' Admittedly, as Pietschmann also noted, 'The emperor's copious correspondence with members of his family and his closest councillors scarcely contain any detailed references to America'; but there were three major exceptions.[5] First came money. A few months after his proclamation as king in 1516, Charles ordered his regent in Castile to send 45,000 ducats 'from the money received from America' to Italy 'so that it can pay for our affairs of state there'; and throughout his reign he used gold and silver from America to pay for his imperial designs, especially expensive ventures such as the Tunis campaign in 1535 and the siege of Parma in 1551–2 (both of them funded in large part by treasure from Peru). A few weeks before his abdication in 1555, Charles's fiscal priorities remained undiminished: he ordered his regent in Castile to ensure that all the gold and silver available in Mexico should be embarked immediately and shipped to Spain to pay for his war against France.[6]

Charles also displayed a lifelong interest in exotic flora and fauna, perhaps stimulated by those he had seen while growing up in the Netherlands (chapter 1). Thus in 1518, from Valladolid, he thanked the officials of the House of Trade (the *Casa de la Contratación* in Seville: the body that supervised all commerce with America) for 'the dispatch of two American turkeys and a parrot that belonged to King Ferdinand, which we have enjoyed', and requested that 'you should send me the birds and similar things that may come from America which, because they are exotic, I will enjoy'. Almost forty years later, from his retirement home in Extremadura, Charles raved about 'two bedspreads lined with feathers' from America sent to keep him warm, and ordered 'dressing gowns and sheets for his bedroom made of the same material'.[7]

Charles's third abiding interest in America concerned its population. In 1518 he signed a warrant granting one of his Burgundian councillors an

eight-year monopoly ‘to ship to America 4,000 Black slaves, both male and female, from Guinea or any other part of Africa’.[8] A decade later he signed another contract, granting agents of the Welser company of Augsburg a similar monopoly to send another 4,000 African slaves to America over a period of four years in return for a payment of 20,000 ducats to the imperial treasury in lieu of import and customs duties. The contract specified that the slaves would work in gold mines – indeed it instructed the Welsers to ‘bring fifty German master miners from Germany’ – and the company vigorously prosecuted in the royal courts those who infringed their monopoly. Charles would grant many more licences to ship African slaves to America, in return for cash payments: the total number embarked rose from under 400 in the quinquennium 1511–15 to almost 4,000 in the quinquennium 1516–20, and the total shipped in the course of his reign exceeded 30,000.[9]

Ironically, this increase in the African slave trade reflected Charles’s concern for America’s indigenous inhabitants. Three months after arriving in Spain in 1517, he presided over a committee of leading advisers to consider (among other matters) an ‘instruction for the well-being of the American Indians’ written by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, who boasted extensive experience of the transatlantic colonies first as a settler and then as a missionary. The friar denounced in graphic terms the ruthless exploitation of the New World by those entrusted with its care, and called for major policy changes (including the decision to start shipping slaves from Africa, on the grounds that each one would save a native American from exploitation). He later claimed that his arguments had convinced Charles ‘to see to the ordering of certain matters that redounded to the service of Our Lord and Ourselves, and the good of America and its inhabitants’.[10]

In other matters relating to the New World, as in so much else, Charles initially relied on the advice provided by his two ‘governors’: Le Sauvage and Chièvres. Ferdinand Magellan discovered this when he arrived in Valladolid early in 1518 eager to persuade the monarch to fund an expedition to the Moluccas, the fabled Spice Islands, following a ‘route to them that the Portuguese did not use, by certain straits that he knew’. To make his point, ‘Magellan brought a painted globe that showed the whole world’ to a meeting with Le Sauvage, and ‘showed him the route he would

follow, except that he deliberately left the straits blank, so that no one else would use them'. The chancellor eventually 'spoke to the king and Baron Chièvres', but there is no indication that Charles made time to see the explorer (or his globe).[11] Nevertheless, in March 1518, Charles signed a contract that promised to provide Magellan with five vessels, together with stores and wages for their crews for two years, 'to discover the Spice Islands', adding 'I promise you and give my word as a king that I will keep and fulfil every promise made to you'. Interestingly, this promise did not satisfy Magellan, who (Charles noted) 'begged us to confirm and approve' his commitment, and the monarch obliged by invoking a formula that earlier kings of Castile had used when acting with dubious legal warrant:

> By virtue of our own initiative, reasoned consideration and absolute royal authority, which in this matter we wish to use and do use as king and sovereign lord, not recognizing any temporal superior on this earth . . . we abrogate and nullify any laws, proclamations, sanctions and any customs and rights that are or might be contrary . . .

Charles also ordered Ferdinand, 'our most dear and well-beloved son and brother', and at that time also his heir, as well as all nobles and officials of the kingdom, to honour his promises 'for ever after'.[12] Reassured, Magellan travelled to Seville – only to find that the officials of the House of Trade lacked the 16,000 ducats required to honour Charles's promises. Magellan did not leave Spain for the Moluccas until August 1519.[13]

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

No sooner had Charles signed the contract with Magellan than Governor Diego Velázquez of Cuba asked the emperor to approve an expedition equipped at his own expense to 'place beneath our yoke and obedience' Yucatán (presumed to be another large island), recently discovered by agents of Velázquez in the western Caribbean. Charles agreed, providing from his own arsenal 'twenty arquebuses of eighteen kilograms each' for the expedition, and authorizing the governor to recruit up to 200 men from Spain's Caribbean colonies to carry out the 'discovery and pacification' of

Yucatán. Even before he received these concessions, Velázquez had appointed his secretary, Hernán Cortés, to take command of a far larger force; and eleven ships carrying 600 soldiers and sailors, fourteen artillery pieces and sixteen horses sailed west from Cuba in February 1519.[14]

When Cortés reached the mainland he found a survivor of an earlier expedition, now fluent in the local language, who informed him of a rich and powerful state in the interior. After reconnoitring the Caribbean coast for some weeks in search of a suitable base, Cortés led some 600 men ashore and founded a settlement opportunistically called the 'Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz [Rich City of the True Cross]' on 'the island of Yucatán'. The fleet's officers became the new city's council and promptly chose Cortés as their chief magistrate. In June 1519 they sent Charles a long letter (approved if not dictated by Cortés) claiming that 'in our opinion, there is as much gold in this land as it is said Solomon accumulated for the temple' in Jerusalem. They also prepared and sent a 'sample' of almost 200 local objects, including gold, silver and jewels, escorted by six Totonac Indians in native dress, and a petition (*pedimiento*) to the emperor, signed by some 500 settlers, that asked him to invest Cortés 'with the offices of conquistador, captain-general and chief justice of these lands' until Yucatán 'has been entirely pacified and its indigenous inhabitants divided up among us. After he has conquered and pacified it, Your Majesty should appoint him governor for as long as you wish.' Cortés entrusted these items to agents who sailed for Spain on 26 July.[15]

Cortés was fortunate in his timing: the letter, the petition, the Totonacs and the 'sample' from Veracruz arrived in Spain soon after Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara succeeded Le Sauvage both as Grand Chancellor and as the minister with primary responsibility for New World affairs. Gattinara had placed 'a table in his apartment, with paper and writing-desk', where he ordered Las Casas to read all letters and papers that arrived for Charles about American affairs, and then condense 'the substance of each paragraph in one or two sentences, accompanied by: "To the first question that Your Majesty asked me about what it contained, I reply this and that etc."' Gattinara also presented to his master some proposals formulated by Las Casas for the peaceful colonization and evangelization of the mainland, after which 'the king ordered that Fray Bartolomé should handle the

matter'.[16] The friar's vision was the exact opposite of the demand by the settlers of Veracruz that the new lands should be 'pacified and its indigenous inhabitants divided up'.

News of the arrival of messengers and goods from 'New Spain' (the term used by the royal clerks, perhaps for the first time) reached Charles in Catalonia, and his letters about them showed both immediate interest and clear signs of Las Casas's influence: 'I was delighted, and I give thanks to God that in my lifetime [*en mi tiempo*] a rich land has been discovered where the inhabitants show signs of ability and capacity to be baptized and receive instruction in Christian doctrine and our holy Catholic faith, which is my principal desire and wish.' The emperor also ordered that the Totonacs wear specially made European garments (silk and cloth of gold for the 'two leaders', fine textiles for the rest) and demanded that they and 'all the other things' from America be sent to him 'wherever I may be'.[17] In the event, they caught up with Charles in Valladolid in March 1520, just as he was desperately seeking money to fund his voyage to England and the Netherlands (chapter 5). He immediately put them on public display as evidence of his new-found source of wealth, and the effect proved electrifying. The nuncio speculated nervously that a powerful foreign prince had sent tribute and ambassadors to secure an alliance, which would greatly increase Charles's authority in Europe. His Venetian colleague reported how 'His Majesty summoned me for an audience, and showed me himself the presents sent to him by the ruler of the lands newly discovered', including 'a great moon made of gold, six feet in circumference' together with another one made of silver; statues of 'animals wrought and decorated in gold'; and items made of feathers from 'parrots and other birds unknown to us'. The Totonacs obligingly assured the ambassador 'that their country boasted lots of gold and silver'.[18]

As they waited at Corunna in May 1520 for a favourable wind for England, Charles's ministers debated the best way to advance his interests in the New World. Delegates sent by Governor Velázquez insisted that Cortés was a rebel who must be tried, condemned and executed for insubordination, but the royal council refused to kill a goose that laid such valuable golden eggs. Instead, they recommended to Charles a compromise likely to maximize receipts from America: they prepared documents that

upheld Velázquez's authority over Cuba but made no mention of the mainland. Cortés was thus free to launch the conquest and partition of the American interior requested by the settlers of Veracruz.[19]

Charles left Corunna accompanied by many of the items sent by Cortés and he placed them on display as soon as he reached Brussels. Once again the effect proved electrifying. Albrecht Dürer confided to his *Diary* that in 'all the days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things, for I saw amongst them wonderful works of art, and I wondered at the subtle ingenuity of men in foreign lands'. Dürer (like Charles) did not realize that relatively few of the 'wonderful works of art' came from those who lived on the coastal plains around Veracruz: the rest were presents from envoys sent to Cortés by Montezuma, paramount ruler of the Triple Alliance of the city-states of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Tlacopan, often known as the Aztec Empire, which controlled the Valley of Mexico.[20]

Shortly after dispatching his letters and gifts to Spain, Cortés led some 500 Spaniards and hundreds of local inhabitants inland from Veracruz to the interior, encountering both allies and enemies along the way. Montezuma, who closely monitored the Spaniards' approach, welcomed them in November 1519 to Tenochtitlan, his capital, and quartered them in his palace complex. Perhaps he intended to arrest and later sacrifice them in a religious ritual, but Cortés struck first, arresting his host and sending out his companions to survey and appropriate the resources of the empire.[21] Despite mounting hostility from the Aztec leaders, and especially from the priests (whom the Spanish invaders prevented from carrying out their normal liturgical tasks, which included human sacrifice to placate the gods), Cortés's bold enterprise prospered until news reached him that an expeditionary force dispatched by Governor Velázquez had arrived at Veracruz with orders to arrest or kill him. Leaving a small Spanish garrison to guard Montezuma and his subjects, Cortés hastened to the coast where he won over almost all Velázquez's men; but in his absence the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan rebelled. Montezuma was killed and the Europeans and their allies fled to Tlaxcala, over 100 kilometres to the east.

Realizing the need to explain these traumatic events to Charles before others could discredit him, Cortés composed a lengthy letter to his master in

October 1520 that cast everything in a rosy light. ‘It seems to me,’ he wrote obsequiously, ‘that the best name for this country is “New Spain”’; and given its vast wealth Charles ‘could call yourself emperor of it, with no less title than of Germany, which by the grace of God Your Sacred Majesty already rules’.[22] Despite the letter’s imperial tone, Cortés could not disguise the fact that New Spain had now been lost. In normal times, he would have paid for such a catastrophic failure with his goods and perhaps also his life, but the Comuneros saved him.

As long as he remained in Spain, Gattinara took a keen personal interest in America: the records of the central government suggest that between his appointment in October 1518 and his departure from Corunna in May 1520, the chancellor read and approved every official communication sent to the New World. By contrast, the registers of orders issued by the royal council on American affairs contain no entries at all between August 1520 and April 1521 – a unique gap in the record – and when the council resumed its work, some warrants to its officials overseas complained that it had received no letters for ‘many days’. For this it blamed the Comuneros: ‘it is possible that the letters have been intercepted by the traitors who caused the cities here to rebel’. Not until September 1521 did the council inform its officials that ‘it has pleased Our Lord that everything here is in peace and concord’, and only then did it resume its customary vigilance over American affairs.[23]

During the hiatus in metropolitan control caused by the Comuneros, Cortés allied with anti-Aztec elements in the Valley of Mexico, notably Tlaxcala, and with their assistance he blockaded Tenochtitlan until August 1521, when the last native defenders surrendered amid the rubble of their capital. Cortés promptly rewarded the victors, who now numbered perhaps 2,000 Europeans, with *encomiendas*: the right to exact labour services and tribute from a specified group of indigenous inhabitants – precisely the outcome that Las Casas had hoped to forestall.[24] Cortés also sent a further selection of treasures to the emperor to back up his claims in another long letter. He dispatched not only ‘pearls, jewels and other precious goods worth 100,000 ducats’, but also one-fifth of all precious metals and stones discovered, as well as all ‘regal’ items (sceptres, any ornament decorated with eagles, and more giant gold and silver religious wheels). Cortés also

boasted of the relative proximity to Mexico of the Pacific, where ‘many islands rich in gold, pearls, jewels and spices are sure to be found’ – provided (by implication) that he remained in charge.[25]

At much the same time, the survivors of Magellan’s expedition returned to Spain, announcing that ‘we have circumnavigated the world, sailing out to the west and returning from the east’, and bringing with them ‘samples of all the spices’ and declarations of ‘peace and friendship from all the kings and lords of all the islands’ that produced spices. Charles reported excitedly to his aunt Margaret that the expedition ‘went where neither Portugal nor any other nation has been . . . and I have decided to send to the Netherlands the spices that the said ship brought’, to advertise to all Europe his new-found ability to procure them.[26]

TAMING NEW SPAIN

These spectacular developments led the emperor and his chancellor to take a closer look at the new ‘gold-bearing world’ across the Atlantic. Shortly after his return to Spain in 1522, Charles created a special committee, chaired by Gattinara, to consider once more the rival claims of Cortés and Velázquez. Their verdict (in the phrase of Luigi Avonto, an eminent expert on Gattinara) ‘was based more on reason of state than on strict justice’: the committee exonerated Cortés of the charge of rebellion, recommended that he be named ‘governor and captain-general of New Spain’, and urged that he be sent arms, horses and other provisions to consolidate and expand Spanish rule. The Crown would retain direct control only of the royal fisc, appointing a treasurer, inspector, accountant and other officials to maximize assets in New Spain.[27]

One year later, Gattinara submitted a wide-ranging memorandum to Charles on the problems that faced him, containing the recommendations of each member of a committee of trusted ministers. The first item concerned ‘The Fear of God’. Although Gattinara recognized that the emperor ‘is inclined by nature to fear and honour God’, he proceeded to ‘draw to your attention certain matters that, if you deal with them, may please God and make Him even more inclined to favour your cause’. One was the need to ‘send enough qualified people to the New World that God has revealed to you’ so that ‘the Christian faith may be venerated and exalted there without

oppressing and enslaving' the indigenous population. The committee unanimously endorsed this, and recommended the creation of a permanent council of the Indies, staffed by 'persons who boast both knowledge and experience, to meet at least twice a week'. It also accepted Gattinara's recommendation that Charles's confessor should preside over it. In August 1524 the emperor appointed García de Loaysa y Mendoza president of the *Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias* to handle all official business concerning the New World, with Francisco de Los Cobos as secretary and the chancellor as a member.[28]

A few months later, in Mexico, Cortés penned another self-serving report to his master, dispatched with a further sample of the riches that were now (thanks to his efforts) at the emperor's disposal. The Venetian ambassador marvelled at 'a bird from those lands, the most beautiful thing in the world' as well as 'many things made with extremely beautiful feathers', concluding: 'Every day we see something new.' Charles and his ministers, who were more interested in gold than in parrots, particularly welcomed the 120,000 gold pesos that Cortés sent, because (as Gattinara informed an English embassy, with studied understatement) they 'shall help somewhat towardis his chargis' in fighting the French in Italy.[29]

The new council of the Indies nevertheless objected to the conduct of Cortés. Charles had given strict orders that no indigenous inhabitants should be forced to work for the conquistadors of New Spain: instead they 'must be allowed to live in liberty', paying only the same 'tribute and services that they rendered to Montezuma'; yet Cortés appeared to have disobeyed. Charles wrote reproachfully that 'I have received, in person and by letter, many statements against you and your administration'. He recognized that 'some of what people write and say will stem from jealousy and envy that you are serving us, but to comply with my obligation to uphold justice according to the laws and customs of that land', and also 'for the discharge of our royal conscience', he needed to take drastic action.[30]

Initially, Gattinara wanted Charles to announce that he 'planned to create and send a powerful fleet to reduce the lands discovered by Cortés to true obedience . . . so that he could profit from all the riches that they contain', because he believed that the announcement alone, 'without actually sending a fleet', would make Cortés toe the line. The chancellor

then thought of something more permanent – the transfer to the New World of an institution used by the Crown to control its officials in Spain: a government inspector (*juez de residencia*) who would report on 'how our officials in New Spain have used and exercised their offices'. In particular, after consulting with Cortés 'and with our officials, and with anyone else you choose, especially the friars', the inspector would determine 'the best method to convert the indigenous population of America to our Holy Catholic Faith, which is our principal desire and intention, and to ensure that they are well and justly treated' – instructions once again clearly derived from the views of Las Casas.[31] When news arrived that the inspector had died shortly after he arrived, followed by his designated successor, the council tried yet another approach. In a further lengthy report to Charles, sent from Mexico in 1526, Cortés had expressed the desire to return to Spain and explain his conduct; the following year Loaysa sent a letter 'requesting and advising him to come to Spain so that he could meet and get to know His Majesty'.[32]

Cortés found the offer irresistible. In May 1528 he arrived in Spain 'to address what had been said about him' by his critics, accompanied by an entourage that included a son and nephew of Montezuma and 'other prominent men from Mexico, Tlaxcala and other cities' as well as 'several of the principal conquistadors' and about forty indigenous people, including twelve of the athletes and jugglers who had entertained Montezuma. 'In short,' noted Gómara, Cortés 'came like a great lord.'[33] By chance, the German artist Christoph Weiditz arrived in Spain at the same time and his watercolours of the multicultural court reflected the tremendous impression made by Cortés and his entourage. Weiditz painted the conqueror, together with the caption 'This is the man who won almost all America for Emperor Charles V', as well as several of the Mexica athletes and jugglers who, he wrote, 'entertained His Imperial Majesty'.[34]

Cortés's tactics worked well. A royal letter in April 1529 informed him that Loaysa and Los Cobos 'have briefed me on what you request', and that he had instructed the council to draw up the necessary paperwork. The following month, Charles signed warrants that created Cortés marquis of the Valle de Oaxaca and granted him 'up to 23,000 vassals with their lands', some 500 kilometres south of Mexico City. The emperor insisted that this

was an ‘irrevocable grant for now and for ever’ to reward the marquis’s services to the Crown since leaving Cuba ten years earlier (a retrospective pardon for his previous insubordination), and he invoked the same formula as he had done with Magellan to guarantee the grant: he ordered Prince Philip (now his heir) and all his vassals to respect the donation inviolably, ‘notwithstanding any laws that may contradict it’, because the emperor abrogated them ‘by virtue of our own initiative, reasoned consideration, and absolute royal authority’.[35] In addition, Charles took the first steps towards creating communities fully protected by law for his indigenous subjects. At the request of the new marquis, and of the delegates from Tlaxcala who accompanied him, he ordered his officials ‘to investigate the role played by the inhabitants of Tlaxcala in the conquest of Mexico, and see if it would be right to protect them from being included in any encomienda, as they request, as a reward for their assistance’.[36]

TYING UP LOOSE ENDS

Issuing orders for America was easy; securing their execution was hard. In November 1527 the emperor decided to transfer to the New World another institution from Spain: he created an *Audiencia* in Mexico City, an appeals court with a president and five judges answering directly to the council of the Indies. Unfortunately for the plan, some judges took a year to reach Mexico, two died soon after they got there; and choosing a president took even longer. A special committee chaired by Cardinal Tavera, with members from the councils of Castile and Finance as well as the Indies, recommended the appointment of ‘a sensible and prudent gentleman’, but their first nominee claimed he was too ill to cross the Atlantic, and Tavera reported bitterly that although two others ‘said that they would serve Your Majesty, they asked for such outrageous rewards that it seems they were not as willing to serve Your Majesty as they seemed at first. So we have begun to think of other people.’[37]

The emperor also had limited success in exploiting the lands beyond America to which he now laid claim. Soon after the return of Magellan’s men in 1522, Charles signed a contract with a group of armourers to equip a second fleet to return to the Spice Islands because of ‘the desire we have always had, and still have, to enlarge these kingdoms of Spain and enrich

their inhabitants, our vassals' – but also, he confided to his aunt Margaret, 'because of the benefit that might arise for me'. He agreed to pay for a new House of Spice in Corunna, together with a new pier and three forts to defend the harbour.[38]

The emperor delayed the departure of this expedition because of protests from the Portuguese, who claimed that the Moluccas belonged to them according to the treaty of Tordesillas, which had created a notional demarcation line to divide the global claims of the two Iberian powers. It proved easy to establish the meridian – Africa, Asia and Brazil fell to Portugal, and the rest of America fell to Spain – but the ante-meridian proved almost impossible to locate, because no one knew the latitude of the lands that lay between Asia and America. Magellan had taken with him an impressive array of nautical instruments to establish the demarcation line, but he failed; so in 1524, Charles sent a team of diplomats, pilots and sailors (including some survivors of the circumnavigation) to debate the rival claims at a conference with their Portuguese counterparts. When the conference broke up after six weeks without reaching a resolution, the emperor ordered the fleet in Corunna to retrace Magellan's route to the Spice Islands, and he approved Cortés's request to send a flotilla down the Pacific seaboard of America to see whether 'there is some strait on that coast' that led to the Spice Islands.[39]

In March 1526, just before Charles married Isabella of Portugal, another special committee, this time including Gattinara and Loaysa, discussed how to reconcile the rival claims of the Iberian monarchs. Perhaps encouraged by the defeat and capture of Francis I, Charles refused to abandon his claims to 'our islands in the Moluccas' and instead repeated his order for Cortés to send a fleet from Mexico to locate and reinforce his subjects already there.[40] The resumption of war with France made Charles willing to sell his claim to the Moluccas to Portugal; but sensing his advantage, King John dragged out the negotiations in the hope of getting more for his money. 'I am thinking of breaking off the negotiations completely,' Charles fumed in a confidential letter to one of his Burgundian advisers in December 1528, 'and believe me, although we are brothers-in-law, [King John] will get no grain, anchors, weapons or any other commodity from my realms that he may need.' The emperor hoped that his threat of rupture

would rekindle the talks, and thus produce instant cash, ‘but if I could find any other source of funds, I would reject whatever offer he chooses to make’. He continued, in a rare example of unrestrained imperial wrath:

> [The deadlock] has hurt me more than anything else that could happen to me, because I based all my plans on this. Now that I see it slip away I believe the whole edifice has collapsed, with no hope of reconstructing it, and I despair of my voyage [to Italy]. You may wonder whether I feel positive and patient about this, but I can assure you that you will not find those qualities in me. I don’t think I have ever felt so angry.[41]

Eventually, in April 1529, the need to fund his voyage to Italy and to assist Ferdinand in Hungary forced the emperor to give in: he surrendered his claim to the Moluccas, and agreed that any of his subjects subsequently found in the area would be ‘chastised and punished as pirates and violators of the peace’. In return, Portugal agreed to pay Charles 250,000 gold ducats immediately and in cash, with 100,000 more to follow. The emperor now had enough money to fund his voyage, but the House of Spice closed its doors for ever. He had sacrificed the interests of Spain for dynastic advantage.[42]

New Spain presented the emperor with problems of a different sort. He complained that he had received many different opinions about what to do next, and because of that, and ‘because those provinces are so far away, and their affairs so different from those of these kingdoms’, he felt confused. Eventually, his desire to ‘succeed in doing the right thing’ for them, and for the ‘discharge of our conscience’, led him to take steps to create an enduring balance of power in New Spain. At the request of their representatives at his court, in March 1535 ‘we promise and give our royal word that now and for ever the city of Tlaxcala and its territory will never be alienated by us or by our heirs’. Instead the city would be permanently ‘incorporated’ into ‘the royal Crown of Castile’. Charles even paid a court painter three ducats to create a coat of arms for the city.[43] The following month he appointed Antonio de Mendoza not only viceroy and governor of New Spain, but also president of the Audiencia.

Charles tasked his new viceroy with three major missions. Mendoza must ensure proper Christian instruction for the entire indigenous population because ‘we are certain that this is the best way to make them love and fear us’ and to make them ‘live in peace and in continual and complete obedience’. At the same time, revenues must increase because ‘at present, as everybody knows, we need great resources for the defence of our holy faith’ in Europe. To this end, Mendoza must impose the same taxes in New Spain as those paid in Castile (notably the *alcabala*, a sales tax) and challenge all exemptions, especially those granted to the first generation of Spanish settlers (known in the documents as the *primeros conquistadores*: the first conquerors) and their families. Finally, the viceroy must keep Cortés in check, despite the broad powers he had received from the emperor’s own hand. To that end, Charles authorized Mendoza ‘to appoint someone other than the marquis [del Valle] to carry out orders, when occasions arise in which this seems desirable to you’.[44]

These and other measures so infuriated Cortés that in 1540 he returned to Spain ‘to kiss Your Majesty’s hands’ and to ‘plead for redress for the notorious provocations and injustices that I have received from Don Antonio de Mendoza’. Although he tried to gain a sympathetic hearing by participating with his sons in the ill-fated attack on Algiers, losing his jewels in the process, Cortés failed. In 1544, still in Spain, he filled three foolscap pages with his pent-up grievances:

> Sacred, Catholic, Caesarean Majesty: I thought that the labours of my youth would bring me rest in my old age, having spent forty years not sleeping, eating badly, or if not badly not well either, always with weapons ready, placing myself in danger, squandering my life and property – all in the service of God . . . while spreading the name and patrimony of my king.

Nevertheless, Cortés asserted, ‘defending myself against Your Majesty’s attorneys is harder than winning the land of the enemy’. He wrote in vain: a secretary intercepted the letter and scribbled on the back ‘No need to reply’. There is no evidence that Charles ever saw it.[45] Cortés never left Spain again – but at least he died peacefully in his bed, unlike the leaders who acquired a second American empire for Charles.

After securing Mexico, groups of Spaniards fanned out to find new riches elsewhere on the American continent. Two of them, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, reconnoitred the coast of what is now Ecuador, on the edge of the Inca state, an empire that rivalled that of the Aztecs in size and resources; and when the governor of Panama refused them permission for a further expedition in greater strength, Pizarro returned to Spain to procure Charles's support. In May 1529 the emperor accepted the recommendation of his council of the Indies that Peru 'should be settled and that Captain Pizarro should be entrusted with populating and governing it for the rest of his life', but he insisted that the process must be peaceful:

> Because according to the available information about the area, its inhabitants possess the intelligence and capacity to understand our Holy Catholic Faith, so there is no need to conquer and subjugate them by force of arms. Instead they should be treated with love and generosity. We therefore give permission for [Pizarro] to take 250 men with him.

In December 1530, together with Almagro and other restless adventurers, Pizarro set sail from Panama for Peru.[46]

Like Cortés a decade before, Pizarro was fortunate in his timing. Although the Inca state covered almost a million square kilometres, unified by a sophisticated bureaucracy and a superb network of roads and bridges, it lacked a clear-cut succession policy: on the death of each ruler, his male relatives conducted a lethal struggle until one of them had subdued or killed all the others. Upon the death of the Supreme Inca in 1527 a bitter succession war broke out and lasted for five years until supporters of his son Atahualpa defeated and captured his rivals. In November 1532, Atahualpa marched in triumph at the head of 40,000 warriors towards the imperial capital, Cuzco, and had almost reached Cajamarca, where he encountered Pizarro, accompanied by 167 Europeans (one-third of them cavalry) and a few field guns, travelling to the same destination. Reassured by his huge numerical advantage, Atahualpa foolishly accepted an invitation to enter the city square where Pizarro had concealed artillery and

soldiers in the surrounding buildings. Once the Supreme Inca had entered, Pizarro gave ‘a signal to the gunner that he should fire his shots into the midst’ of the packed square, and immediately afterwards his cavalry rode in to exploit the confusion. According to one of the victors:

> None of them fought back against the Spaniards because of the shock they felt at seeing [Pizarro] among them, and the unexpected firing of the artillery and the horses rushing upon them – things that they had never seen before; so in great confusion they tried to run for their lives rather than stay and fight.

Although the battle lasted scarcely half an hour, when it ended ‘2,000 native Americans lay dead in the square, not counting the wounded’. Each of the Europeans at Cajamarca must have killed more than ten adversaries in less than an hour.[47]

Atahualpa was one of the few survivors. Although after the massacre his captors stripped him of his golden robes and jewellery, and instead dressed him in ‘ordinary native costume’, Pizarro respected his role as Supreme Inca and (much as Cortés had done with Montezuma) allowed him to issue orders (including commands to execute most other members of the imperial family) and to collect all available precious metals to pay for his ransom, encouraging him to believe that his captors would then set him free to rule the empire he had won. Between March and July 1533 more than six tons of gold and twelve tons of silver arrived in Cajamarca and was melted down and forged into bars; but as soon as the operation was complete, Pizarro had Atahualpa summarily executed by garrotte.

Again like Cortés before him, Pizarro tried to secure Charles’s approval of his initiative by sending a generous share of the loot back to Spain, earmarked for imperial ventures: intricate artefacts ‘never previously seen in America, nor (I think) in the possession of any Christian prince’ that would surely assist ‘His Imperial Majesty in the war against the Turks, enemies of our Holy Faith’.[48] The treasures from Peru attracted as much attention when they went on display in 1534 as the treasures sent by Cortés from Mexico. Two decades later, the chronicler Pedro Cieza de León still recalled the excitement he felt at seeing ‘those fabulous items displayed in Seville from the treasure that Atahualpa promised to give to the Spaniards

in Cajamarca'. Charles felt less enthusiasm: 'I would love to see it all,' he told his officials in Seville, 'but given the time it would take to bring it here, I think it would be enough to send me some of the most unusual gold and silver work. You can coin all the rest.' In January 1535, given 'our need for money' to prepare his attack on Tunis, the emperor ordered that the remaining gold and silver be distributed among several royal mints so that it would all be available within two months as coins to pay his bills.[49]

Charles knew how to show his gratitude. Reversing his previous policy, 'on the advice of our council, and to show our desire to reward the conquistadors and settlers of that region, especially those who want to remain there', he informed Pizarro that 'we agree that there will be permanent allocations of the indigenous inhabitants' throughout Peru. Although the emperor scolded Pizarro for his conduct at Cajamarca – 'the death of Atahualpa displeased me, because he was a sovereign' – he added 'since it seemed to you necessary, we approve it for now'; and in 1537 he granted the perpetrator '20,000 vassals there, the title of marquis', and the right to name a successor 'from your own family, or whoever else you please'.[50]

Despite these massive rewards, Pizarro's position in Peru had become perilous. He distributed almost all of Atahualpa's ransom among those who had taken part in his capture – starting with himself (over 40,000 pesos of gold and silver) and his brothers (over 60,000 pesos) – whereas Almagro and his men, who had arrived after the Supreme Inca's capture, received only 20,000 pesos between them. This exacerbated the existing divisions among the conquistadors and led to a civil war that cost the lives of thousands, including both leaders. In 1538, Pizarro's brother defeated Almagro and executed him, but three years later a group of Almagro's followers cornered the governor, and although Pizarro managed to kill two of his assailants, his sword became stuck in a third, which allowed Almagro's son to stab him in the throat. After the governor fell, the rest inflicted on him over twenty wounds – an ostentatious killing typical of the feuds of early modern Europe and now transferred (like so much else) to the overseas colonies.[51]

These gruesome events soon became known in Europe because several conquistadors published best-selling accounts that described in detail the brutal nature of the conquest of Peru. The foremost professor of theology at the university of Salamanca, the Dominican Fray Francisco de Vitoria, lamented to a colleague that although few things that he read still shocked him, ‘what is happening in Peru freezes the blood in my veins’:

> I cannot see the justice of that war. I have gathered from those who were in the recent battle with Atahualpa that neither he nor his followers injured the Christians in any way, nor committed any act that required a declaration of war . . . And I fear that the subsequent conquests over there have been even worse.[52]

Vitoria’s fears were well founded. Some years later Viceroy Mendoza provided chilling detail on what hostilities in America involved. He boasted that he executed local inhabitants who opposed him in one of three ways: ‘firing at them with artillery until they were cut to pieces; setting the dogs on them; or giving them to African slaves to be killed’. He justified such brutality not only because ‘we need to set the dogs on them, or shoot at them, both to punish those who are most guilty and to make the rest more fearful’, but also because he was following European precedent. As a young man he had taken part in the reconquest of Granada, during which (he reminded Charles) ‘we used to beat and stone many Muslims who had reneged on our Holy Faith, and in such cases we did not involve the courts’. Any indigenous inhabitants who escaped such brutality, Mendoza added, ‘were treated as slaves and divided up’ among the Spanish settlers.[53]

Appalled by such reports, Pope Paul III issued a Bull in 1537 proclaiming that native Americans were not ‘dumb brutes created for our service’ but full members of the human race who ‘should freely and legitimately enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property. They should not be in any way enslaved. Should the contrary happen it shall be null and of no effect.’ He also ordered Cardinal Tavera to excommunicate any transgressors. The following year, when the Cortes of Castile debated Charles’s demand for an excise tax, the senior nobleman present drew an ominous parallel between the exorbitant cost of imperial policies in Europe and America:

> I hold it a great disservice to His Majesty, who is still young enough to enjoy these kingdoms for many years, to place them under such a fiscal burden that in a few years its inhabitants will be ruined, just like the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. The resources of these kingdoms will be exhausted after a few years, if we act with such speed, just like the gold found in the early discoveries overseas.

Early in 1539, Vitoria delivered a series of public lectures in Salamanca that excoriated the behaviour of the conquistadors towards the indigenous inhabitants. It did not matter, he argued, whether or not the Spaniards had merely obeyed orders from the Crown: they had transgressed both natural and divine law. The lectures also questioned the basis for Spanish rule over America.[54]

Charles reacted vigorously to these criticisms. He prohibited the publication of the Bull in Spain and asked the pope to revoke it; and in November 1539, just before setting off for his overland journey through France, he ordered the prior of the Dominican convent in Salamanca where Vitoria and several of his colleagues resided to 'summon before you immediately' any academic who had discussed 'our rights to the Indies in sermons or in classrooms, publicly or secretly, and get them to declare under oath when, and in whose presence, they did so'. The prior must then deliver all declarations to a special commissar, who would bring them to court for examination. Furthermore, 'except with our express permission, neither now nor ever shall there be any sermon or discussion on the matter, nor should any writing on the subject be printed. I shall view anything to the contrary as a grave disservice to me.'[55]

The spectacular failure of his Algiers campaign in 1541 seems to have changed the emperor's mind, leading him to suspect that failure to protect his American subjects had cost him divine favour. Soon after he returned to Spain he initiated a thorough review of the policies executed in his name overseas.[56] The process began in April 1542 when the Cortes of Castile included among its petitions for redress: 'We beg Your Majesty to remedy the cruelties committed in America against the indigenous inhabitants, because God will be well served and America will be preserved – instead of being depopulated as happens now.' Charles responded by creating a

special committee of thirteen experts, chaired by Loaysa and including Pedro de Soto (his past and present confessors) as well as ‘prelates, gentlemen, friars and some of our councillors’ (Los Cobos and Zúñiga among them). In the emperor’s presence they heard testimony from expert witnesses, including theologians like Vitoria and missionaries newly returned from America like Las Casas, who shared chilling evidence of Spanish brutality that a decade later would form the core of his *Very brief account of the destruction of America*. The friar claimed that Juan Martínez de Silíceo, Philip’s preceptor, asked for a copy of his evidence and presented it to the prince. The committee then prepared *New laws and ordinances for the government of America, and for the better treatment and preservation of its indigenous inhabitants*. Convinced and chastened by what he had heard at the committee meetings, in November 1542, Charles affixed his signature.[57]

The document began, unusually, with an imperial apology:

> For many years I have been willing and eager to study the affairs of America thoroughly, given their great importance both for the service of God Our Lord and the increase of our Holy Catholic faith, and for the protection and sound government of those who live over there . . . [But] although I have tried to find time for this, it has not proved possible because of the many and continuing items of business that have cropped up, which I have not been able to neglect, and also because of my unavoidable absences from this kingdom.

Now, having convened the special committee on American affairs ‘to discuss and deal with the most important matters that I have learned now require attention, and having heard debates about them on several occasions in my presence, and having secured the opinion of everyone, I have resolved to order the following things to be done . . .’ Some of the forty clauses that followed aimed to ‘preserve and augment the indigenous population, to educate them in the affairs of our Catholic faith, and to treat them as free people and our vassals, which they are’; others insisted that the tribute and labour services required of indigenous inhabitants must be ‘moderated so that they are bearable’; others still reformed the procedures

of the council of the Indies and created a viceroy and a royal Audiencia in Peru, as well as another Audiencia in Guatemala.[58]

Three other clauses provoked outrage among the Spanish settlers throughout America. One ordained that all indigenous inhabitants except those enslaved for an act of war or rebellion (and all enslaved Indian women and children) must be freed forthwith, and that in future no one could be enslaved 'even if involved in a rebellion'. Another forbade the grant of any new encomienda; mandated that 'when each encomendero dies, those who labour for him will be incorporated in Crown estates'; and ordered royal officials and ecclesiastical institutions holding encomiendas to surrender them at once. The third controversial clause decreed that 'those who played a leading role in the recent wars' between the followers of Almagro and Pizarro in Peru, 'will forfeit the labour of any indigenous inhabitants, who will be incorporated in Crown estates'. These clauses proved divisive not least because they contradicted a host of earlier royal directives. Several warrants in the 1530s had granted groups of conquerors 'permanent allocations of the indigenous inhabitants', so that on the death of each encomendero his legitimate children or his widow would inherit. Likewise, following Charles's express order in 1534, many colonists had enslaved indigenous inhabitants accused of resistance, captured in war, or judged guilty by a colonial court of an offence normally punishable by death, but commuted to penal servitude – 'all of which,' the Audiencia of Mexico tartly reminded Charles, 'Your Majesty told us enjoyed your approval'.[59]

To many Spanish settlers the New Laws seemed like a declaration of war, and their hostile reaction was swift and overwhelming. A letter sent to the council of the Indies in October 1543 by Jerónimo López, a magistrate in Mexico City and one of the 'first conquerors', was perhaps the most eloquent. After recognizing that 'some of Your Majesty's ordinances are very just and will help to protect and preserve this country as you desire', López protested that reneging on the promise that encomiendas could be inherited would mean that 'this land cannot endure, but will be lost and abandoned to its indigenous population'; while the order that 'no one should be enslaved, even if they rise up and rebel, is very dangerous because Your Majesty is giving them courage to rise up tomorrow because

they can see that you have eliminated the punishment'. The emperor should remember that his new American possessions were 'so remote and separated from the presence and power of Your Majesty, where for every Spaniard there are at least a thousand natives', so that in case of trouble 'Your Majesty cannot send us help from Seville or Granada, because we would not have time to ask for it nor Your Majesty time to send it. Instead you must keep your reserves here.' Consequently, López continued:

> If this land were like the Netherlands, Naples, Navarre or Granada, which Your Majesty can visit in person . . . it would be good for you to come to see how to improve matters, but we are so far away here that Your Majesty can neither see for yourself nor govern from there, because by the time you decide on a remedy for something the situation will have changed.

Herein lay a central problem of the first transatlantic empire: the obstacles posed by distance forced Charles to rely on the advice of others, but 'everyone gives you their opinion according to their point of view and the little they have seen and heard of this land'. López reserved special criticism for the political advice given to the emperor by friars, because 'few of them have experience of governing towns and villages, or even their own households' and therefore 'they speak as men who do not know how much labour and bloodshed or how many deaths are needed to keep such a vast enterprise working'. Instead 'they advise Your Majesty to take steps that will lose everything, and us with it'. The emperor should take advice only from those who knew whereof they spoke, and especially from conquistadors like López who 'had seen it all with my own eyes'.[60]

Like Cortés before him, López was wasting his time. Loaysa, president of the council of the Indies (which received the letter), was a Dominican friar like Las Casas, Soto and Vitoria: he was not likely to abandon the policies that he had just persuaded the emperor to adopt – but just to be sure, López's letter was endorsed: 'Seen: no reply needed.' Instead the council appointed one of its own members, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, a priest, as inspector-general of Mexico and ordered him to go and put the New Laws into effect there at once; and it appointed Blasco Nuñez Vela, a nobleman with extensive military and naval experience, as the first viceroy

of Peru and issued him with parallel orders. The emperor's inner circle had scored a resounding victory – one that almost terminated Spanish rule in America.

THE REBELLION OF PERU

In Mexico and central America, Viceroy Mendoza immediately saw the dangers inherent in the New Laws and suspended promulgation until the emperor had heard and considered objections to them. In the words of a settler in Guatemala in 1545: 'The ordinances and New Laws from Spain are neither observed nor obeyed.'[61] Nuñez Vela was less prudent: immediately after his arrival in Peru in May 1544 he started to confiscate encomiendas from royal officials, ecclesiastics and those involved in the recent civil wars, as required by the ordinances. Naturally, his actions alienated the Spanish colonists, who now numbered at least 5,000, and many of them appealed for protection to Gonzalo Pizarro, brother and universal heir of the late Francisco and a charismatic leader in his own right.

Gonzalo began by composing a formal protest to the emperor in the name of the cities and encomenderos of Peru, asserting that specific clauses of the New Laws threatened the survival of Spanish rule, and he asked (like the viceroy of Mexico) that implementation be suspended until the emperor had heard the objections of those affected.[62] Unlike Mendoza, Nuñez Vela paid no heed to the colonists' complaints and instead behaved despotically, stabbing to death a senior treasury official who opposed him. The Audiencia of Lima therefore declared the viceroy deposed, imprisoned him and recognized Gonzalo as governor of Peru.

Charles was in the Netherlands when news of these alarming events arrived, and so Prince Philip's regency council was the first to debate how best to react. The duke of Alba advocated the immediate dispatch of an army to restore order because 'such great disrespect, boldness and violence as this could not be remedied or punished except by rigour and force'; but his colleagues pointed out that 5,000 kilometres separated Spain from the Caribbean, so that most troops would die on the transatlantic journey, and that Pizarro's fleet controlled the Pacific, through which the royal troops would have to sail.[63]

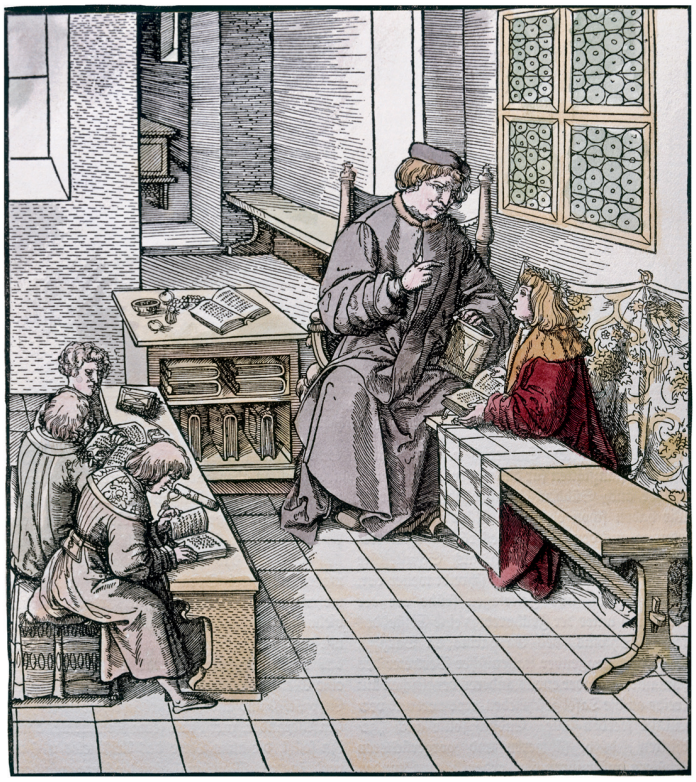
The situation in Peru continued to deteriorate. In 1545, Viceroy Nuñez Vela managed to escape from prison and regroup his forces, but Pizarro hunted him down and then, at the head of 800 men (some of them former Comuneros), defeated him and his few royalist supporters in battle, and killed him. The entire viceroyalty was now in open rebellion. According to one courtier, the 'boldness and rashness' of the rebels offended the emperor far more than the Comuneros, 'because when they rebelled in Spain, the authority and reputation of the emperor was less on account of his youth and lack of administrative experience'. Charles particularly resented the news that Gonzalo Pizarro, a commoner, planned to declare himself 'king of Peru'. 'Solving the problem of Peru,' Los Cobos opined in August 1545, 'has become the greatest challenge we have faced for a long time.'[64]

By then a deluge of letters, memoranda and personal testimony railing against the New Laws had arrived from Mexico: all urged the emperor to preserve hereditable encomiendas on the grounds that, although not perfect, the institution lay at the foundation of all trade, industry and evangelization. Even the Dominicans of New Spain claimed that if deprived of the Indians whose labour supported their missionary efforts, they would have to leave. Charles's councillors therefore recommended major concessions to avoid (in the words of Juan de Zúñiga) having to conquer America all over again – this time from its Spanish colonists. Prince Philip summarized the debate for the benefit of his father: 'All agreed that human efforts and forces will not suffice to pacify and recover Peru unless we also authorize negotiations by some person of great prudence, wisdom and experience.' In a separate message, Los Cobos suggested to the emperor that the ideal negotiator would be Pedro de La Gasca.[65]

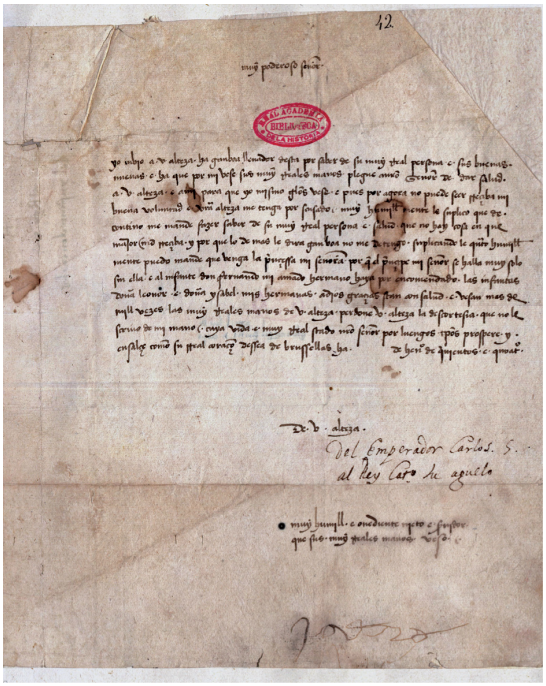
Born into a family of modest means, La Gasca won a scholarship to read law and theology at both Alcalá and Salamanca universities, where he studied under Vitoria and Silíceo. Later he became a priest and in 1541 Tavera, inquisitor-general as well as president of the royal council, appointed him an inquisitor. Confident of support from the cardinal as well as from Los Cobos, La Gasca immediately accepted his appointment but refused to leave for Peru unless Charles granted him an unprecedented authority: the right to pardon all types of offence, civil as well as criminal, public and private; the power to wage war and make peace; and the

authority to raid the royal treasury for funds to raise and support an army if necessary. This was outrageous, and for some time ‘the council discussed and disagreed about La Gasca’s demands’; but facing the unprecedented challenge of a major transatlantic rebellion they eventually advised Charles to accept.[66]

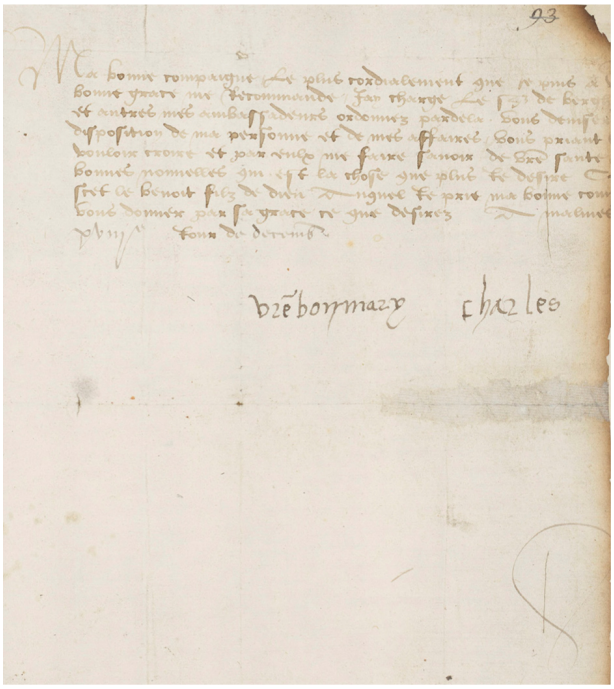
For a while the emperor hesitated, aware that ‘the affairs of America are so weighty and so important that we need to examine and consider the measures that must be taken’; but in the autumn of 1545 he authorized some important concessions to the settlers. Although he refused to sanction the enslavement of Indians, he revoked ‘the law that required indigenous inhabitants to become direct vassals of the Crown when each encomendero died’: henceforth the widows and children of the first conquerors could inherit their encomiendas. ‘Enforcement of the other ordinances that had caused rebellion is also suspended’, and ‘we order that everything should revert to its previous state’.[67] In addition, Charles recalled Nuñez Vela (not yet aware that he was dead), and authorized the dispatch of La Gasca with the power to suspend the viceroy and the judges of the Audiencia of Lima and send them back to Spain ‘if they were at fault in anything’, as well as ‘to make war on any clerics’ who defied him. La Gasca received all the powers he had demanded, as well as a copy of the king’s own seal to affix to ‘forty blank warrants that you can issue to individuals who have shown themselves loyal to His Majesty’. Finally, ‘in view of the long journey, and the risks’, Charles authorized La Gasca to ‘name the person you consider best qualified’ to succeed him; and the emperor instructed officials elsewhere in America ‘to provide you with everything you may request, and to do everything you may ask’.[68]



1. *Young Habsburgs study at school c. 1510.* Although we have no picture of Charles and his siblings at school, the autobiographical account dictated by their grandfather Maximilian of his own schooling contains a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, prepared under the emperor's supervision, which may well reflect the schoolroom he observed when visiting his grandchildren in Mechelen.



2. *Charles's first signature, 1504.* In January 1504, not quite four years old, the prince allegedly dictated this letter begging his grandfather Ferdinand to allow his mother Joanna ('la princesa') to return to the Netherlands, but no child of his age could have composed such a complex document (let alone in a foreign language). He could not even sign it himself without help: the initial 'C' of 'Carlos' (at the bottom of the page) is reversed and he wrote the remaining five letters without lifting his quill from the page, probably copying a 'model' prepared by his tutor.



3. *Charles's first letter in French, 1508.* Although some erudite scholars have assigned the date 1513 to this letter, both the immature hand and the content show that Charles signed this love letter to Princess Mary Tudor 'Your good husband, Charles' five years earlier.

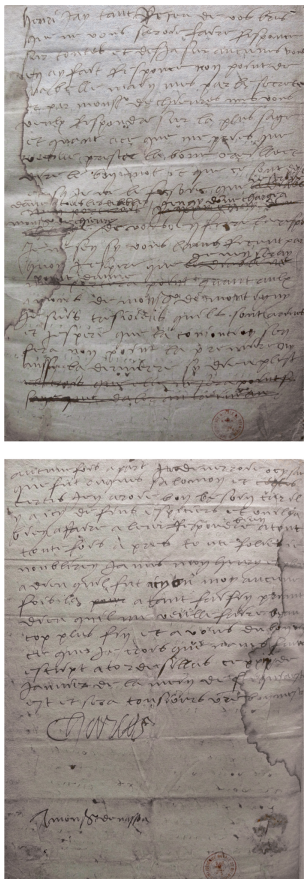
4. *Martial sports for boys, c. 1514.* Maximilian's autobiography, *Der Weiss Kunig* (meaning both 'The white king' and 'The wise king'), includes a woodcut that shows how the future emperor learned about war as a boy by playing with toy jousting knights and practising with a miniature cannon, a bow and a crossbow – precisely the toys that he gave to his grandson Charles. Two toy jousting knights from the imperial collection – perhaps the ones given by Maximilian – survive in a Vienna museum.

5. *Happy family, 1511*. This frontispiece of an illuminated hymnal presented by Maximilian to his daughter Margaret in 1511 shows the emperor sitting beneath the Habsburg double-headed eagle, with Margaret and Charles on chairs at his feet, and his granddaughters Eleanor (with an open book), Isabeau and Marie (with her back to the viewer) in the foreground.

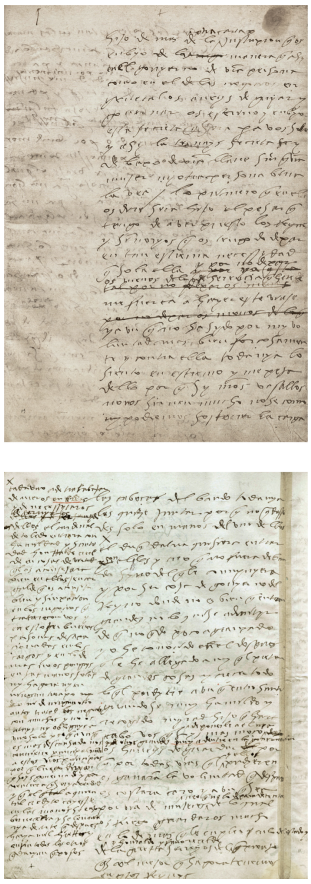
Hizose el año de mill
y quatro cientos yochenta
y tres, quando como vil
huye el Jnuierno yse ausenta
llegando ya el fin de abril
y este libro (a luz salido)
deue ser bien recibido
(como su intençion merece)
de aquellos, a quien se ofrece
por el que tanto ha sufrido,
tant a souffert
La Marche
tanto a sufrido
la marcha
126

6. *The resolute knight meets Death.* Charles V was so impressed by Olivier de la Marche's fantasy about knights at the court of Burgundy that in 1551 he began to translate the verse epic from French into Spanish, and took both the illustrated manuscript and a copy of the printed Spanish edition with him to his retirement home at Yuste.

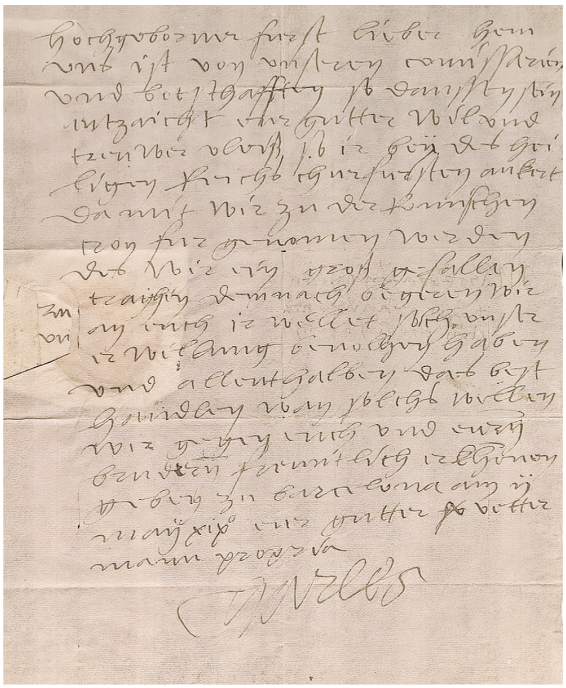
7. *Charles makes his ceremonial ‘entry’ to Bruges as count of Flanders in 1515.* Remy du Puys created this handsome manuscript presentation copy for Charles, but also oversaw a printed version for the general public. The first pageant in the sequence shows three angels presenting the young prince with a crown, a coat of arms and the keys of the city, just as the three Wise Men had brought gifts to the Christ child.



8. *Charles unbuttons himself in a holograph note to his friend, Count Henry of Nassau, 1518.* The new king of Castile, miserable at Tordesillas with his mother, despite sledging in the snow and courting a possible paramour, missed his friends and his familiar lifestyle back in the Netherlands – and especially the addressee: ‘mon Henri’.



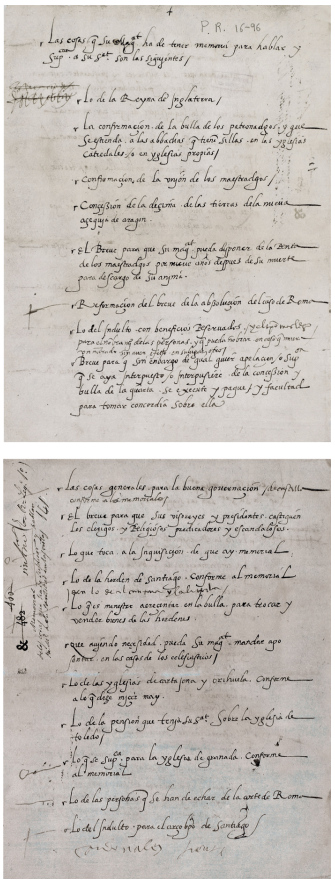
9. *Charles's secret instruction to Prince Philip, Palamos, 6 May 1543.* The emperor warned his son, 'always discuss your affairs with many, and do not become tied or obliged to any individual' – perhaps recalling the way in which Chièvres had once controlled him. The plethora of additions and corrections, between the lines as well as in both margins, shows how the emperor struggled to evaluate his principal ministers (in this case, 'the cardinal of Toledo' – Tavera – in the margin and the duke of Alba in the text).



10. *Charles almost writes in German, 1519.* Charles's desire to be elected king of the Romans led him to write letters in his own hand ('*manu propria*') to each Elector in German – but his ignorance of the language obliged him to copy each character from a 'model', just as he had done as a child when writing in Spanish.

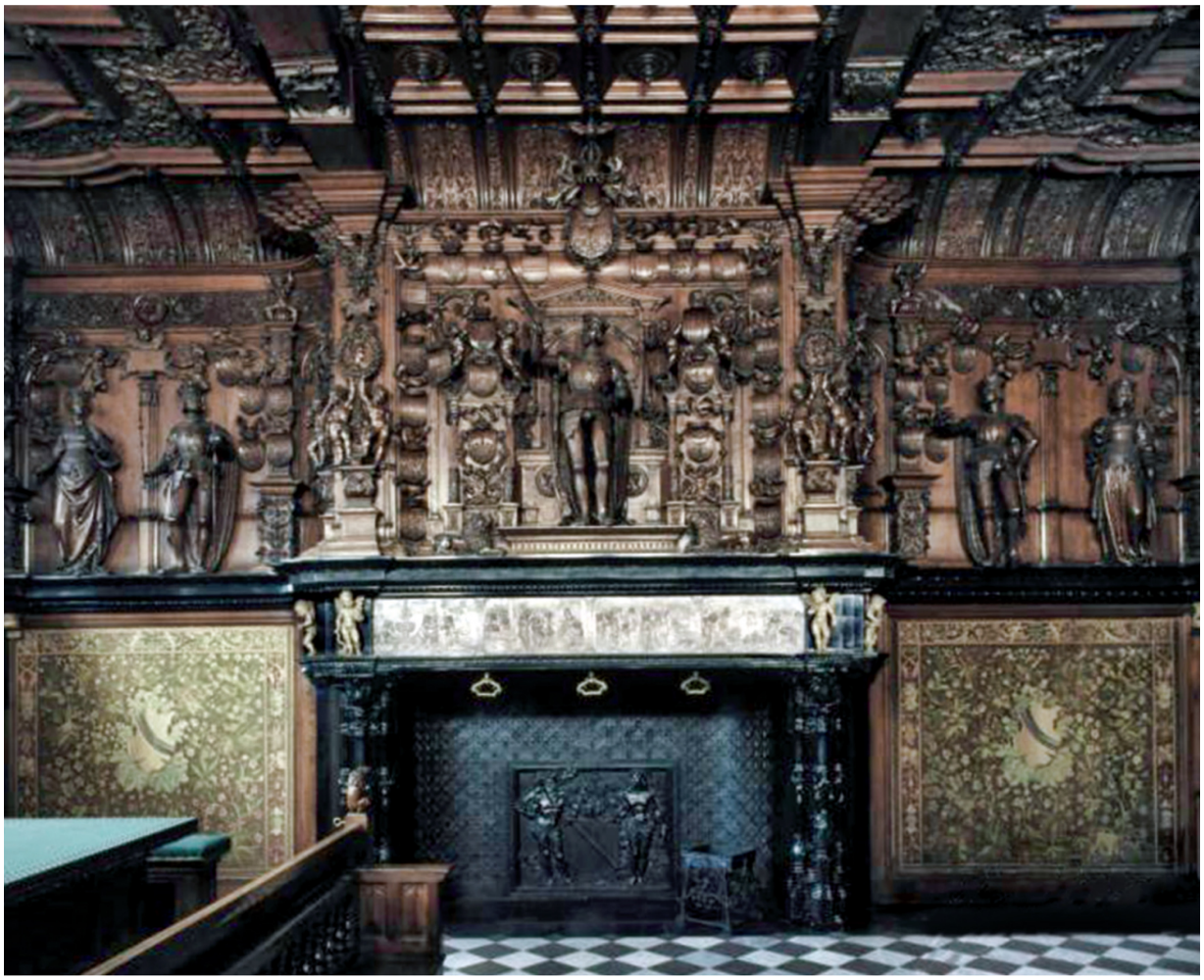
11. *Mary Tudor wearing a brooch with jewels that reads ‘the emp[er]our’, 1522.* According to his diplomats in England, just before Charles’s visit in 1522 the ‘little princess’ (aged eight) showed her charms by wearing ‘on her bosom a golden brooch ornamented with jewels forming your majesty’s name, which name she had taken on St Valentine’s Day … which seems a happy augury’. In the event, Mary would remain a spinster until she married Charles’s son Philip thirty-two years later.

12. *A suit of combat armour for Charles, 1525.* Kolman Helmschmid of Augsburg added the initials ‘KD’, standing for ‘Karolus Divus’ (‘Charles the Divine’) to this full suit of plate armour, made for the emperor around 1525. Three years later, if Francis had accepted Charles’s challenge to a duel, this is what the emperor would have worn, perhaps after some refinements by Helmschmid, whom Charles summoned to join him in Spain.



13. *Discussion points drawn up for Charles before one of his meetings with Pope Clement VII in Bologna, 1529.* ‘The matter of the queen of England’ (Katherine of Aragon) was the first item for discussion, and the fifth was ‘Changes to the brief of absolution for the matter [read: sack] of Rome’, accompanied by several proposals for extracting wealth from, and extending royal jurisdiction over, the church in Spain. Charles made some annotations (in lighter coloured ink).

14. *Francis I captured at the battle of Pavia.* One of the seven tapestry panels commissioned to commemorate the victory of Charles's troops on his twenty-fifth birthday, 24 February 1525, and presented to him on his return to the Netherlands six years later. In the background the Spanish infantry emerge from the woods and advance towards the French cavalry, while in the foreground Francis I is pulled from his horse (with the fleur-de-lys clearly displayed).



15. *Charles and his grandparents in Bruges, 1531*. In 1528, the Brugse Vrije (a component of the county of Flanders) commissioned Lanceloot Blondeel to design a suitable monument in honour of Charles V for their Palace of Justice in the city of Bruges. It took three years to complete the magnificent chimneypiece in oak, marble and alabaster, with life-size statues of the emperor and his grandparents: Mary and Maximilian on the right, Ferdinand and Isabella on the left. The three males all boast supersized codpieces, no doubt as a reminder that marriage, not war, had united their four inheritances.

16. *Joanna and Charles, monarchs of Aragon, 1528.* This magnificent 100 escudos gold coin may be the first image of Charles with a beard – although he still wears his hair shoulder length in the Burgundian fashion. Joanna appears as a nun, albeit with a crown as a reminder that she and her son were joint rulers of Aragon as well as of Castile.

17. *Emperor Charles eclipses Sultan Suleiman, 1532.* Charles, supported by an angel, dominates the sultan in this striking bronze medal, almost certainly minted to commemorate his Hungarian triumph in 1532. The inscriptions reads: ‘You are destined, o fortunate Caesar, to advance *plus ultra* / The imperial sword will remove the opposing head’.

18. *Charles with a book and gloves by Christoph Amberger, 1532.* One of the very few portraits that shows the emperor with a book, this painting displays the ‘golden hair, worn short’ described by eyewitnesses as well as the blond beard that scarcely disguised the emperor’s prominent lower jaw. Note that the hand that marks the emperor’s place in the book wears a glove, as if he is about to put the text down and go hunting.

19. *Portraits of Charles by Jakob Seisenegger and Titian, 1532–3.* During his prolonged residence in Mantua and Bologna over the winter 1532–3, Charles seems to have ‘sat’ for portraits by two celebrated artists: Titian, the duke of Mantua’s favourite painter, and Jakob Seisenegger, court painter to his brother Ferdinand. The latter identified the dog that features so prominently in both portraits as ‘*ain grosser englischer wasserhundt*’ (‘a large English retriever’).

20. *Charles reviews his army at Barcelona before embarking for Tunis, 1535.* The artist Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen accompanied Charles on his Tunis campaign and received a commission to design twelve commemorative tapestries. The second panel shows the emperor (holding a general's baton, and wearing armour and an early version of a baseball cap) riding by the scribes who note details of a general muster of the army at Barcelona. Charles appears as a logistician rather than as a warrior, while the monastery of Montserrat in the background (where the emperor went to pray before the campaign) reminds viewers of the religious nature of the venture.

21. *Statue of Charles in the Piazza Bologni, Palermo, 1535/1630.* The powerful bronze statue by Scipione Li Volsi, erected in 1630, shows the emperor in Roman dress with a laurel crown, holding his baton of command in his left hand while with his right he swears to uphold the laws and privileges of the kingdom of Sicily a century before.

Einrit Keyſer Carlen
in die alten Keyſerlichen haubtſtatt
Rom / den 5 Aprilis. 1536.
Aus allerley Welſchen vnd Teutſchen Miſſiuen an Hertzogen von Florentz / vñ andere Herrn geſchriben / fleiſſig außzogen vnd verglichen.
CAROLVS.V. ROM IMP. P. P.
Te aſſumam, & regnabis ſuper omnia quæ deſiderat anima tua, eriſq; Rex ſuper Iſrael, iij. Reg. xi.

22. *Charles enters Rome in triumph, 1536.* The frontispiece to a pamphlet celebrating Charles's solemn entry into 'the ancient imperial capital, Rome' on 5 April 1536, published at Nuremberg three weeks later by Christoph Scheurl. It included the Vulgate text of II Samuel 3:21, Abner's promise to David: 'Thou mayest reign over all that thine heart desireth.' Scheurl evidently forgot that David's henchmen murdered Abner soon afterwards.

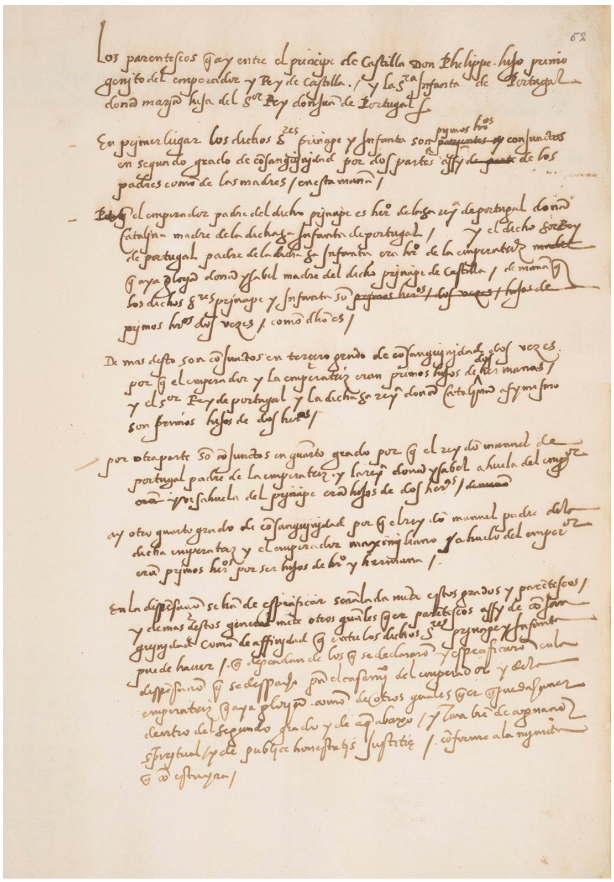
23. *Map of eastern France, 1544.* This enormous panorama (54 x 107 cm), shows France as Charles might have seen it from Metz, together with the route to three possible targets: from Troyes to Dijon on the left; from Troyes to Paris (beneath the hill of Montmartre) on the right; and from Dijon to Paris via Auxerre and Sens in the middle. The course of the Rivers Marne, Yonne and Seine, and the location of the principal bridges – essential knowledge for an army on the march – are clearly shown.

24. *Charles besieged in his camp outside Ingolstadt, September 1546.* According to Luis de Ávila, an eyewitness who later wrote a chronicle, the bombardment of the imperial camp before the Bavarian city of Ingolstadt lasted nine hours and made the ground shake like an earthquake, yet Charles stood resolutely beside the imperial standard. It made him both an obvious target to his enemies and an inspiration to his own troops.

25. *Charles at the battle of Mühlberg, 1547.* While residing at Augsburg, Charles commissioned a huge painting from Titian to commemorate his recent victory. The emperor – confident, tireless, resolute – appears as a light cavalry officer, with a short spear and a wheel-lock pistol, wearing the normal red insignia worn by Habsburg troops over a suit of Helmschmid armour that showed the Virgin and child: an image that combined Roman, German and Christian imagery. Unlike the Pavia tapestries (Pl. 14), no enemies are present, doubtless because Charles wanted to appear as a magnanimous ruler acceptable to German Lutherans, whose leaders had agreed to a religious settlement (the Interim).

26. *Charles and his war council, 1545.* The emperor gloried in war. In this contemporary woodcut he sits beneath a tree listening to his generals while dictating orders. One of the commanders is Count Reinhard of Solms, who had campaigned with Charles in France (directing the artillery and mines that forced St Dizier to surrender) as well as in Germany. The city of Lich (Hessen) shown in the background was his ancestral home.

27. *Charles in Augsburg by Titian, 1548.* Dressed in black, relieved only by his Golden Fleece, the emperor radiates calm, dignity and understated grandeur. Titian spent several months in Augsburg in 1548, accompanied by a team of assistants who helped him complete several commissions for Charles. Anton Fugger probably commissioned the portrait, which would explain why it portrays the subject as a bank customer, rather than as a victorious warrior, and also the prominence of the date (the emperor's residence in Fugger's palace marked the beginning of a new age).



28. *Procuring all the necessary dispensations for Prince Philip's incestuous first marriage, 1543.* Intermarriage between the royal house of Aragon, Castile and Portugal over several generations presented so many cases of 'consanguinity' and 'affinity' that even after listing the four principal 'kinships', each of which would need specific papal dispensation, Charles considered it advisable to obtain 'a more general one' to cover any additional case of incest that he might have overlooked.

29. *Charles vanquishes Fury by Leone and Pompeo Leoni, 1549–64.* The massive bronze statue of Charles, dressed as a Roman emperor, tramples on the figure of Fury, the Roman metaphor for war. Although defeated, Fury holds a lighted torch that might rekindle the fire of war – but Charles remains vigilant and composed, just the virtues projected two decades before by his chaplain and chronicler, Antonio de Guevara, in his books extolling Marcus Aurelius. Each piece of armour can be removed, revealing (for those interested) the emperor’s naked body.

30. *Charles played at draughts.* The popularity of games of skill, such as chess and draughts with their military and chivalric associations, increased in the sixteenth century. This piece of pear wood, painted black and probably made in Augsburg in the 1540s, contains a gesso portrait of Charles with CAROLVS IMPERATOR carved around the border. No doubt it originally formed part of a set of thirty-two pieces.

31. *Charles and Philip by Leone Leoni.* Leone Leoni saw a combined image of Julius Caesar and his adopted son Augustus in 1550, inspiring him to carve an onyx cameo that portrayed Charles and his son on one side and the empress on the other. The artist's surviving correspondence shows that he completed his 'capriccio' in just three months, and that the emperor 'received it with the greatest admiration'.

32. *Charles abdicates, 1555.* Frans Hogenberg's engraving (done in 1569–70) shows several stages of the abdication ceremony in the great hall of the royal palace in Brussels on 25 October 1555: in the upper centre, surrounded by rich tapestries, Charles thanks his sister Marie for serving as his regent; slightly below, he renounces his possessions to his son Philip, and then leaves the hall ('Carolus'); in the centre one of his officials breaks up his seals and Dr Maes prepares to speak on behalf of the States-General.

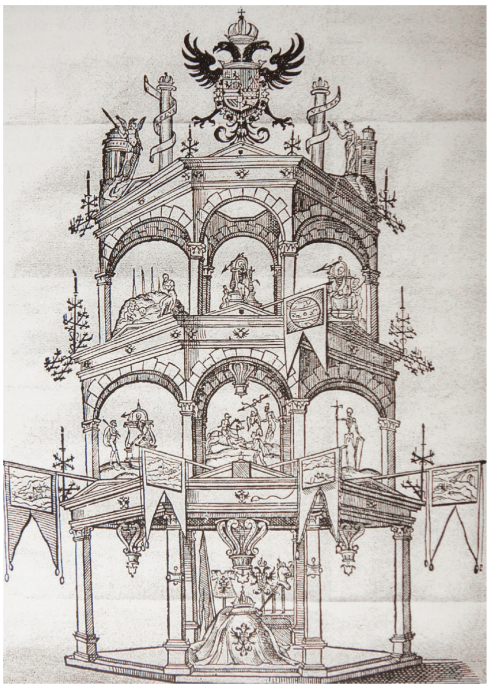
33. *Charles after his abdication, 1556.* In this miniature, attributed to Simon Bening, the emperor wears the sort of ‘tunic worn by citizens, made of Florence serge, a black German-style doublet’ and a black hat – just as described by the French diplomats who visited Charles in Brussels in March 1556. This may be the last portrait done of the emperor from life, because he left for Spain three months later and commissioned no more likenesses.

34. *The Last Judgement by Titian, 1551–4.* The emperor's original commission referred to this enormous painting as 'The Trinity', but when he reached Yuste Charles called it 'The Last Judgement' because it showed him and his closest relatives – the empress and their son Philip, his sisters Eleanor and Marie – a few moments after his death, dressed in white linen as they prayed for God's mercy. The absence of his brother Ferdinand, present in Augsburg when Charles commissioned the work, is unlikely to be accidental.

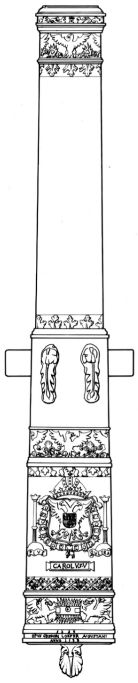
35. *The imperial apartments at the monastery of Yuste.* Philip II commissioned the Dutch artist Antoon van den Wyngaerde to create a series of ‘views’ of Spain, and in 1567 he stopped at the Jeronimite monastery at Yuste. The artist’s focus is the emperor’s palace, abutting the convent church and reached by the ramp on the left (still standing), with the gardens and extensions that Charles built clearly visible.

Tausent funfhundert funfftzig acht
Carlus der funft von grosser macht
Als er uff Sanct Matthei tag
An eim hitzigen fieber lag ,
Zu Castilien in eim Conuent
Sanct Justi gnant, sein leben endt .
Nach dem derselbig kuhne Held
Geschieden war von dieser Welt
Sein Son vnd Erb Philippus gnant
Liess dies Begengnuss triumphant
Zu Brussel im Decembri zwar
Seim Vatter anthuen offenbaer

36. *Funeral obsequies for Charles in Brussels, 1558.* On 29 December 1558, the emperor's funeral procession passed from the royal palace to the church of St Gudule, where four decades before he had been acclaimed king of Castile, Aragon, Naples and Sicily.



37. *Funeral obsequies for Charles in Valladolid, 1558.* Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella had served Charles since 1533 and drew upon his knowledge of the emperor in designing his catafalque in Valladolid, then the administrative capital of Spain, for example by including scenes from Charles's favourite book, *The resolute knight* (Pl. 6). Calvete published a detailed description of his work, together with an illustration that clearly showed, in the second register, three scenes from the book.



38. *A cannon confiscated from German Lutherans and embarked on the Spanish Armada.* After his victory in the Schmalkaldic war in 1547, Charles confiscated artillery from those who had defied him, including many pieces cast by Gregor Löffler for the city of Augsburg. Forty years later, his son Philip II distributed at least nine Löffler guns among the ships of the Armada, including this full cannon cast in 1538, weighing 5,230 lbs. Almost all the guns, including this one, were lost when the ships on which they sailed sank off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.

39. *Charles in his sarcophagus, 1870.* The emperor's body lay in a crypt at Yuste between his death in 1558 and 1574, when his son moved it to El Escorial. Each winter the temperature in the crypt fell below zero, which had the effect of 'curing' the corpse rather like the famous Jabugo hams cured, often for years, in high-altitude caves. A 'sketch in oils' by Vicente Palmaroli while the sarcophagus lay open to visitors, later photographed and published as a postcard, clearly shows Charles's mandibular prognathism and his powerful chest.

Charles also sent his lieutenant a letter filled with good advice. 'Since small issues sometimes lead to problems that governments cannot solve', La Gasca must 'take care in everything, both in word and deed . . . Because if you order one thing and do another, people will think you inconsistent and inconsequential.' 'Do not seek to judge every word and deed, but only those of men who stand accused. You must pretend that you do not know about the rest, because if every offence were to be investigated few people (or none) would remain unpunished.' Like his secret instructions to Prince Philip three years earlier, this document showed how much the emperor had learned about the art of government.[69]

In August 1546, as Charles faced his German rebels at Ingolstadt, La Gasca reached Panama and made it his headquarters while he undermined

the Peruvian rebels. Only in December 1547, as he advanced towards Cuzco, did he feel strong enough to accuse Gonzalo Pizarro of rebellion and treason, contrasting his behaviour with that of the settlers in New Spain: they had submitted their objections to the New Laws 'without arms and disturbances', whereas Pizarro 'was not content to do likewise but behaved like one who had forgotten who is his king'. He rebuked Pizarro for executing the settlers who opposed him, for draining the royal treasury's resources 'to pay the costs of your rebellion against His Majesty', and for offering 20,000 pesos 'if I would be willing to go to Spain and recommend to His Majesty that he should appoint you governor . . . I laughed heartily at this bribe,' La Gasca continued, 'and at Your Excellency for imagining that His Majesty would send a man likely to be corrupted with money.' He concluded with a grim counter-offer: if Pizarro refused to 'repent and return to the service of your Divine and secular rulers, you will lose both body and soul, as you will soon see'.[70]

La Gasca did not jest. In April 1548 he deployed his army of 1,500 men, supported by eleven artillery pieces, on a plateau just outside Cuzco, daring Pizarro to attack him. The ensuing battle involved fewer troops and caused fewer casualties than at Mühlberg, just one year before (only one royal soldier and forty-five rebels perished), but it proved just as decisive. After an artillery duel – the first on the American continent – many of the rebels fled, and since Pizarro 'and some of his captains neither fought nor fled' they all fell prisoner. La Gasca pondered 'whether we should take them in custody to Cuzco and deal with them there, or do so here', concluding that 'it would be better to act immediately, for fear they might escape and also because as long as Gonzalo Pizarro lived, it seemed that there could be no assurance of peace here'. Gonzalo and four of his lieutenants were beheaded on the battlefield, after which their severed heads were taken to Cuzco and exposed to public derision.[71]

If La Gasca had any qualms about this decision, they dissipated when he discovered that in Cuzco the rebels 'had removed the royal arms from the standard and burned them in a brazier' and 'planned to crown Gonzalo Pizarro king of this country as soon as they had defeated my army'. Local bishops exiled the numerous clerics who had supported Pizarro, including Juan Coronel, 'formerly a canon of Quito . . . who wrote a book entitled *De*

bello justo, in favour and defence of the rebellion'; and secular judges executed at least fifty Pizarristas, some of them after torture and mutilation, and condemned perhaps 1,000 more to lesser penalties, usually including exile. These purges, combined with the '340 or so men that Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers executed during the rebellion', eliminated about a third of the first generation of conquistadors as well as most of the Inca royal family. As with the Castilian and Valencian rebels a quarter-century before, Charles also showed no mercy: he ordered his judges in Spain to treat the relatives of rebels who had repatriated money and goods with similar severity, confiscating their lands, houses and other assets up to the value of what they had received from Peru. He even decreed the sequestration of dowries paid for their female relatives to enter a convent.[72]

The pacifier of Peru became an instant celebrity. In January 1550 the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote to congratulate La Gasca on the success of his 'Caesarean venture' and begged obsequiously for a detailed account to include in his *History of the Indies*, commissioned by the emperor. Oviedo announced that his epic, which began with the voyage of Columbus, would end with the pacification of Peru since the news had providentially 'arrived in time to be immortalized in my third volume'. La Gasca duly starred in two chapters of the Great Work.[73] La Gasca's success also impressed Charles: 'We felt great satisfaction' after reading his account of the defeat of Pizarro, and the 'justice done to him and his followers'; and the emperor exulted that God and La Gasca had created the right conditions 'to resume the plan that we have always followed: the exaltation of the Holy Catholic Faith, and at the same time the restoration of peace and justice, avoiding the outrages, robberies and murders that have been cruelly inflicted on our subjects and vassals'. Charles then announced that he had appointed Antonio de Mendoza as the next viceroy of Peru, and that after La Gasca had briefed him, 'with God's blessing you may return to Spain, bringing with you the greatest quantity of gold and silver that you can – as we are sure you will do'.[74] Once again, La Gasca exceeded expectations: when he landed in Seville in September 1550 he brought over two million ducats in cash, a fabulous windfall that Charles compared (as he fantasized over how to spend it) with the ransom paid by King Francis two decades

before. It ‘has greatly enhanced my reputation and will allow me to execute all the plans I have devised’.[75]

Nevertheless, the ‘Caesarean venture’ had been a close-run thing. In the lapidary verdict of Viceroy Mendoza: ‘The measures taken by His Majesty and the lords of the council were holy and just, but it cannot be denied that His Majesty’s New Laws destroyed Peru.’ He recalled (in an ‘I-told-you-so’ moment) that ‘for many years before Peru rebelled I warned him what would happen’. Although ‘I did not spell it out more clearly, because I would have suffered for it: I greatly regret that His Majesty, his councillors and the friars combined to destroy these poor people here.’[76] La Gasca found it necessary not only to preserve the encomienda system in Peru but to extend it, distributing grants worth over one million ducats a year to those who had supported him – and even that proved insufficient: some of those who had abandoned Gonzalo, but got little or no reward, rallied to the standard of revolt briefly raised by Francisco Hernández Girón in 1553.

On the positive side, the defeat of Pizarro revealed not only the strength of Charles’s control over his American possessions but also his ability to coordinate their resources. From Panama in December 1546, soon after his arrival, La Gasca reminded other royal officials that ‘we need all parts of America to obey His Majesty’s orders and rally to his royal voice’, adding that ‘in a matter of such importance to his royal authority and interests’ it was essential ‘everyone should rally to him as if his royal person were present’. America, La Gasca argued, must show ‘that good people here offer their persons and property to His Majesty no less than they did in Spain on similar campaigns in Hungary, Tunis and Algiers’. His rhetoric produced spectacular results, above all in New Spain where Viceroy Mendoza spent 192,000 pesos to raise an army of 600 soldiers for service in Peru, to be commanded by his son. In March 1547 he solemnly reviewed the expeditionary force. America had seen nothing like it.[77]

‘ANOTHER GOLD-BEARING WORLD’

The speech given in Charles’s name to the Cortes of Castile at Corunna in 1520 to justify accepting his election as Holy Roman Emperor promised that the acquisition of a ‘New World of gold made just for him, because it did not exist before our own time’, would shield his Spanish subjects from

the full cost of his new commitments in central Europe. To some extent the promise was realized. In 1523, Martín de Salinas noted that ‘ships have arrived from America carrying 800,000 gold pesos’ and concluded ‘it seems that God is taking charge of His Majesty’s affairs because he is taking such good care of them’.[78] Ten years later, stunned by the size of Atahualpa’s ransom as it passed through Panama en route for Spain, a treasury official exclaimed that:

> Since Your Majesty walks in the way of the Lord, serving Him and defending Christian society and the Church of our Holy Catholic faith, He provides this assistance and favour to raise your spirits and resources as you prosecute the holy enterprise, and wage war against the Turks, the Lutherans and other enemies of the faith.

In 1535, in Barcelona, Salinas noted with astonishment that Charles ‘has ordered the mint masters of all his kingdoms to come to this city, and has brought here all the gold and silver from America so that it can be turned into coins’. He estimated their value at 500,000 ducats. In the words of James Tracy: ‘The Tunis enterprise was possible only because Francisco Pizarro’s conquest of Peru restocked the emperor’s treasure chamber.’[79]

Most of this American largesse came from a tax imported from Castile: the ‘royal fifth’, which entitled monarchs to 20 per cent of all spoils taken in wars against enemies of the faith and of all minerals produced. In the course of the emperor’s reign over half the receipts of his treasurers in Mexico, and four-fifths of the receipts of those in Peru, came from this source. Much of the rest represented the tribute paid to the Crown by indigenous inhabitants and from confiscations. On nine occasions Charles sequestered money remitted to individuals, using deceit to disguise his intentions. In 1523, to help fund an invasion of France, he ordered his officials at Seville to detain and inventory all gold, silver, pearls and merchandise on ships arriving from America, whether for the Crown or for ‘merchants and individuals *in such a way that no one would know what I have ordered on this matter*’. In 1535 he decreed that if any ship should arrive ‘from Peru or anywhere else with a large amount of gold, then *using dissimulation and whatever methods you think will best disguise your action*, send me a detailed list via a flying courier [*con correo volante*]’.

Should the owners of the treasure protest and demand the release of their money, royal officials must lie to them: '*Lead everyone to believe that you cannot do it* because of the time it takes to turn all this gold and silver into money.' In 1543, as the emperor prepared his campaign against Guelders and France, he again commanded that 'from now on, if a ship or group of ships should arrive with up to 80,000 ducats or more of gold, you must sequester the gold, silver and pearls that they bring for any individuals, without exception, and *use whatever lies and deceit you like so that no one knows it is by my order*'.[80] In each case the individuals who lost their capital received compensation in the form of low-interest government bonds (*juros*).

Although Charles justified these lies by the need to safeguard 'our reputation and authority, and to defend our dominions', the repeated sequestrations involved major economic opportunity costs: the money exported, whether to pay the emperor's soldiers or his bankers, was money that could not be invested in domestic enterprise; and the annual cost of paying interest on the juros more than doubled in the course of his reign. Nevertheless, the temptation proved irresistible. As the Valencian chronicler Martí de Viciana later observed: 'His Majesty has derived such benefits from America that thanks to its treasure, and the soldiers of Spain, he could do more than all the other Christian rulers whenever he wanted.' At several critical junctures, as a later age might boast, America 'made Charles great again'.[81]

THE EMPIRICAL EMPIRE

To maximize his assets, Charles needed to overcome certain fundamental obstacles to effective transatlantic government. In Europe he deployed four strategies to control his scattered dominions: he visited each one as often as possible for as long as possible; he empowered his close relatives to represent him when he was absent; he cemented alliances through matrimony; and he created an institutional structure based upon a balance of power. Since he could not deploy the first three strategies in America, Charles relied more heavily on the fourth – but, as in his other dominions, faction and self-interest often got in the way. In 1551, Antonio de Mendoza, reflecting on his sixteen years' experience as viceroy, sent a Report to

Charles complaining that ‘men in New Spain prefer meddling in other people’s business rather than attending to their own’; indeed ‘their chief concern is public administration, especially in criticizing and judging every action’. Unfortunately, the viceroy continued, ‘I have found many who counsel and criticize me, but few who help me when affairs do not go their way’.[82] This fundamental obstacle gave rise to another. To quote Mendoza’s Report again: ‘Your Majesty appointed me and others like me as viceroys and governors when we were new to our posts and had no experience; and you named judges there who would not be appointed magistrates back in Spain. You entrust them with a new world with no rationale or preparation.’ He concluded bitterly: ‘What does Your Majesty expect will happen, 2,000 leagues away? Everything will come crashing down when they attempt things of which they know nothing.’[83]

Charles was familiar with these structural problems. In 1526, frustrated by his inability to respond effectively to petitions from settlers in Cuba ‘because we do not have information or complete data on the settlements and their population’, Charles signed a warrant stating that ‘I want to be informed of the houses, estates, yields and other things that we own on that island’, and he ordered the governor ‘that as soon as you receive this you must draw up a detailed account of everything’. A decade later, he charged Mendoza ‘always to inform us of what you see and do . . . in those realms where we do not reside’. The new viceroy must commission ‘a drawing or painting of the principal towns and ports . . . informing me of the situation and elevation of each settlement, and of the distances that separate them’ and send the results to Spain.[84]

Charles also approved innovations in processing such information when it arrived. While he and the council of the Indies resided in Seville in 1526, they visited the House of Trade and charged it with reorganizing its haphazard collection of maps and documents, and with creating a systematic geographical database ‘both in writing and in images, as you see fit, consulting each and every person who has knowledge and experience of navigation’. The officials must also ensure that all pilots sailing across the Atlantic ‘compile a daily record of their voyage, starting in the port or place from which it begins and ending when they return to Seville . . . noting the distance they cover each day, the headings, and the latitude of all the lands

they encounter'. According to Arndt Brendecke, 'It seems as if all the data were gathered in a single book which contained information supplied by more than 150 pilots.'[85]

The resulting flood of information provided the basis for a stream of legislation issued by Charles to regulate the economy, society and administration of the New World: 'In order to increase the prosperity of Hispaniola, we command that African slaves who marry, and their children, should not be set free' (1526); 'If necessary, brothels may be established in the city of Santo Domingo' (1526); coins struck in the new Mints in Mexico and San Domingo must all have 'on one side castles, lions and pomegranates' – the emblems of Castile, León and Granada – 'and on the other side two columns and a banner that says *Plus Ultra*, which is my royal emblem' (1544); and so on. By the time of his abdication in 1556, Charles had issued over 1,000 legislative acts for his possessions in the western hemisphere (compared with 700 for Spain). Some proved ephemeral, or were later rescinded, but 15 per cent of the acts recorded in the law code for Spanish America printed in 1680 were issued by Charles.[86]

The emperor also signed thousands of warrants that addressed individual issues. In 1536 he learned that a Spaniard in Nicaragua had raped a local woman and then set fire to her house, killing her, but although the provincial governor 'proceeded against him, you condemned him to a fine of just five pesos' – clearly inadequate, given the seriousness of the offence. Charles therefore ordered the governor to revisit the case 'and send an account of the punishment that you impose to our council of the Indies'.[87] Two years earlier, he authorized the payment of 1,000 ducats to create a prototype of the future Panama Canal, in response to a report forwarded by his officials in the isthmus concerning 'the utility of improving navigation on the River Chagre' and the need to improve the portage from Panama to Nombre de Dios.[88] This was a textbook example of 'sub-imperialism': a response to initiatives taken by officials on the periphery of the empire, and only afterwards referred to the Crown for endorsement. Another striking example occurred in 1550, when Charles received a *consulta* from the council of the Indies transmitting a report from Viceroy Mendoza (whose long service had clearly made him supremely confident) reminding everyone of his previous requests to found in New Spain 'a university

where all forms of knowledge are taught, and where the indigenous population and the children of Spanish settlers may be educated'. Mendoza had now 'named people to start giving instruction in all faculties, in the hope that Your Majesty will be pleased to found and foster a university', with a constitution modelled on those of the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. Noting that the local clergy strongly favoured the new institution, the council recommended that Charles provide an annual subsidy of 1,000 gold pesos. The imperial rescript read: 'It seems we should do what the council has advised', and in September 1551 a royal warrant authorized treasury officials in Mexico to pay 1,000 gold pesos a year to the new university. Teaching began in 1553 and continues to this day.[89]

Charles had already founded another American university, also in response to pressure from the periphery of his empire. In 1548 the Dominican friars of the Order's new province of Peru petitioned for a university attached to their monastery in Lima, and deputed their provincial to secure imperial approval. First he approached the city council of Lima, which appointed him one of its procurators (La Gasca eventually served as the other) to persuade the emperor to create a 'college with the same privileges, exemptions and constitution as the university of Salamanca', because 'these regions are so far from Spain that if the local people send their sons to study in the universities of Spain, it would involve great expense; and so, for lack of opportunity, some will remain ignorant'. Later that year, after listening to the procurators in person, Charles allocated '3,000 gold pesos from the Royal Treasury for the maintenance' of the new college. The university of Lima (now Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos) has taught students ever since.[90]

DID CHARLES REALLY CARE?

It would be easy to argue that Charles took little part in these and other initiatives for his American possessions, especially in the case of legislative acts that he did not himself sign. Thus the charters that created and funded the universities of Lima and Mexico in 1551 went out when the emperor was in Augsburg: the actual warrants were signed by his regent in Valladolid.[91] Yet they and other similar measures all required imperial approval, and some received considerable prior scrutiny. For example, the

Report of Antonio de Mendoza that accused Charles of handling American affairs inconsistently and incompetently reached him in Innsbruck in March 1552: ‘I listened intently as it was read out,’ he told his son, because it contained ‘important points that require careful consideration’. He therefore decreed that all the issues raised by Mendoza ‘must be discussed and considered, so that I will be in full possession of the facts when I make my decision’.[92]

Some officials complained that the emperor intervened too often in American affairs, causing unnecessary disruption by changing his mind – and therefore his policies. ‘His Majesty and his council and the friars,’ Mendoza protested, ‘waste so much time, and so much paper and ink, in doing and undoing, in giving grants that conflict with others, and in changing the system of government every day.’[93] Examples of such inconsistency abounded. For example, although the emperor solemnly decreed in 1535, and reiterated in 1541 and 1542, that ‘neither we nor our heirs’ would ever alienate ‘the city of Tlaxcala and its territory from our royal Crown’, he repeatedly broke his promise by making grants of land in the province to Spaniards; and although the viceroys supported the protests of the Tlaxcalans, such grants were seldom overturned.[94] It was much the same story with the New Laws, enacted in 1542 and partially revoked in 1546. Charles’s instructions to Luis de Velasco as viceroy in Mexico in 1550 commanded him to ‘uphold everything mandated in the New Laws that we issued for the sound government of America’ – and yet, like his predecessor, Velasco would issue many warrants allowing the sons of the first conquistadors to inherit encomiendas granted by Cortés, in clear contravention of the New Laws.[95]

Such measures nevertheless remained the exception: Charles resolutely resisted granting encomiendas ‘in perpetuity’. Admittedly, in 1553 he asked Philip to consider ‘what money might be raised from the encomiendas of America, something that has seemed to me complex and difficult because of the conflicting opinions that exist’, and his son duly convened a committee of theologians to consider the matter; but when he reported that the members of the junta agreed that selling permanent titles to encomiendas constituted ‘the only remedy for the conservation and pacification of those lands’, Charles flatly refused: ‘I have never liked this measure, as you

know, and I have always tried to avoid it.' Philip must wait until he became ruler of Castile and its American colonies, and then 'you can do what you like and you can sign the relevant orders because it will all be yours; and I will not need to overcome my scruples.'[96]

'My scruples': what did Charles mean by that phrase? An exchange in 1549 between Las Casas and Domingo de Soto sheds some light. Las Casas wondered why the emperor had done so little to implement best colonial practices. Soto, Charles's confessor at the time, conceded that their master had failed to act, but in part because 'it is hard to find a remedy for the affairs of America since they are so far away, and especially because those who come from there have such different stories that it is difficult to know whom to believe'. Las Casas agreed, and added that not only was America 'so far away from the prince charged with its government, but the prince is also absorbed in many and various other matters much closer to him'. Finding a solution 'would require not only the mental and physical reserves of a single man, but of many'.[97] This suggestion apparently produced results: soon afterwards, Charles convened a committee 'to discuss the most appropriate methods of undertaking the conquest, discovery and settlement' of America 'and to examine the correct status of His Majesty's subjects there *without imperilling his royal conscience*'. The committee met in Valladolid (Spain's administrative capital) attended by nine ministers from the central councils together with two bishops and four theologians (including Domingo de Soto), and over the course of several weeks they heard and discussed presentations by Las Casas and the humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Several members of the committee had experience of America, some direct (such as La Gasca and Tello de Sandoval) or indirect (the marquis of Mondéjar, who presided, was the brother of Viceroy Mendoza; Soto had helped to select missionaries). Eventually, they advised Charles that the acquisition of more territory and subjects in America by outright conquest would 'endanger the conscience of His Majesty' because of 'the damage and great sins committed in these conquests'. Las Casas now published the arguments he had presented to the committee in a slim volume entitled *A very brief account of the destruction of America*, dedicated to Prince Philip in the hope that he could 'with greater efficacy

petition and persuade His Majesty [Charles] to refuse' future requests to continue abusive practices such as the grant of encomiendas.[98]

Charles was already programmed to receive. Jean Glapion resigned as his confessor in 1522 after requesting and receiving papal permission to become a missionary in America. Loaysa, who succeeded Glapion, became president of the council of the Indies, a position he held until his death in 1546. Soto also intended to go to America as a missionary before he became Charles's confessor, and afterwards played a leading role in the deliberations of the committee on American affairs in Valladolid in 1550–1.[99] Small wonder that several of Charles's decrees concerning America claimed that he acted 'for the discharge of our royal conscience'. To take two examples among many: the preamble to his Ordinances 'concerning the treatment of indigenous inhabitants' in 1528 argued that current practices constituted 'an offence against God' and also 'were a heavy charge on our royal conscience'; and the following year he ordered the council of the Indies to propose suitable legislation 'for the discharge of our royal conscience and for the preservation of New Spain'.[100]

Charles's ministers and subjects soon learned not only to respect his scruples but also to exploit them. In 1530 a procurator sent to Spain by Cortés couched his pleas to the emperor in the form of an appeal to 'Your Majesty's royal conscience'; the following year the judges of the Audiencia of Mexico claimed that sending more missionaries was essential 'for the good of your royal conscience'; and in 1533, Cortés asserted that a 'division of the entire state' among 'its conquerors and first settlers is essential not only for its conservation but also for Your Majesty's royal conscience'.[101] La Gasca made excellent use of this argument in a letter of 1549 to the magistrates of Arica, a Peruvian city that continued, despite the New Laws, to send indigenous inhabitants to labour in the silver mines of Potosí. He stressed that the clause prohibiting 'the dispatch of indigenous inhabitants to the mines' had not been revoked, and saw no prospect of change because 'when His Majesty found out how all the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola, Cuba and other [Caribbean] islands had died through being sent to the mines he became convinced that he would go to Hell if he permitted this practice to continue. He will therefore never agree to it.' 'Sending indigenous inhabitants to mines 170 leagues away,' La Gasca warned, 'is

something that cannot be concealed without great offence to God and to His Majesty's delicate conscience, and it risks arousing his anger.'[102] The practice must therefore stop immediately.

La Gasca's rhetoric did not stand alone. The phrase 'the service of God and His Majesty' was often used to justify Charles's providential vision. His officials hailed the ransom of Atahualpa as a divine gift to enable the emperor 'to wage war against the Turks, the Lutherans and other enemies of the faith'. The first pamphlet published in Spain about the pacification of Peru described the outrages committed by 'this Lutheran, Gonzalo Pizarro, who had as little respect for religious affairs and beliefs as he did for the king's affairs': although there is no evidence that either Pizarro or any of his followers had Protestant sympathies, branding him a heretic fitted perfectly into Charles's vision. For the sake of his 'delicate conscience', as well as for material and ideological considerations, the emperor simply could not ignore the New World.[103]

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR IN HIS PRIME

THE POLYGLOT EMPEROR

In 1557 a Venetian ambassador recalled that once upon a time ‘Charles had been considered stupid and slothful by everyone, or almost everyone, but then suddenly and unexpectedly he awoke and became alert, committed and courageous’. A few years later a veteran minister observed that ‘Habsburg men are slow developers, as we saw with the late emperor’.[1] The most spectacular ‘late’ improvement occurred in Charles’s language skills. When he arrived in Spain in 1517 his new subjects were appalled that he spoke and understood only French; but within a year his spoken Castilian became fluent. In 1536, using only notes, he delivered in Spanish a speech that lasted well over an hour, and seven years later he filled forty-eight foolscap folios with detailed confidential advice in Spanish for his son: although he made a few grammatical errors, and used a number of French and Italian loan words and phrases, his meaning throughout remained clear.[2] The emperor’s ability to communicate in Italian followed a similar trajectory. When he first arrived in the peninsula in 1529 and received welcome presents, ‘he did not have the ability to thank the donors properly, so one of his Italian courtiers did it for him’; but eight years later an Italian ambassador reported that ‘His Majesty always replied to me in Italian, and he made sure that I understood everything that he said.’ His fluency did not desert him with age. At an audience in 1553 with an English ambassador ‘His Majestie was horse at the begynnyng’, and the ambassador ‘could not well heare onles it wol please His Majestie to speak Italian; whereupon beyng willinger to speake Italian then able to speake lowder’, Charles

conducted the rest of the audience in Italian.[3] His command of German also improved. At his coronation in Aachen in 1520, an ambassador noted that Charles needed an interpreter ‘because he still cannot speak German’; although when he opened the Diet of Worms a few weeks later, ‘the emperor spake certain brief words in Almain’. By contrast, when the Polish envoy Jan Dantiszek addressed him in German at an audience in 1525, Charles ‘with a smiling face, and blushing slightly’ replied: ‘I don’t know how to reply to you: if I speak in Spanish, you might not understand everything, and I cannot speak German fluently.’ Dantiszek replied obsequiously, ‘“Your Majesty can communicate whatever you want in German.” After that, he looked round to see if the Chancellor [Gattinara] was present, and since he was not he replied to me thus in German: I have recorded his exact words, as best I remember them . . .’ Dantiszek then transcribed almost 100 words of German, idiosyncratic but intelligible.[4] By the time Charles presided over the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, he could hold his own in German; and in 1543, at the Diet of Speyer, Charles again ‘replied in German’ in all debates.[5] By then, if not before, the emperor also both spoke and understood Dutch – perhaps because he had acquired some competence as a boy, perhaps because ‘he spoke a sort of German that was scarcely distinguishable from his “Flemish”’.[6]

Eventually, Charles even mastered Latin. In 1526 the English ambassador reported that unless Gattinara were ‘present, the emperor gevethe me no audience bicause that although he will understand, yet he will not gladlie make answer in Laten’; and three years later, on arriving in Italy, Charles lamented that he could not understand ‘the rhetoric and elegant phrases’ in the Latin orations delivered by those he met, adding ruefully ‘if I had listened to the words of my admirable teacher Adrian [of Utrecht], I would not need an interpreter here to know what you just said’. In 1540 he used the same excuse: ‘I could not understand [an important document] properly because it was in Latin.’ Three years later, he told his son that ‘nothing could be more necessary or universal than the Latin language. That is why I strongly encourage you to work hard to learn it so that you will not be afraid, later, to speak it’ – but he only followed his own advice during the siege of Metz in 1552, when his chamberlain, Guillaume

van Male, used the Vulgate to teach his master Latin, with the result that 'the emperor sometimes brags about this'.[7]

Many contemporaries commented favourably on Charles's facility with languages. At Augsburg in 1530 a diplomat noted with approval that 'the emperor and his brother both speak very well, answering almost immediately and in many languages' – he specified Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish – 'so that it is a pleasure to watch them switch between various languages'. Two years later, other diplomats admired the emperor's ability to 'speak four languages – French, Spanish, Portuguese and German (although he finds the last one difficult) – besides Italian'.[8] Eventually, his linguistic prowess became the subject of a jest:

> If I need to talk with God, the Emperor Charles V used to say, I would do so in Spanish, because the language of Spaniards suggests gravity and majesty; if with friends, in Italian, because the speech of Italians sounds friendly; and if to seduce someone, in French, because no language sounds more seductive; but if I want to threaten or scold someone I use German, because their entire language is threatening, harsh and emphatic.[9]

How did Charles acquire such polyglot proficiency? His formal education ceased when Adrian of Utrecht left for Spain in 1515, and he does not seem to have engaged other instructors; and yet in the sixteenth century, as today, acquiring fluency in a foreign language requires dedication, repetition and confidence.[10] Perhaps his insistence that his son must learn enough Latin to ensure that 'you will not be *afraid* to speak it' offers one clue: Dantiszek's testimony showed that the emperor was willing to practise, if necessary in public, in order to improve. A letter written by the humanist and diplomat Girolamo Aleandro in 1531 offered a second clue: the emperor found languages fascinating. Aleandro had just sat down one evening, 'beside a lamp at a table to read a memorial I had written [in Hebrew], when the emperor happened to pass by' and 'asked me what the script was'. When Aleandro told him, Charles 'recited the first two verses of the Bible in Latin, and asked if I could do the same in Hebrew. I did so, and His Majesty could not conceal his delight.' He asked Aleandro to do the same in Greek, which he did, and 'then asked if I could write in Greek, and when I showed

him the dorse of the memorial, which was in Greek, he said "This is great: something beautiful and wonderful."' The nuncio rejoiced 'to see how much pleasure His Majesty took in the variety of languages', and speculated (plausibly enough) that 'he had inherited it from his grandfather Maximilian'.[11]

Charles also attempted to acquire as an adult another discipline absent from his formal education: mathematics. According to a biographer of Francisco de Borja, one of Charles's most trusted councillors, when the emperor returned to Spain in 1533 'he sought to escape the burden of affairs for a few hours by devoting them to the study of mathematics'; but 'feeling somewhat embarrassed to learn directly from the cosmographers', he asked Borja 'if he knew anything about the discipline'. The future saint confessed that he did not, and so Charles sent him to consult the experts, after which Borja:

> Relayed for the emperor's better understanding what he had learned from the illustrious cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz, and from other mathematicians in the emperor's service; so that in little more than six months they managed to penetrate the most useful principles of the discipline, mastering the elements of Euclid, the speculations of Theodosius, of Apollonius etc . . .[12]

Knowledge of the emperor's proficiency soon spread. In 1543, 'because I know that Your Majesty loves mathematics', an agent of the Fugger company in Nuremberg urged the noted astronomer Peter Apian to perfect a special instrument to calculate latitude, commissioned by Charles two years before. He also forwarded a new book that advanced 'a marvellous theory, never before seen or heard or even thought of: that the sun is the centre of the universe, without an orbit, as all previous authors have asserted' – namely *On the revolutions of heavenly spheres* by Nicholas Copernicus.[13]

THE PERILS OF GOVERNING THE FIRST GLOBAL EMPIRE

Some contemporaries complained that the emperor's fascination with mathematics distracted him from dealing with pressing business. A few

years after his brother's death, Ferdinand confided to his doctor that he considered Charles 'somewhat negligent' in this:

> I asked him more than once: 'Why does Your Majesty not read through the petitions and papers of your subjects instead of spending so much of your time and spare moments on mathematical books?' At this he laughed and said: 'At night I am fatigued and care-worn, and that makes it impossible for me to deal with business.'[14]

Nevertheless, Charles dealt with prodigious quantities of business in person, even when travelling. In 1541 a diplomat reported with surprise that 'I saw here today a wooden room constructed for His Majesty that contains a bed, a writing table and a small place to sit. It can be dismantled and placed in boxes to be transported by mules.' Charles also continued to handle the most sensitive issues in holograph letters – although he drew the line at writing them out twice: he once apologized to Los Cobos that 'I had written this letter in my own hand, and then spilled an ink-pot over it. Because I am too lazy to write it out again I have ordered [Francisco de] Eraso to cipher it.'[15] He also continued to make sure that he understood matters thoroughly before taking decisions. A Venetian ambassador observed that the emperor normally 'took advice from all sides, talking about each major item of business for four or five hours on end, sitting in a chair, and then he wrote out the reasons for and against to see which was better'.[16] In June 1546, when the pope expressed frustration at the emperor's procrastination in making war on the German Lutherans, an experienced diplomat explained that 'the reasons for His Majesty's delays are many and various [*molte e diverse*], but this is the main one: he does not want to begin such a major venture in Germany without sounding out several of the princes.' Three months later Charles showed the same prudence in practical matters. The Venetian ambassador in the imperial camp reported that 'yesterday evening His Majesty was with his council of war until after midnight, and again today until midday, discussing what to do'[17] (Pl. 26).

Charles realized that his ministers might try to deceive him, and he devised certain administrative procedures to counteract this. Ferrante Gonzaga, who had grown up at the imperial court and later became viceroy

of Sicily, governor of Milan and commander of the imperial army, once told Charles that he spent too much time listening to those who criticized his ministers. ‘His Majesty replied that he had not believed and still did not believe anything said against me, but that he wished to give a hearing to any man who wanted to speak to him’ – which, Gonzaga noted bitterly, ‘I took to mean “any man who wanted to speak ill of me”’. Gonzaga therefore instructed his agent at court, Natale Musi, to protest about the backbiting; but one of Charles’s principal policy advisers reminded him that ‘We have always listened to all sorts of grievances against all ministers. Refusing to do so would be tyranny on the part of His Majesty and an affront to human and divine law.’ When Musi suggested that Charles should ‘punish any person who accused a minister falsely’, his interlocutor responded: ‘That would never do, because such a punishment would frighten and discourage any other person who has a just grievance against the said minister.’[18] Titian’s celebrated portrait of the emperor in Augsburg in 1548 captured this quality brilliantly: Charles’s ‘eagle eyes’ (as contemporaries called them) coldly assess the viewer, searching for any sign of duplicity or deceit (Pl. 27).

The emperor continued to seek guidance from his confessor on public as well as private matters – although he did not always like or accept the guidance he received. Charles once complained to a confidant that Fray Pedro de Soto, his confessor from 1543 to 1547, had ‘told him that he did not know how [the emperor] could be saved, and despaired of his salvation; and that His Majesty was very hurt by the friar’s lack of confidence.’ This exchange probably took place when Charles rejected Soto’s advice about a tougher implementation of the Interim, which led to the confessor’s resignation. Although the emperor offered a bishopric or at least a pension if he would return, Soto refused and instead sent back a warning ‘that His Majesty should remember the spiritual advice he had given him’.[19] Perhaps Charles acted belatedly on Soto’s awkward advice when in 1550 he informed his regents in Spain that ‘I have often been urged by my confessors to ban and abolish in all my kingdoms and lordships the practice of interest and loans, laying this as a charge on my conscience.’ He continued: ‘I more than anyone wish to address this issue, if it can be done, both to ease this scruple and to avoid the damage’ to his treasury caused by

high interest rates; but he worried that refusing to pay interest would destroy his credit. Nevertheless, ‘since we know that all these things (and others that could be named) must cease when the safety and security of one’s conscience is at stake’, he ordered his ministers to assess the potential impact of unilateral action.[20]

By then, Charles had lost another confessor: Fray Domingo de Soto (no relation to his homonymous predecessor). According to a royal chronicler, ‘when asked why’ he had returned to Spain, Soto cited the emperor’s neglect of ‘poor petitioners’ at his court and his practice of raising money by selling various privileges without regard for the calibre of the purchaser (such as public offices, knighthoods in the military orders, and exemptions to his own laws). Rumours of Soto’s discontent evidently reached Charles, because six months later the former confessor protested that ‘I have not told a living soul about my reasons for returning.’ On the contrary, ‘I have maintained complete secrecy concerning Your Majesty.’ He thanked Charles for entrusting to him ‘the part of royal conscience that Your Majesty was pleased to share with me’ – an intriguing formulation — adding that since his return to Spain ‘I have exonerated Your Majesty and taken the blame, saying that I gave advice on matters that, after much thought and counsel, you considered impossible.’[21] Although Soto did not identify these matters, his surviving correspondence suggests a few areas of activity. Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés wrote on several occasions to ask Soto to ensure that Charles dealt punctually with matters submitted by him on behalf of the council of the Inquisition; and other councils probably did the same. Bartolomé de Las Casas urged Soto to persuade the emperor to stop all conquests and perpetual grants of encomiendas in America (chapter 13), and other individuals probably took similar steps to get Charles’s attention and favour.[22]

Nevertheless, as an English diplomat complained in 1546, the emperor often ‘does things on his own, without consulting his friends’ (meaning, in this case, Henry VIII); and six years later the papal nuncio echoed that ‘the emperor is a man who likes to handle his affairs just as he pleases’. In particular, Charles liked to ‘take his time to think things through, in the hope of gaining his ends without loss’.[23] Many found this style of decision-making frustrating. When the Knights of the Golden Fleece assembled for a

formal chapter in 1546, they voiced many of the same complaints about their sovereign as at their last meeting fifteen years before (pp. 203–4): that Charles did not notify them in advance of his major decisions (notably his two African campaigns); that ‘he exposed himself to danger too often in wartime’; that ‘he was very slow in transacting business’; and that ‘he had many debts, which caused his creditors to complain’. As usual, Charles ‘replied graciously’ but defended himself vigorously. He reminded the knights that both his African campaigns ‘needed to be executed in the greatest secrecy, to avoid giving his enemies a chance to prevent them’ (although he claimed that he had ‘notified some of the knights who were then with him’). ‘Concerning the slow transaction of affairs, he stated that this had always worked out well for him’; and the emperor affirmed that he had already ordered his treasurer to ascertain exactly how much he owed as a prelude to repaying his debts. He continued: ‘As for the rest, if he had offended, he had done so through inadvertence rather than through some wicked design; and he concluded by assuring the assembly that in future he would be more attentive to carrying out his duties properly.’[24]

THE TYRANNY OF DISTANCE

Charles might have offered another explanation of why ‘he was very slow in transacting business’: the communications system on which his government relied. Fernand Braudel was the first historian to devote sustained attention to this problem, writing in 1949:

> Understanding the importance of distance in the sixteenth century – understanding the obstacles, the difficulties and the delays that it caused – leads one to view the administrative problems faced by sixteenth-century empires in a new light. Above all, the enormous Spanish empire . . . which involved (for its time) a massive infrastructure of land and sea transport, and required not only the ceaseless movement of troops but also the dispatch of hundreds of orders and reports every day – links that were silent but vital.

He suggested that ‘a good half of the actions of Philip II can only be explained by the need to maintain these links’, and the same might be said

of his father. For both of them, in Braudel's memorable phrase, 'Distance was public enemy number one'.[25]

Many complaints by Charles and his contemporaries support this assertion. In 1525, from Basel, Erasmus grumbled that he had written to an imperial secretary in Spain, but 'whether that letter ever reached you, I have not yet been able to find out. So many mountains and plains and seas separate us that you seem to live in a different world!' Four years later another imperial secretary warned Erasmus from Barcelona: 'Please send nothing to me or the chancellor [Gattinara] without first checking where in the world we are, for our destination is still uncertain.' Pedro de Toledo, Charles's long-serving viceroy of Naples, jested that 'if he must wait for death, he hoped it would come in a letter from Spain, because then it would never arrive'.[26]

Perhaps they exaggerated? Charles and his ministers had access to a postal network of unprecedented extent and sophistication. In 1505 his father named Francisco de Taxis his postmaster-general and paid him to maintain thirty-five men in a network of postal stations linking Brussels and the Spanish frontier. The following year Maximilian signed a contract with the Taxis company to establish fifteen postal stations linking Augsburg and Brussels; and a decade later Charles signed a contract with Taxis that established standard delivery times for letters travelling between the leading cities in Germany, Italy and Spain (twelve days between Brussels and Toledo in summer, fourteen in winter; and so on). By the 1530s, members of the Taxis family served as postmasters in Augsburg, Brussels, Innsbruck, Rome and Spain, while another often travelled with Charles to ensure an efficient service wherever he might be.[27]

Charles once wished that his couriers 'could fly', in order to keep him in touch better with developments – and sometimes they almost did. In 1519 news of his election as king of the Romans in Frankfurt reached Charles in Barcelona, over 1,300 kilometres away, in seventeen days 'by means of fast couriers who seemed to fly on very fast horses'. Three years later, a courier covered the 1,500 kilometres that separated Rome from Brussels in twelve days, bringing Charles the news that 'Master Adrian [of Utrecht] has been elected pope'; and in 1545 a courier from Rome reached him in Worms, 1,300 kilometres away, in less than six days. These were

truly remarkable feats: an average speed of 76, 125 and 220 kilometres per day respectively. By the end of Charles's reign, letters seem to have travelled faster than anything else in the early modern world.[28]

The problem was that letters did not travel at uniform speeds. Although we lack a systematic study of the rhythms of Charles's correspondence, Pierre Sardella's analysis of 10,000 letters received by the government of Venice from all over Europe between 1497 and 1532 provided a helpful parallel (Fig. 2). Sardella set out to establish the 'normal time' – that is, the most common interval between dispatch and receipt – for letters travelling to Venice on various postal routes. Not surprisingly, the closer the location, the higher the proportion of letters that arrived at the normal time: only one in ten letters from Innsbruck, and one in eight from London, Paris and Valladolid, but one in five from Palermo and Vienna, and more than one in three from Naples and Rome. Even so, almost two-thirds of the 1,053 letters from Rome received in Venice did *not* arrive at the normal time: some took less than two days whereas others took over a week. Such unpredictability made it hard for the Venetian government to make and execute plans.

Figure 2: The time taken for official letters to arrive at Venice, 1497–1532

Place of origin	Number of letters	Shortest time (in days)	Longest time (in days)	Normal time (in days)	Received in 'normal time'
Rome	1,053	1½	9	4	38%
Naples	682	4	20	8	38%
Vienna	145	8	32	13	22%
Palermo	118	8	48	25	19%
Brussels	138	9	35	10	17%
Paris	473	7	34	12	13%
Valladolid	124	12	63	23	12%
London	672	9	52	24	12%
Innsbruck	163	4	16	6	10%
Augsburg	110	5	21	12	6%

Two Venetians, Mario Sanudo and Girolamo Priuli, recorded in their diaries the date on which more than 10,000 official letters arrived in Venice and also when and where they were written. From this raw data Pierre Sardella calculated the longest, the shortest, and the 'normal' time taken by letters

from various destinations. His findings revealed ‘normal’ to be a meaningless category, especially for more distant locations: thus of the 124 letters received from Valladolid, the administrative capital of Spain, only fifteen arrived after the ‘normal’ time lapse of fifteen days – others took less than two weeks and one took over two months. Such unpredictable communications undermined government planning.
Source: Sardella, *Nouvelles*, 56–7

The same problem must have affected Charles’s government even more, since his possessions eventually spanned one-quarter of the globe. The correspondence between Charles and Ferdinand in the 1520s shows that although on average their letters took forty days to arrive, some arrived in less than a month whereas others took more than two months. Such disparities directly impacted decision-making, because neither the sender nor the recipient could be sure when a letter would arrive. Even a critical communication, like Ferdinand’s letter of 22 September 1526 containing news of the catastrophic defeat of Mohács almost a month before, did not reach Charles (in Granada) until fifty-one days later.[29] The same was true even on the most-travelled postal routes. In 1558 news of Charles’s death at Yuste on 21 September did not reach his son in the Netherlands until 1 November; the previous year, a bishop in Spain complained that a letter written in Brussels had taken so long to arrive that ‘it could have gone to America two or three times and still got here sooner’. Of course the bishop exaggerated: few letters written in Mexico arrived at court in less than three months, and those from Peru often took twice as long. On 20 August 1555 a courier arrived in Spain ‘from Peru, with the news that the tyrant Francisco Hernández Girón had been executed’ the previous December – a delay of almost nine months despite the importance of the news.[30]

Even if a letter arrived in record time, its contents might not be immediately actionable. Above all, the use of cypher could cause serious delays. In 1525 the English ambassadors in Spain received a letter from their master in code, ‘wherupon we unciphred the letter, whiche is long and cost us welnigh the labor of 2 daies’; three years later, at a critical point during the French siege of Naples, it took the Spanish viceroy five days to break the code of a vital intercepted letter; in 1546 an agent of Count Fieschi (finalizing his conspiracy to capture Genoa) carelessly left part of a cyphered letter in Rome, but although it reached the Spanish ambassador he had to send it to Florence to be decoded.[31] The arrival of many letters at the

same time could also cause delays. In 1543, Edmund Bonner, Henry VIII's ambassador in Spain, anxious to transact his master's business, despaired when a galley from Genoa arrived bearing letters 'in a great multitude to th'emperour out of Flaunders from the regent [Marie of Hungary], out of Germanie from Grandevele and others, and out of Italie from the Marques of Guaste [Vasto] and other th'emperours frendes there'. Despite 'all my diligent sollicitation and labour', it took Bonner several weeks to get from Charles the decisions he desired.[32]

James Tracy offered a felicitous simile for the dilemma posed by the combination of an information network of unprecedented sophistication with an empire of unprecedented size: 'Charles and his inner circle had regular reports on the affairs of dozens of kingdoms and principalities in Europe and overseas, and occasional reports on many others. Tracing the interconnections among these separate histories would require a gargantuan effort of the mind, a simulcast on thirty or forty different channels.'[33] The emperor adopted various strategies to process this simulcast. He continued to delegate decisions to trusted ministers, but insisted that they deluge him with news. In 1522, since his plan to return to Spain required the loan of both money and warships from Henry VIII, he instructed his ambassadors in England 'to write to me what you hear every day, so that we can better prepare our voyage'. Soon after reaching Spain he reminded his aunt Margaret, whom he had left in the Netherlands as his regent, that 'I greatly desire news so that I always know what is going on there. I therefore ask that you keep me informed as often as you can.' In 1525 he reminded his ambassadors in Rome to continue 'advising us continuously of what is happening'; and four years later, he instructed his new ambassador in Genoa 'always to take very special care to write to us many times by different routes, by sea as well as by land, everything that you think we need to know'. He asked no less of Juan de Vega, whom he sent to Rome as his ambassador in 1543, and made a reciprocal promise: 'We will write and tell you what items of business you need to monitor, because changes occur in them daily if not hourly, and we need to change our views accordingly.'[34]

The emperor also directed his officials to keep in close contact with one another. 'We are pleased when our ministers are in complete conformity and maintain good intelligence and correspondence among themselves,' he told

the duke of Alba, ‘because, as you know, it will help to advance our interests.’[35] When in 1529 he appointed Gómez Suárez de Figueroa as his ambassador in Genoa, Charles ordered him to consult his long-serving predecessor, Lope de Soria, who was moving to the Venetian embassy, ‘before he leaves: find out from him with great secrecy and discretion the standing of the leading members of that republic, in general and in particular, which of them are more and less attached to our service, and from whom he usually gets information on what is happening there’. Ten years later, when Charles moved Soria from Venice, he insisted that ‘you must wait there for twenty or thirty days after the arrival’ of his successor, in order to brief him ‘by word of mouth as well as in writing’ and to hand over all relevant papers ‘so he will be better informed and do his job better’. Soria must also share ‘the general cipher that we use with our ministers’ in Italy, and also spend time ‘transacting business jointly with him, so that he will better understand it, and the way to handle affairs’.[36]

MASTER OF WAR

The perceptive Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero noted that Charles ‘cannot conceal the pleasure he takes in war. He is happy then, he comes alive.’ Whereas normally ‘he always seems very solemn, in the midst of the army he wants to be everywhere, he wants to see and meddle in everything, and forgetting that he is such a great emperor he will even do the work of a simple captain. Many say,’ Navagero continued:

> That the emperor’s desire to take part in operations brings with it many drawbacks, because when he is present in person it is always necessary to be more cautious when on the move and more prudent in combat, and to undertake only those operations that have a chance of success. By contrast, when the emperor is not present, his generals would be more audacious in tempting Fortune, knowing that even if they lose an army they can easily raise another one.

According to Navagero, ‘many people, especially the Spaniards, say that the emperor would do better not to go on campaign himself’, citing the example of his grandfather Ferdinand who, ‘without leaving Spain, gained

the kingdom of Naples and many cities in Africa'. Indeed, he continued, 'the emperor, too, has always won striking and notable victories when he has left the conduct of war to his ministers. But,' the ambassador added, 'others say that given the type of armies he commands, things might have turned out worse in his absence than they did in his presence, and on certain occasions some ventures succeeded that might otherwise have failed'.[37]

The ambassador accurately summarized the passionate disagreements on this subject among Charles's ministers. When Archduchess Margaret discovered in 1529 that her nephew planned to go to Italy 'and hazard your person in war', she reminded him that 'my grandfather Duke Charles [the Bold] died defeated in battle', adding with heavy sarcasm, 'I'm sure you have heard about this several times'; and that 'the late King Charles [VIII] of France, who wanted to go to Naples, found everyone his ally' until he ran out of money, after which 'everyone abandoned him until he had only 5,000 or 6,000 men, with whom he was forced to fight at great risk and danger to his life in order to return to France'. She therefore begged her nephew to let his armies do the fighting until all his enemies had made peace. Six years later, when his sister Marie learned of Charles's plans for the Tunis campaign, she argued that 'His Majesty should not be present in person, because many things that could be risked in his absence cannot be attempted in his presence.'[38] Charles himself had periodic misgivings on this subject. When he heard that his wife's brother, Prince Luis of Portugal, had taken part in a night attack while campaigning against the Sharif of Morocco, he stated unequivocally:

> We are vehemently opposed to him taking part in any action, even if he is well supported and supplied, because of the great risk involved, especially since the size of the army that the Sharif will have with him means that [the prince] can achieve little. It is better that he should be free to order and arrange any relief or other operation that may be required.

But Charles did not follow his own advice. In 1544, when he joined his troops besieging St Dizier, he took personal command, as he had done in both African campaigns, because 'almoost a dousen [dozen] diverse

nations' served 'in myn armey', and since they did not always agree 'if I be not there myself, I am sure no man can rule them'.[39]

The emperor prided himself on his ability to organize a campaign. At the beginning of operations against John Frederick of Saxony, despite suffering from 'a hot piss that gives me no peace either by day or by night' (presumably a urinary tract infection), on 26 March 1547 he provided his brother with a detailed plan of campaign. He promised that he would lead his army out of Nuremberg the following day and 'with God's help' reach Ferdinand's camp at Cheb (Eger), 150 kilometres away, in nine days: 'I cannot come any faster, because it is not possible for troops to travel more than two leagues a day. You are eighteen leagues away, which means nine days.' He and his army marched into Cheb on 5 April, exactly nine days later – a remarkable feat.[40]

THE EMPEROR CLOSELY OBSERVED

Many observers took an obsessive interest in the emperor's physical health, noting anything unusual. Periodically he impressed everyone with a display of physical strength and endurance. After the battle of Mühlberg in 1547, according to an eyewitness, he 'returned to his quarters at 1 a.m., having spent twenty-two hours without dismounting'; four years later, an ambassador reported that Charles was still such an eager hunter that 'several nights he slept fully clothed, to be ready to ride out at dawn', adding 'when necessary, he is fit enough to do anything he wants'. An imperial physician, Dr Cornelis van Baersdorp, painted a very different picture. In a series of health bulletins written after Mühlberg he reported that Charles caught a severe cold (May); had a stomach ache until cured by a powerful laxative ('His Majesty himself said that he had three large bowel movements, and felt much better afterwards': June); was bitten in the foot by a rodent (July); and 'was kept awake by asthma' for several nights (August).[41] In 1550 the French ambassador Charles de Marillac provided a pessimistic overall health assessment. He asserted that the emperor 'suffered from three chronic illnesses, each of which sometimes becomes acute: the first is his haemorrhoids, which lead him to lose a lot of blood.' Second, 'he is asthmatic with a constant draining of catarrh into his lungs, and sometimes a racking cough so strong that it is a wonder he has endured

it so long'. Third, 'he suffers from gout in his arms, shoulder and head so badly that in winter he climbed into some sort of sauna [*un poisle, ou pour mieux dire en une fournaise*] in which most people would stay for a quarter of an hour, but he remains there the whole day' to try and mitigate the pain. 'That he is still alive,' Marillac concluded (with evident regret), 'is a miracle and contrary to the laws of nature.'[42]

Charles himself agreed. He filled letters to his relatives with numbing detail on his various ailments, and when he composed his *Memoirs* in 1550 he obsessively recorded the time and place of seventeen attacks of gout.[43] It is easy to see why. According to Marillac, sometimes the intense pain of his gout made the emperor 'weep and say farewell to the world, taking the last rites in great haste'. When Charles left Ghent in January 1545, after a prolonged episode, Navagero claimed that 'everyone who saw the poor monarch felt compassion for him because he appeared so weak, pale and feeble. He left, swaddled and secured, in a litter that he could only reach with great difficulty.' After another attack three years later, a Florentine colleague asserted that a recent portrait (quite possibly the one by Titian in 1548) showed him 'looking very pale and lacking colour', adding 'and no wonder, since he has had so many purges and was on a diet'.[44]

'Diet' was a flexible term where Charles was concerned. The ruler praised for being abstemious when a young man (p. 66) periodically succumbed to gluttony as he got older. Dr Baersdorp complained in 1548 that the emperor sometimes overate, especially fruit ('five dozen cherries at one meal'; enormous quantities of melon). Two years later, Roger Ascham watched Charles gorge himself on 'roast mutton, baked hare' and a chicken, and drink prodigiously ('he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of us, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine'). Marillac considered the emperor 'the most self-indulgent man in the world when it comes to food'.[45] Yet Bartholomew Sastrow, normally a severe critic of Charles, told a different story: 'I often saw him eat dinner in public' in the 1540s and he 'drank only three times during each meal' from 'a crystal goblet' – albeit 'he drained it to the last drop, pausing for breath two or three times'. As for food, although 'there were always four courses, each with six dishes', Sastrow recalled that:

> As the servers uncovered each one, the emperor shook his head when he rejected it and nodded and drew towards him the others. They took away enormous pastries, large pieces of game, and the most succulent dishes, while His Majesty ate a piece of roast, or a calf's head or something similar. No one carved for him, and he made little use of his knife except to cut his bread, and also his chosen dish, into pieces small enough to swallow whole. He then put down his knife, and instead used his fingers, holding his plate under his chin with the other hand.[46]

Although Sastrow thought that 'he ate so naturally, and at the same time so cleanly, that it was a pleasure to watch him', presumably Charles's delicate table manners reflected his prognathism, which made it impossible for him to chew food. A couple of accidents exacerbated this problem. In 1550 the Florentine ambassador, while marvelling at the emperor's marksmanship ('he is certainly a crack shot'), reported that he used 'an arquebus with such a long range that perhaps it was too much, because its recoil was so powerful that it affected those of his teeth that were not securely anchored in his jaw'. The following year, while travelling in and around Augsburg in a sort of gun-carriage 'of his own design', he fell out and 'loosened the few teeth that nature had left him'.[47]

The extreme oscillations in the emperor's health led some to suspect that he exaggerated his ailments either to buy time or to avoid unwelcome decisions. The English ambassador, William Paget, had no doubt. 'When I cam to him,' he wrote in March 1545:

> I sawe no gret cause why he shuld not speke with any ambassadour; for as for his sicknes, howsoever it greveth him inwardly, I know not, but outwardly I sawe in his face, and of the quicknes and lowde and lyvely speking of him, a greater apparaunce of helth then he showed to have at my being with him in somer. And, to saye truely to you my fantazie, I think verily *he hath ben no more sick then I am, but useth it for a policye*.

Paget made a similar comment nine months later – 'Th' emperor's gowte *servith hym to purpose allway*' – and after an audience at which Charles lay

‘in a low chair with his leg elevated’, the nuncio likewise observed that ‘*some suspect that he is just pretending to be ill*’.[48]

The truth only emerged when Charles’s naked body was exposed to public view in the 1870s (see Pl. 39). Although a spectator commented on both his ‘corpulence’ and ‘his broad chest and broad shoulders’, a modern laboratory analysis of a detached phalanx from one of his fingers confirmed that he had suffered from extreme gout. The investigators found that ‘massive gouty tophi [had] completely destroyed the distal interphalanx joint and extended to the neighbouring soft tissue’. Presumably the emperor’s other joints were similarly afflicted, so it is small wonder that he complained of chronic pain and sought relief by spending his days in a sauna.[49]

Contemporaries also monitored variations in the emperor’s behaviour. Sastrow noted that in the 1540s Charles ate his meals in the presence of ‘his jesters [*Schalksnarren*], who stood behind him’, but ‘paid little attention to them, with just a little chuckle [*mit einem halben Lachlin*] when they said something particularly amusing’.[50] Nevertheless, the emperor had a good sense of humour and sometimes made jokes at his own expense. Thus, when trying to arrange a private interview with Francis I in 1538, he stressed to a French envoy the importance of ‘doing everything possible to create trust, because sometimes a single word can do a lot, provided that (and here he smiled) one does not bite; and *although His Majesty often has his mouth open*, you can be sure that he lacks the teeth to do that.’ At an audience a decade later, after the Florentine ambassador had summarized a document, Charles asked him to read out the full text to make sure he had understood everything. The ambassador felt embarrassed, ‘because I had never had to wear my spectacles when reading to His Majesty, and tried to get out of it. But he started to laugh and said “There are others here who depend on them”, pointing to himself.’[51] Charles was similarly gracious to others. At Thomas Wyatt’s first audience in 1537, the emperor ‘gently entreteigned [him] not with pompe and setting furth of himself, but with sobre and discrete words, like a wise man’; and on hearing of the birth of Henry VIII’s son and heir, Edward, the emperor indulged in ‘good and long rejoicing and laughing which I never saw in him so heartily nor so pleasantly’.[52] In 1543, according to the Spanish exile Francisco de Enzinas,

every day after dinner Charles ‘got up and spent a long time leaning on a cane’ to hear the assembled petitioners ‘as if he had nothing else to do than listen to what we had to say to him’. When Enzinas’s turn came, he presented the emperor with his translation of the New Testament ‘into our Spanish language. “Into Castilian?” His Majesty asked’. After affirming this, Enzinas revealed that he had dedicated the book to Charles and asked for an exclusive licence to sell it. ‘What you request will be done,’ the emperor replied, adding prudently ‘provided that it contains nothing forbidden’. He then ‘went into an adjacent room’, taking the book with him.[53]

Occasionally, Charles was not so gracious. In 1551 he ‘used very pungent words’ during an audience with the French ambassador, ‘shaking his fist in a gesture of defiance as he said to him: “Make your king understand that we shall tolerate no hostile act”’ towards himself or his allies. A few days earlier he also raged to an English envoy that ‘I will not suffer’ Mary Tudor ‘to be evil handled . . . Is it not enough that mine aunt, her mother, was evil entreated by the King that dead is, but my cousin must be worse ordered by councillors now?’[54] Some thought that such outbursts revealed the emperor’s true feelings. According to Marillac that same year, ‘If you examine the matter closely, you will find that he has never cared for anyone, except in as far as he needs them’, citing Charles’s cavalier treatment of his brother-in-law Christian of Denmark, his aunt Katherine of Aragon, and above all his brother Ferdinand.[55] In 1552 a nuncio at his court reached a similar conclusion. ‘The emperor is by nature very good and a good Christian,’ he wrote, ‘but it seems to me nevertheless that he has become so miserly, and so short of money and of everything else that could be useful to him and his interests’ that ‘little reliance and little confidence should be placed in his friendship, unless it is something that brings him some direct benefit’.[56]

The Strasbourg Reformer Martin Bucer (no friend of the emperor) brilliantly captured the various paradoxes in Charles’s nature after observing him at the Diet of Speyer in 1543. He informed a colleague that ‘the emperor is a man with a sharp mind who pursues his plans with the greatest determination’, and he ‘is imperial in word, deed, look, gesture, gifts, everything. Even those who have been with him a long time are

amazed to see in him such enthusiasm, willingness, determination and majesty.' He predicted that 'The emperor could achieve a great deal, if he would only act like a German emperor and a servant of Christ.' Bucer and his fellow Protestants would soon learn that Charles could also achieve a great deal while acting like a medieval emperor and persecuting heretics.[57]

PART IV

DOWNFALL

‘You need to ask yourself . . .’

‘I don’t need to do anything: I’m the king!’

Joffrey Baratheon, first of his name; exchange between Cersei Lannister and her son, *Game of Thrones*, series 3, episode 2 (2013)

— FOURTEEN —

PATERFAMILIAS, 1548–51

SEX AND THE EMPEROR: I. THREE ILLEGITIMATE DAUGHTERS

In 1530 a Mantuan diplomat asserted that Charles ‘gives up to two ducats a night to any woman who sleeps with him’; in 1548 a Venetian ambassador claimed that the emperor’s ‘doctors and those who know him well say that he was and still is by nature much inclined to sensual pleasures and has made love to many women’; his successor in 1557 stated that Charles ‘has freely indulged in venereal pleasures in every place he has visited, with lower- as well as upper-class women’. Since none of these diplomats revealed their source, it would be easy to dismiss their claims as salacious gossip – except that Charles acknowledged four illegitimate children, two of them conceived with teenage servants (Fig. 3).[1]

Late in 1521, while residing in the castle of Oudenaarde in the Netherlands for six weeks, Charles seduced one of the servants, Jeanne van der Gheynst. By the time Jeanne gave birth the emperor had returned to Spain; but he left instructions that his daughter be named after his aunt Margaret and then taken away to Brussels to be raised by a courtier. In return for her agreement to sacrifice the child, Charles granted Jeanne a modest annual pension and arranged for her to marry someone far above her social station; and twenty years later, on learning of her death, he transferred her pension to her legitimate children.[2] Archduchess Margaret took a keen interest in her great-niece and namesake, buying her presents, teaching her to ride and to hunt, and occasionally inviting her to court functions; and Charles toyed with marrying ‘my bastard daughter who lives in the Netherlands’ to an Italian prince – first the son of the duke of Ferrara,

then the heir to Mantua, and finally Alessandro de' Medici, the pope's nephew – as a means of winning them over. In 1529 he granted his daughter the right to use the family style 'of Austria', and issued a declaration of legitimacy; and when he returned to Brussels two years later he met her for the first time. Soon afterwards, at Pope Clement's request, he agreed that 'my very dear and much loved daughter' should reside in Rome, and he instructed her governess on what 'Margarita' (as she became known) should study and how she should behave. In 1536 he presided over her wedding, when she was aged thirteen, to Alessandro de' Medici, now duke of Florence, but their union did not fare well: a year later a discontented relative assassinated Alessandro.[3]

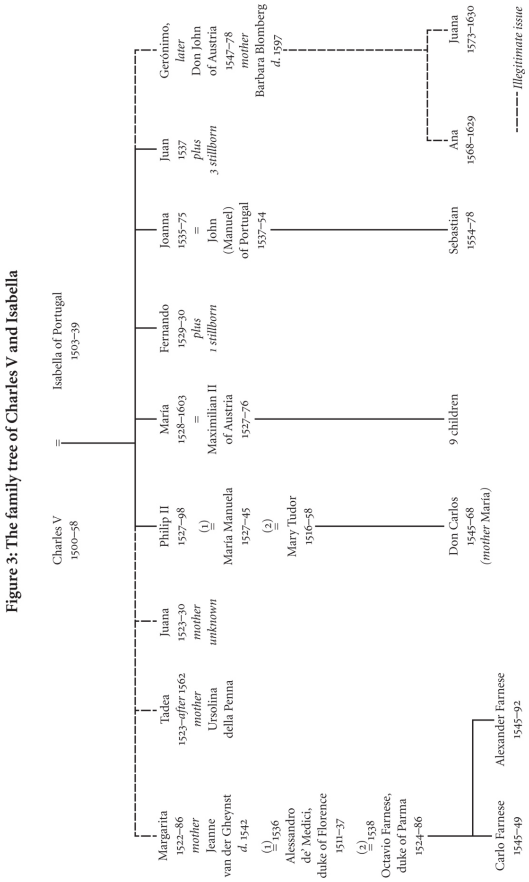


Figure 3: The family tree of Charles V and Isabella

Empress Isabella had nine pregnancies, but only three of her children outlived her, and of those only two produced more than one heir: María, who gave birth to nine children, and Philip II, whose four wives produced only two children who outlived the king. Charles also sired four illegitimate children, of whom two entered a convent (Tadea and Juana); one never married but sired at least two illegitimate children (Gerónimo, later known as Don John); and the other (Margarita) gave birth to twins, of whom one died in infancy.

Although the young widow began to sign her letters ‘sad Margarita’, she made the most of her new freedom until Charles stepped in. In January 1538 the emperor informed her chamberlain (whom he had appointed) that ‘I understand that the duchess [Margarita] sometimes goes out hunting and stays away two, three and even four days’, and ordered him ‘to stop her doing this by whatever means you can. If she wants to go hunting, she must return home each night.’ The following month Charles accepted the suggestion of Pope Paul that his grandson, Octavio Farnese, should marry Margarita and soon afterwards the ceremony took place in the Sistine Chapel.[4] Once again, the union did not fare well. On their wedding night Octavio, aged fourteen, could not consummate the union and afterwards Margarita refused to sleep with him. She wrote a rude letter to her father complaining about this unsatisfactory situation, prompting Charles to compose ‘the first letter that I have written to you with my own hand’. After criticizing her language, ‘which you should not use to any Christian, especially not to me, since I am your father’, he adopted the same passive-aggressive tone he used periodically with others close to him: ‘So far I have not used force, nor would I wish to use it. I prefer to admonish you as a father concerning what you should and ought to do, and I hope and trust that my admonition, advice and pleas will prove more beneficial than all the force and threats that others might have used.’ He concluded with the hope that God ‘will guide, lead and induce you to do all that you should, and also what you owe to me and to yourself, like the good daughter you are; and I promise that you will always find me a good father’. Margarita evidently replied with further complaints about her husband because a few weeks later Charles wrote another holograph letter. This time he apologized that if he ‘had known these things at the beginning’ he would not have forced the marriage upon her; but now, he continued, ‘I would not discharge my duties as a good father, or justify the confidence you have placed in me, if I did not advise and exhort you to do what you must to satisfy your honour and your conscience’ – namely to ‘live as a wife’ with Octavio.[5] Nevertheless, the emperor did his best to address his daughter’s complaints: he took her husband with him when he left for Algiers in 1541 and kept him in his entourage for two years. This temporarily solved the couple’s conjugal difficulties. When they met again, according to a well-informed source, ‘the

first time Duke Octavio slept with his lady, he ejaculated four times'; and in August 1545 she gave birth to twin boys. Charles 'showed great pleasure in asking after [his grandsons], wanting to know how big and chubby they were, and if they differed from one another in any way'.[6] Two years later, the emperor changed his tune again on finding that Octavio had contracted syphilis: now he did 'everything he could to prevent the duchess from being infected'. Margarita would bear no more children, and she and Octavio reluctantly complied with Charles's demand that they send Alessandro, now the only surviving twin, to be brought up in Spain.[7]

Charles also seduced Ursolina della Penna of Perugia, the 'very beautiful' widow of a nobleman, while she resided at his court in the Netherlands in 1522. As soon as the emperor realized Ursolina was pregnant he sent her back to Italy, where she gave birth to their daughter, Tadea. The child was entrusted to the nuns of a neighbouring convent, but eight years later, shortly before his coronation, Charles summoned Tadea to meet him in Bologna. After publicly recognizing her as his daughter, he 'caused a mark to be made on her right leg below the knee, which was an ' – that is, he caused someone to make a permanent mark (an abbreviation of the name of Jesus) on his daughter, presumably with a sharp instrument: an extraordinary act.[8] Tadea returned to her convent until 1532, when Charles summoned her for another brief visit and then sent her back with instructions that 'she must not be given to her mother or to anyone else until His Majesty authorizes it'. No doubt he intended to use her (like Margarita) as a dynastic pawn and he was therefore furious when Ursolina's half-brothers broke into the convent, seized Tadea, and forced her to marry a local nobleman. The emperor wrote Ursolina a reproachful letter, but soon calmed down: 'Although I was very angry with you, nevertheless Your Ladyship will feel gratitude towards me because I am sending with the bearer 3,000 gold crowns to be spent to the benefit and use of our daughter.' In 1550, after the death of her mother and husband, Tadea went to Rome and became a nun, but on hearing that Charles had abdicated and moved to Yuste she wrote to ask his permission to come to Spain. In 1562, having received no reply, she sent a messenger to Philip II bearing the same request, together with documents that proved her august paternity. With characteristic insensitivity Charles had failed to inform Philip that he had

another half-sister, so this was probably the first the king knew about her existence. With similar insensitivity, Philip archived her plea and did nothing for Tadea.[9]

Charles's third illegitimate daughter was born in Valladolid in 1523, probably the fruit of a liaison with the daughter of an exiled Venetian nobleman.[10] The emperor immediately sent both mother and baby, named Juana, to a convent at Madrigal de las Altas Torres where Prioress María de Aragón (an illegitimate daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic and thus Charles's aunt) looked after them. The following year the prioress reported that the child 'has a marvellous body for her age, and about a month ago she started to walk when you hold her little arms', adding pointedly 'every day she looks more like the emperor'. She also stated that the child's mother 'is very sad because His Majesty has never thought of her, or sent to find out how she fares, since he sent Juana here'. She pleaded for a visit from Charles when next he went to see his mother at Tordesillas, which was not far away; but in 1530, Juana apparently drowned in the convent well and was buried at Madrigal without ever meeting her father.[11]

Charles appears to have abandoned his promiscuous ways while he was married, but temptation was seldom far away. While creating a household for his sister Marie as regent in the Netherlands in 1531, he named 'the young widow Egmont' as one of her attendants and defended his choice at suspicious length to his brother Ferdinand: 'To prove to you that I have not allowed myself to be carried away by affection for young women, I delayed making the appointment until now, when I am about to leave, so that no one can falsely say or think that I have done it with evil intent. I am not such a bad husband.'[12] Charles's confessor, García de Loaysa, was not so sure, chiding him 'never let your wicked sensuality govern you'; and several observers commented on the emperor's manifest 'affection for young women'. Thus in 1530, when 'sixty local women, young and old, beautiful and plain', came out to welcome Charles to Innsbruck, 'he shook the hands of all of them, and gave the younger ones a kiss'. Charles himself admitted flirtatious behaviour when he made his ceremonial entry into Naples five years later. 'Everyone knows the attractiveness of the city and the beauty and graciousness of the women who live there,' he told his courtiers, continuing:

> I am a man just like other men, and I wanted to earn their favours. On the morning of my arrival, I summoned my barber to trim, shave and perfume me. He placed a mirror before me. I looked at myself and saw [some grey hairs] . . . Shocked and astonished I asked 'What are those?' My barber replied 'Two or three white hairs.' There were more than a dozen. 'Remove those hairs,' I told him, 'and don't leave a single one'.

'And do you know what happened next?' the emperor asked rhetorically: 'A short time afterwards, wanting to see myself in the mirror again, I found that for every white hair that had been removed, three more had appeared; and if I had wanted to have those removed, in no time at all I would have been as white as a swan.'[13]

Despite the white hairs, during his residence in Naples over the winter of 1535–6 (according to a member of his entourage) 'the emperor took advantage of the festivals to get to know all the ladies and gentlewomen of Naples'. In particular, he saw the duchess of Salerno daily and one evening at a masked ball he 'asked insistently, once, twice and a third time to kiss her hand'; and to win her favour he granted everything she asked him (including her request that he pardon a convicted murderer, an appalling lapse for which he later expressed regret).[14] Two years later, at a masked ball in Barcelona, 'the emperor talked and laughed no less than other gentlemen. It happened that he told a lady with whom he was talking that he was the emperor, and took off his mask so that she would recognize him, and then told the lady to pretend that she did not know him, and to treat him just like any other gentleman.' Rumours about the 'masquerading' soon reached the court and the empress's secretary Juan Vázquez de Molina reproached his uncle, Los Cobos, for taking part. He replied: 'What they say about my coming in at midnight is a lie', but then admitted that he had gone out masquerading on three occasions, one of them 'with the emperor. And since His Majesty enjoys it, the gossip does not have much weight.' The gossip certainly weighed on the empress, however. Charles had once more left her behind, pregnant, and according to one of her ladies-in-waiting 'she feels very bitter about his departure'.[15]

The death of his wife allowed Charles's flirtatious side to flourish once more. While he resided in Regensburg between April and August 1546, dealing with the Diet and preparing to attack the German Lutherans, he seduced Barbara Blomberg, a teenager exactly the same age as his son Philip. The daughter of a leatherworker, Barbara was also related to the landlord of the inn where Charles stayed, and so she could come and go without attracting much notice. On 24 February 1547, Charles's birthday, she gave birth to his son and named him Gerónimo. He would later be known as Don John of Austria.[16]

Charles's initial reaction resembled his behaviour after the birth of Margarita – he arranged for the child to be separated from his mother and taken to Brussels – but whereas he had crowed over 'my little bastard daughter', and used her as a dynastic pawn, he kept the existence of his son secret. In 1550 he forced François Massi, one of his musicians, to sign an affidavit stating that the emperor's principal usher, Adrian Dubois, had empowered him to take his illegitimate son to Spain 'because Adrian does not want his wife to know', and to raise him there until further notice. The affidavit is only known because Charles attached a copy to a secret codicil to his will, written and signed without witnesses in 1554, admitting that he – not Dubois – was the father: 'When I was in Germany after the death of the empress, I sired an illegitimate son with an unmarried woman. His name is Gerónimo.' He commanded that the affidavit and codicil remain sealed and secret until after his death – no doubt because he felt ashamed of his affair with a teenager when he was forty-six.[17] Meanwhile, the emperor arranged for Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, the wife of his comrade-in-arms Luis Méndez de Quijada, to supervise the upbringing of his secret son at their castle in Villagarcía de Campos, fifty kilometres from the court in Valladolid. There he remained until the summer of 1558, when the emperor ordered Quijada to bring Gerónimo to live near Yuste. Charles met his son only once before he died but declined to recognize him, leaving his legitimate children to discover for themselves that they had another sibling (chapter 15).

Charles treated Barbara Blomberg somewhat better. She later married Hieronymus Kegel, a minor imperial clerk to whom the emperor granted £100 'in consideration of certain good services he has rendered to the

emperor, and to cover his expenses while he awaits some suitable position from His Majesty'. Shortly afterwards Kegel also received an annual pension of 100 florins 'with the obligation to reside in the Netherlands and, whenever required, to attend on the regent [Marie] and carry out her orders'. Barbara and her husband made Brussels their base, where they raised three children.[18] Although Barbara and Charles both lived in Brussels between 1553 and 1556, she probably saw him (if at all) only from afar; nevertheless, as he lay on his deathbed the emperor thought of her fondly, ordering a trusted aide to withdraw from his privy purse '600 crowns in gold' – a substantial gift – and deliver it to her. He then lost consciousness and died the next day.[19]

EDUCATING THE HEIR

Charles always paid close attention to his son and heir: Prince Philip. He stayed with the empress for his birth, a unique event, and he rejected suggestions that the boy should receive a traditional Trastámara name, such as Fernando or Juan, but instead called him after the father he had scarcely known, Philip. According to an ambassador, 'the emperor was so happy and takes so much pleasure in his new son that he does nothing except organize celebrations' (chapter 7). When Charles set sail for Italy in 1529 he left behind two legitimate children, Philip and María (born 1528). Shortly after his departure the empress gave birth to another son, Fernando, but he died a year later. Another daughter was born while the emperor was absent in Africa in 1535: Joanna.

While on his travels between 1529 and 1533, Charles invited three admirers of Erasmus whom he met to serve as the prince's preceptor – Francisco de Bobadilla y Mendoza, who taught at the university of Salamanca; Joachim Viglius van Aytta from Friesland, professor of law at the university of Padua; and Juan Luis Vives, one of the foremost humanists of his day, living in the Netherlands – but although all three would later serve him in other roles, none accepted the offer of preceptor. Charles therefore appointed a small committee to select a teacher. They soon reduced a list of fifteen candidates to three, one of whom was Juan Martínez del Guijo, normally known by the Latinized version of his surname, *Silíceo*, a forty-eight-year-old priest of humble origins who had

studied at Paris and published books on both philosophy and mathematics before becoming a professor of philosophy at Salamanca, where the emperor heard him lecture in June 1534. Shortly afterwards he appointed him preceptor to his son.[20]

A year later Charles created a separate household for Philip, and he chose as its governor Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, one of the *Felipistas* who had come to the Netherlands to serve him twenty-five years before. The emperor did not model his son's household on Burgundian lines, like his own, but instead sought to imitate that of his uncle Juan, the last native prince of Castile, and he instructed Zúñiga to obtain detailed descriptions of the late prince's household from its surviving members. One of them – the historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo – came to court for an interview, and was later asked to write down everything he could remember because the emperor wished his son 'to be raised and served in the same way as the prince, his uncle'. Philip was to become 'a true prince of Castile'.[21] Henceforth, the prince's entourage comprised only male servants – the emperor appointed about forty of them – and Zúñiga (or his deputy) slept in Philip's chamber at night and kept him under constant surveillance by day. 'I am only absent,' Zúñiga stated, 'when I am writing to Your Majesty' or when the prince 'is in school, or with his mother somewhere that I may not enter'.[22]

Zúñiga's exclusion from school reflected the Castilian tradition that 'the prince should have two people to teach him different things: a master who will teach him letters and good behaviour, and a governor who would instruct him in military and knightly exercises'.[23] So it was Silíceo who taught the prince and six of his pages how to read, write and pray – albeit progress was slow because the preceptor was indulgent. In February 1536, Silíceo informed Charles that he had 'suspended for some days' the prince's Latin assignments 'because the first principles are difficult'; and four years later, when the prince was thirteen, he announced that 'we have just started Latin composition'.[24] Silíceo's relaxed regime, and his hostility to Humanism, did little to stimulate the prince's intellect: by the end of 1538 his library contained just sixteen books, all of them devotional except for an 'imperial genealogy' and three books of Spanish and Latin grammar. Moreover, as José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero noted, 'many of the books

used to educate the future Philip II between 1535 and 1541 were manuscript volumes' so that, like his father two decades earlier, 'he apparently studied according to the aesthetic and cultural criteria of the previous century'.[25]

Silíceo had more success in stimulating Philip's religious devotion. Even the stern and godly Zúñiga was impressed, noting as he took over as governor in 1535 that 'the fear of God comes so naturally to the prince that I have not seen anything like it in someone of his age'; and the prince soon acquired several religious objects, including three small but richly bound liturgical works, apparently intended to be hung from his belt or placed on his bedside table; a Book of Hours; and a beautifully illuminated pocket *Rosario*.[26] After 1535, Philip devoted most of his mornings to prayer and worship followed (when he was healthy) by lessons in the company of the sons of Zúñiga, Los Cobos and Francisco de Borja. In August of that year, aged eight, he felt so happy on hearing of his father's victory at Tunis that he 'decided to write a letter to Your Majesty in his own hand'; but voluntary forays into literacy remained rare. Zúñiga grumbled that 'he learns very well once he is out of school!'[27]

The unexpected death of the empress in 1539 led Charles to decree important changes in the life of his children. He ordered his daughters to move first to the town of Arévalo in Old Castile and then to Ocaña south of Aranjuez, where they could grow up away from the bustle of the court. Henceforth Charles controlled their lives both directly (even when he claimed to be too busy to answer official letters, he found time to compose orders changing his daughters' residence) and indirectly (by instructing Philip to enforce his directives for them, such as his plan to marry María to Charles of Orléans in 1544 and to Maximilian four years later: chapter 11).[28] After María's marriage, Charles decreed that Joanna must live apart from her siblings in places so small and isolated that no nobleman could demand by right the honour of paying her a visit, eventually sending her to Aranda del Duero, an insalubrious town where he required her to look after his grandson Don Carlos, ten years her junior. The emperor denied María permission to visit her sister, and although in 1550 he moved Joanna (now fifteen) to Toro, he forbade her to stop and see her sister on the way. The following year he reluctantly allowed Joanna to visit María and Maximilian before they left for Germany, but they would never meet again.[29]

Charles also closely controlled his son. After the death of the empress he increased the size of Philip's household and promoted Zúñiga to be its chamberlain (*mayordomo mayor*) while still remaining the prince's governor. Two years later, frustrated by Silíceo's failure to teach his son Latin, Charles charged Zúñiga, Tavera and Los Cobos to meet as a committee and propose a suitable new preceptor. They recommended Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, raised in Catalonia, noting that he was not only 'a very learned man' but also 'of pure blood' (*limpio de sangre*: that is, he had no Jewish or Muslim ancestors). Charles duly appointed him 'to teach grammar to the prince and all his pages'. He soon added three other instructors: Honorato Juan, from Valencia, to teach him mathematics and architecture; Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, from Córdoba, to teach him history and geography; and Francisco de Vargas Mexía, from Toledo, to teach him theology. Although all four preceptors were Spaniards (albeit from different regions), each had travelled extensively in Europe and boasted a cosmopolitan outlook that would broaden the horizons of the prince and his fellow students in the palace school.[30] Calvete, unlike Silíceo, was enthusiastic for Humanist learning and within a year he had purchased 140 books for the prince, more than doubling the size of his library.

In 1542 the emperor took his son to Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia. The principal purpose was to ensure that each kingdom recognized Philip as heir apparent, but Calvete, Juan and Sepúlveda – all of whom accompanied Philip and his father – seized every opportunity to teach him about the different languages, cultures and histories of his future vassals. The prince admired ancient ruins, coins and inscriptions along the route; met an ambassador of the shah of Persia and a brother of the king of Congo; and received from Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas a dedicated manuscript copy of *A very brief account of the destruction of America* (chapter 13). When news arrived that the French had laid siege to Perpignan, the second city of Catalonia, Sepúlveda led a debate among courtiers on the best way to save it – Philip's first exposure to military strategy. In addition, throughout the tour and after their return to Madrid, Charles instructed his son in the art of government. He no doubt intended to make such lessons a regular fixture, but his departure in 1543 to direct

military operations against France and Guelders put an end to them. It also prevented him from superintending Philip's marriage.

In September 1542, Charles had 'asked the king of Portugal for the hand of his oldest daughter', María Manuela, because 'the age of the prince my son makes it more than necessary to arrange his marriage, in order to continue the dynasty'. Since the princess was not only the daughter of his sister Catalina but also the niece of the late empress, Charles had to request multiple dispensations from the pope to cover 'each and every instance of consanguinity and affinity that exists between the prince and the princess' (Pl. 28).[31] This delayed the wedding, leading Charles to explain his son's marital responsibilities in writing: he devoted almost four pages of his May 1543 instructions to the subject of sex.

'My son, God willing, you will soon be married,' the emperor began, even though sexual intercourse at the age of sixteen 'can be dangerous both for the body's growth and for its strength: it can often lead to such weakness that it interferes with conceiving children and even causes death.' He had already interrogated his son to make sure he was still a virgin ('I am certain that you have told me the truth about the past, and that you have kept your word to me [to remain celibate] until you are married'); now he demanded that the prince show equal restraint after the wedding. 'I require and request that once you have consummated the marriage, you plead some illness and keep away from your wife and do not visit her again so quickly or so often. And when you do return, let it be for only a short time.'[32] Charles backed up this astounding request both with pathos (if too much sex killed the prince, 'your sisters and their husbands would inherit in your place: just imagine what cold comfort this would bring me in my old age!') and with measures to compel the young couple's compliance. He sent his instructions to Zúñiga, ordering the prince to 'read them in his presence so that he can remind you of what they contain whenever he deems it necessary'. Moreover, 'to make certain there are no shortcomings in this matter', he ordered that 'even though it may anger you, I order [Zúñiga] not to refrain from saying and doing all he can to see that you comply in this matter'. Most humiliating of all, he ordered Francisco de Borja and his wife 'to do the same' once María Manuela arrived in Spain, and to 'keep her away from you except for the times when your life and health can stand it'.

A more effective way to create a complex about sex in a boy scarcely sixteen would be hard to imagine.[33]

PHILIP COMES OF AGE

In retrospect, Philip dated the beginning of his personal rule from the day his father left Spain. In 1574 he reminded a minister 'I began to govern in 1543', and two years later he rejected a suggested change to his administrative style because 'I have been dealing with public affairs for almost thirty-three years'.[34] He was correct. Although the emperor had originally intended his son to sign only 'the warrants and other documents concerning his household', and otherwise to do as he was told, he soon discovered that he had miscalculated. In October 1543, at the end of a letter instructing his son to send money to sustain his war with France, Charles added a holograph postscript that came close to blackmail: 'My son: I'm sure that when you read what I have written here, and see how much it affects me, you will do everything that a loyal son is obliged to do so as not to abandon your father in this situation . . . Do not fail to send me the soldiers and money that I have requested.' Barely two weeks later the emperor picked up his quill again to maintain the pressure: 'My son,' he crooned after another long plea for soldiers and money from Spain, 'once again I beg you to show me what a loyal son you are.' The prince remained unmoved. No doubt encouraged by his Spanish advisers, who worried that fiscal pressure might provoke unrest, the prince did not reply until February 1544 – four months later! – and then explained at some length why he intended to do nothing:

> I beg Your Majesty as earnestly as I can to take what I say in the same spirit as I write it. I do not seek to circumscribe Your Majesty's ambitious plans, which are the fruit of your imperial valour, but to remind you of the current state of affairs, the misery in which Christendom finds itself, the exhaustion of your kingdoms, the harm that follows from major wars (however justified they may be), and the danger in which we find ourselves, with enemy fleets at hand and few resources with which to resist them.

Ending all wars was the only realistic strategy, Philip emphasized, ‘if Your Majesty wishes to avoid an irreparable disaster’.[35]

José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has argued that in this letter ‘Philip revealed his political opinions for the first time’, and they no doubt irritated Charles profoundly.[36] So did some other developments. In February 1545 the emperor sent Zúñiga a long letter filled with complaints about his son, now almost eighteen, lamenting some ‘little things that have started in my absence’. Charles recognized that many ‘little things’ could not be remedied. Thus although ‘it would be better if he did not return so late when he goes hunting’, or neglect his studies:

> Seeing that he is now married, and busy with affairs of state, and past the age where it might be worth urging him to do more than he wishes to do of his own free will, it seems to me that he should be allowed to do what he wants. We should not nag him so much that he becomes irritated with everything.

The emperor expressed more concern about some of the other ‘little things’ – ‘the disorderly manner and the time wasted in getting up and going to bed, and in getting dressed and undressed’; ‘the lack of attention he shows in devotions and confessions’; and above all ‘what happened at the house’ of the prince’s jester – but once again he did nothing.[37]

Charles had reluctantly recognized that his dependence on support from Spain circumscribed his parental authority. On the very day that he wrote his complaint to Zúñiga, the emperor sent Philip yet another plea for money: ‘Believe me: if this time the impossible does not become possible, I cannot maintain my various enterprises’, because without the funds that only Philip could raise, ‘I will be left in the dirt’. Charles simply could not afford to alienate his son. In addition, once María Manuela became pregnant, warnings about the risks of teenage sex gave way to jokes about the prince’s prowess: ‘Many congratulations on her pregnancy: you have done better than I expected, because I thought it would have taken you another year!’ Henceforth the emperor meddled with his son’s private life less often, telling Zúñiga that ‘I will be writing to you less than before, because this poor old sinner can do no more. And I will do the same with my son.’[38]

Philip gained in independence as the ‘older and mature men’ whom his father had appointed to guide him disappeared. Zúñiga, his most ‘faithful councillor’ and moderator of his sex life, died in 1546 and Charles did not appoint another governor. That same year Cardinal Tavera, the senior minister, died; the duke of Alba left to join the emperor in Germany; and illness forced Francisco de Los Cobos to retire to his estates, where he soon died. In June 1546, Charles formally recognized the inevitable: as a prelude to investing Philip as duke of Milan, an imperial fief, he signed a declaration that henceforth his son ‘would be emancipated and free from our paternal control’.[39]

Henceforth, Charles sought to control Philip’s conduct primarily through correspondence; but, just as he had done with the empress, he dictated almost all of his letters to a secretary, only occasionally adding a short postscript in his own hand. Perhaps this explains why his letters to his son (as earlier to his wife) seem cold, in contrast to his letters to his siblings Marie and Ferdinand, many of which were holographs and often contained intimate details and even jokes at his own expense. It would be hard to find anything similar in the 500 or so surviving letters written by Charles to his son. In August 1545 he even dictated his consolation for the death of Philip’s wife, expressing his personal grief in a letter to Los Cobos: ‘Cobos: Since God has been pleased to afflict me and my son in this way, there is little to say and much to regret; but in all things we must accept His will, and that’s what I am doing. Work with my son, so that he accepts it too, and console him.’[40]

SECURING THE SUCCESSION: I. A BLUEPRINT FOR EMPIRE

After crushing the last of his European enemies, Charles’s thoughts turned to the future of his possessions and on Christmas Day 1547, from Augsburg, the emperor informed his son that ‘we have decided that you should come here as soon as possible’; that María should accompany her brother; and that ‘now that we have finalized the conditions’ for her marriage to Maximilian, Philip must secure his sister’s consent. A few weeks later, Charles learned that his daughter had expressed a desire to remain within the peninsula and he therefore sent more insistent orders. ‘I am certain,’ Charles told his son, that María ‘will obey me, as is only right

because, given my love for her, I must look out more than anyone else for her well-being and happiness'; but should there be resistance Philip must 'reduce her to reason, and explain to her in detail the reasons why she cannot do anything else'. As with the Alternative four years earlier, Charles expected his daughter to sacrifice herself for the greater good of the dynasty.[41]

On 18 January 1548 the emperor completed a long policy evaluation for his son's benefit, sometimes known as his *Political Testament* and composed (like his secret instructions five years before) because he feared that he might die before he could explain his vision to Philip in person. 'My past preoccupations have led to a recurrence of some infirmities, and recently my life has been in peril,' he admitted. Therefore, 'unsure of what might happen to me, depending on God's will, I decided to convey to you my current thinking in this letter, in case the worst happens'. Unlike the secret instructions of 1543, this document enjoyed wide circulation. At least twenty-eight manuscript copies survive – one of them among Granvelle's papers, which suggests that Charles may have involved his principal minister in their composition – and in 1606, Sandoval printed the full text in his semi-official *History of the life and deeds of the Emperor Charles V*.[42]

The emperor began, as he had done in his papers of advice in 1539 and 1543, by urging Philip to 'submit all your desires and actions to the will of God' and to make the defence of the Catholic faith his primary responsibility. He then regretted the cost of 'the wars that I have been forced to fight so many times and in so many places' to defend the Empire – even though, he noted with a trace of smugness, 'with God's help (for which let Him be thanked) I have preserved, defended and added other territories of great quality and importance'. The primary need, therefore, was to assure a period of peace during which his vassals could recover. However:

> Avoiding war and keeping it at bay is not always in the power of those who want it . . . especially of those who rule realms as great and as numerous and as far-flung as God, in His goodness, has given me and which, if He pleases, I shall leave to you. Rather this depends on the good or ill will of neighbours and other states.

So Philip must always be ready to fight, if necessary, to preserve what was his.

Charles now surveyed the defensive capacity of each territory, focusing on the challenges that his son might encounter. ‘Common sense and experience,’ he began:

> Show that unless you watch and take the trouble to understand the actions of other states and rulers, and maintain friends and informants in all areas, it will be difficult if not impossible to live in peace, or to avoid, oppose, and remedy anything that is attempted against you and your possessions . . . especially since (as I have already noted) they are separated one from another, and the object of envy.

Therefore, ‘your first and most secure friendship and trust’ must be with Ferdinand, Charles’s brother and designated successor as Holy Roman Emperor. On the one hand, his uncle Ferdinand would be a valuable councillor; on the other hand, as emperor, his support would prove vital for Philip’s control over northern Italy and the Low Countries as well as for secure and easy communications between them.

Next, Philip must always maintain good relations with the pope – although, as in his earlier papers of advice, the emperor recognized that this was easier said than done. ‘You already know how the present pope, Paul III, has treated me,’ Charles complained; and although he expressed the hope that a change of pontiff would improve matters, he identified two areas that would continue to produce conflict: papal claims to suzerainty over Naples and Sicily, and royal patronage over the Spanish Church. He therefore advised his son to ‘behave with the submission of a good son of the Church’ towards future pontiffs, ‘and without giving them any just cause to be offended with you. But do this without any prejudice to the pre-eminences, prosperity and peace of the said kingdoms.’ Philip must give nothing away, not even to the head of the Catholic Church.

Charles now reviewed his relations with the major independent states of the peninsula. The republic of Venice had previously opposed Spain, he noted, but the treaty of 1529 had settled all earlier differences and his son must uphold its terms and ‘keep good friendship with [the Venetians],

favouring them as good allies as much as possible'. Charles also noted that 'ever since I entrusted' Duke Cosimo de' Medici with Florence in 1537 'he has been very solicitous for me and my affairs; and I think he will befriend you too, since he has received so many favours.' Moreover, the duke 'has a good brain and good judgement, and keeps his territories well-ordered', which made it all the more important that his son should 'favour him in all things'. Likewise 'you can trust the duke of Mantua, as I do'; and he felt confident that the republics of Lucca and Siena would retain their traditional pro-imperial stance, because their overriding political goal would remain preserving the general peace of Italy. The Republic of Genoa constituted Spain's most important ally in Italy, both because of its economic ties with various Habsburg dominions, and because it permitted access from Naples, Sicily, Sardinia and Spain to Lombardy, Germany and the Netherlands. Philip must therefore do his utmost to preserve and strengthen the authority of Andrea Doria and his allies, and rush to their rescue whenever they encountered difficulties (just as Charles had done the previous year: chapter 12).

The emperor expressed concern about only two Italian rulers. The duke of Ferrara had married Renée of France, once Charles's fiancée, and although he had recently shown exemplary loyalty (for example, sending a contingent to join the imperial army against the Schmalkaldic League) because of the French connection, Philip should 'treat him with care, and monitor his actions carefully'. The emperor also advised his son to keep careful watch over the new duke of Parma, Octavio Farnese. Although the duchess, his daughter Margarita, 'has been most obedient to me', Charles feared that his decision to retain Piacenza might create problems. He assured Philip that there were many reasons 'why you can and must retain Piacenza, which is yours by right and by reason'; but nevertheless his son should 'make an offer to the pope to review and examine the situation, with the intention of reaching an agreement'.[43]

Venice, Florence, Mantua, Lucca, Siena, Genoa, Ferrara and Parma were just the largest of almost 300 independent states in northern Italy. Most of the rest lay in the hands of local dynasties and Charles had created a sophisticated and complex 'system' – perhaps the first of early modern times – aimed to maintain Spanish preponderance there. On the positive

side, the emperor sometimes ceded adjacent territory, arranged a marriage with a Habsburg princess, or appointed a member of the ruling dynasty to prestigious posts in the Monarchy (as he had done with Ferrante Gonzaga, brother of the duke of Mantua). He entertained members of other Italian princely families at his court, where they received both lavish entertainment and encouragement to see the world through Habsburg eyes. To them and others, Charles offered pensions, presents, offices and honours culminating in a knighthood of the Golden Fleece, with the right to be called ‘my cousin’. He advised Philip to do the same.

The spate of recent rebellions in Italy showed that diplomacy must be backed up by force. Charles had constructed state-of-the-art fortifications in Sicily, Naples and above all Milan, and installed a well-trained tercio of Spanish infantry and some cavalry companies in each of them. He also maintained several squadrons of galleys to protect the western Mediterranean. ‘Even though you will inherit large debts and exhausted countries, and will need to look for savings wherever you can, you must not for that reason avoid keeping at all times some Spanish garrisons in Italy,’ the emperor warned, because they offered the best defence against ‘outbreaks of war and attempts to seize territory’. For the same reason, Philip must also maintain the galley squadrons that defended each major port in the Spanish Mediterranean.

As usual, Charles saw the French as the greatest potential security threat because their kings had ‘often made a peace or truce with me, none of which they kept – as is well-known – except during the periods when they could not renew the war or wanted to wait for an opportunity to harm me clandestinely’. No doubt, he mused, they would continue their efforts to regain the territories and rights he had compelled them to renounce by the treaties of Madrid, Cambrai and now Crépy; but Philip must stand fast:

> You must insist that the said renunciations shall remain for ever in being and in force, and in no way depart from them, because I captured all of them, and you will inherit and possess them, with full rights and evident justification. And if you should show weakness in any part of this, it will open the door to bringing everything back into question . . . It will be better to hold on to everything than to let yourself be forced later to defend the rest, and

> run the risk of losing it. If your predecessors with the grace of God held on to Naples and Sicily, and also the Low Countries, against the French, you should trust that He will assist you to keep what you have inherited.

Philip must also try to compel the French to evacuate all the territories that they had occupied, including those of his allies (notably the duke of Savoy), 'so that all will see and know that you take the requisite care of your own security and of [your allies] too'.

The emperor reviewed other international issues more rapidly, reiterating several points made in earlier instructions. His son must 'maintain good relations with Portugal'; 'remain a friend of England, making sure to uphold the treaties made by me with the late and the present kings [Henry VIII and Edward VI]'; reach a trade agreement with Scotland; and maintain the treaty made with the current King of Denmark 'without becoming involved in the arguments concerning King Christian [II]', the deposed husband of his late sister Isabeau – indeed, he continued callously, Philip should make sure that Christian 'never regains his liberty, so that he cannot start a war and harm the Netherlands, as he has done before'.

Finally, the emperor turned to how best to govern his own territories in the future. In Europe, even with Ferdinand succeeding him as emperor, Charles wondered whether he should partition the rest of his dominions. The idea was not new. In 1505 his father's will had made Charles and Ferdinand joint heirs, with the implication that each would rule part of the lands he had acquired; and a decade later, since the Austrian lands 'are partible', Cisneros's agent at Charles's court assumed that since 'God has granted him such a rich inheritance, with more to come, he will divide it with his brother'.[44] This partition took place in 1521–2, but since then Charles had acquired important new territories in both the Netherlands and northern Italy. The former 'have been fortified, and are still being fortified according to the designs that I have approved, and all the provinces are as willing and loyal as one could wish'; but would Philip be able to govern them effectively when he 'cannot reside there, or visit them frequently' because of his obligations in Spain and Italy? Might it be better to entrust the Netherlands to the emperor's daughter María and her future husband Maximilian? Charles could not make up his mind 'given the great

importance of the matter. I therefore do not wish to make a decision on this until you arrive here, and you have seen the country for yourself, and grasped its significance and its character . . . God willing, everything will be decided after you get here.'

Charles closed with a consideration of Spanish America, urging Philip to 'take care and keep a constant watch on whether the French want to send a fleet there': if they tried, they must be stopped. Even without a French challenge, it was essential that his son should maintain a tight control over all colonial officials, 'because if you do not, it will allow the viceroys and governors to become more absolute and cause your vassals to despair'. In addition:

> It is essential that you take good care to know and understand what is happening in America, both to keep it constant in the service of God and to maintain their obedience to you, so that it will be governed in justice, and can be repopulated and remade, so that the oppression of the conquistadors will be forgotten.

In particular, Philip must investigate 'the encomienda system for the native population, about which information and opinions differ'. This was an understatement – even as the emperor wrote these instructions, as Philip well knew, Peru was in open revolt! – but Charles chose to deal with this challenge to his authority by concentrating instead on the stability of New Spain, which by implication clarified what he thought might work elsewhere.[45]

The emperor's Political Testament drew upon his experience of government during the previous thirty years, often by trial and error. It marked an improvement on his instructions to Philip in 1543, in which he deemed some issues to be 'so impenetrable and uncertain that I do not know how to describe them, nor whether I should even offer you advice about them'. Now, having vanquished all his European enemies, he exuded confidence. In the perceptive formulation of Horst Pietschmann:

> Charles was not concerned primarily with the character or details of the problems that faced him, but with how to solve them in a way that maintained the sovereign's pre-eminence intact. Given the

> enormous number of problems that he faced, the only sensible way to govern was to work through the established institutions and to make sure that those institutions were always in the hands of people whom he could trust.[46]

Charles's Political Testament thus offered both a frank overview of the current state of his empire and its problems, and a blueprint for dealing with future problems whose nature could not be foreseen. It is hard to think of a similar (let alone a superior) document prepared by any other ruler in Renaissance Europe.

SECURING THE SUCCESSION: II. THE NETHERLANDS

Charles made the first major departure from the plan laid out in his Political Testament only three months later, in response to fears that in the absence of both Philip and María from Spain, 'grandees might enter the government, which would be something that would cause resentment' among his subjects. He refused to appoint as regent either his daughter Joanna, because at thirteen he considered her too young, or her older sister María alone, 'because it is never a good thing for the transaction of business – nor can I ever accept – to allow women to be involved in government unless they are married'. Instead 'it would be better if Prince Maximilian, my nephew, goes to Spain and consummates the marriage that has been agreed upon', and afterwards stay on as regent jointly with María. Philip must remain in Spain until Maximilian arrived, and then 'instruct him in whatever you think he should know . . . about the grandees and other gentlemen who come to court, and about the councils and ministers with whom he will have to deal' – in other words, his son must provide the same sort of intimate advice to Maximilian that he had himself received in the emperor's secret instructions five years before.[47] The emperor made a second notable departure soon after he returned to Brussels in September 1548. His subjects 'let off fireworks and staged several plays in their language in the Market Place, as a sign of rejoicing, after which all the clergy took part in an honourable and beautiful procession to thank God for His Majesty's victory in Germany and his good health'.[48] Touched and

impressed by this display, Charles now ordered his son to meet him in the Netherlands instead of in Germany.

After persuading the Cortes of Castile to raise taxes to cover María's dowry and the costs of his own journey to the Netherlands, and after initiating Maximilian and María into the mysteries of government, the prince and a large entourage left for Barcelona, where a galley fleet waited to take them to Genoa. In Brussels, Charles feared 'that it would be thousands of hours before he could see and enjoy the company of his son again, and his affection prevented him from thinking of anything else – so much that he has become unusually generous, paying no attention to the expenses run up by his son'. Over the next few months, 'moved by his paternal affection, His Majesty sent four to six men to report step by step where his son was and when he was likely to arrive'.[49]

Given the numerous acts of aggression recently carried out by the emperor and his ministers in Italy (chapter 12), the prince's advent caused fear as well as excitement – and initially his conduct offered little reassurance. In Genoa, he supported those who favoured the construction of a citadel, and when the duke of Ferrara and others arrived with splendid gifts, 'the prince made small countenance to anie of them, wherupon he obtayned throughe all Italye a name of insolencye'.[50] The prince relaxed somewhat when he reached Trent and met a welcoming party of eminent Germans, both Lutheran and Catholic, led by Maurice of Saxony: unfazed by meeting Protestants for the first time, Philip joined them in prolonged eating and heavy drinking. From there, he rode through Germany to Brussels, where on 1 April 1549 he met the father he had not seen for six years.

Although in his Political Testament Charles had promised his son that everything concerning his successor in the Netherlands 'will be decided after you get here', he had already taken two important preliminary steps. He persuaded the Armed Diet to recognize the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands that he ruled, both those he had inherited and those he had acquired, as a single Circle of the Empire.[51] This measure enhanced the powers of the central government in Brussels in two important respects. It exempted the Netherlands from the laws of the Empire, including the religious compromises that had allowed Lutheranism to flourish in

Germany; and it obliged the German members of the Diet to defend the Low Countries should they be attacked. Charles also took the momentous (and ultimately disastrous) decision that Philip would succeed him in the Netherlands as well as in Spain, persuading the representative assemblies (*Staten*) of each province to recognize his son as heir apparent and to agree that, notwithstanding their particular privileges, they would henceforth all follow the same succession protocols and choose the same sovereign in order to remain for ever united.

Soon after Philip arrived, Charles took him on a tour of the most prosperous southern provinces – Flanders, Artois, Hainaut and Brabant – where the local authorities solemnly swore to accept the prince as their next sovereign. Everywhere they went, father and son encountered allegories in both triumphal arches and plays that made extravagant claims. Some compared them with David and Solomon, or with Atlas and Hercules; others stressed that although powerful enemies surrounded them, divine and worldly weapons would allow them to prevail. For his part, Philip repeatedly showed his chivalric prowess, taking part in a cane game in Ghent, a joust at Antwerp, and extravagant celebrations in and around Marie's palace at Binche – one of the few events from Charles's life still commemorated, because every Shrove Tuesday local men (the 'Gilles') march through the streets of Binche wearing exotic costumes inspired by those worn in the celebrations of 1549.[52]

By the time they returned to Brussels, relations between father and son had soured. Some Netherlanders had objected to swearing the new oath of allegiance, in part 'because they did not wish to be governed by a foreigner', especially by a Spaniard, 'but much more because they are scared by the difficult personality of the prince, who makes no effort to cherish them'. According to an ambassador, 'Neither the persuasion of His Majesty, who mentions it to him every day, nor the more restrained reminders of Granvelle, have improved the prince's attitude.' Perhaps these tensions persuaded Charles to remain in Brussels while the prince and Marie visited the principal northern cities. In any case, by the time they returned relations had evidently improved: during the annual Mass attended by Knights of the Golden Fleece on St Andrew's Day, 30 November 1549, the same ambassador noted that 'the prince left his seat and moved next to

His Majesty, and they spent the entire service talking to each other . . . so that it seems they have overcome the differences that left them discontented'.[53] Now, representatives of the territories acquired by the emperor joined those from his hereditary possessions in a States-General and collectively reaffirmed their oath to accept Philip as heir apparent. The prince spent the next seven months in Brussels, feasting, dancing, hunting and jousting, as well as receiving instruction from his father 'in matters of importance: the emperor made him come to his apartment to spend two or three hours every day, partly in council and partly to instruct him alone.'[54]

IN COMMAND OF HISTORY

In May 1550, after solemnly commemorating the eleventh anniversary of the empress's death, Charles and his son left Brussels to meet another Diet, and at Cologne the imperial party embarked on Rhine barges, 'with goodly glass windows, with seats of fir, as close as any house', so that they 'knew not whether it went or stood'.[55] As they made their way upriver over the next two weeks, 'during his free time the emperor set about writing down his travels and campaigns' in French. According to his chamberlain, Guillaume van Male, a Humanist from Bruges, 'the work is admirably polished and elegant, and the style attests to a strong spirit and eloquence'. Indeed, van Male added patronizingly, 'I would never have thought the emperor possessed such qualities, because he told me himself that he had learned little from his education and that he simply relied on his thoughts and his deeds.'[56] Charles continued the project after reaching Augsburg. 'Not a day passes,' an ambassador reported, 'that the emperor does not spend two or three hours writing with his own hand to immortalize his deeds, assisted by Guillaume van Male'. In the end, his *Memoirs* covered 150 manuscript pages.[57]

Why did Charles bother? The emperor asked Francisco de Borja during his visit to Yuste in 1557: 'Do you think there is any trace of vanity when a man writes about his own deeds?' Without waiting for an answer he then:

> Intimated that he had chronicled all his campaigns . . . motivated neither by a desire for glory nor by vanity but so that the truth should be known – because the historians of our time whose work

> he had read had obscured it, either out of ignorance or out of partiality and bias.[58]

Perhaps this explains the emperor's decision to write his *Memoirs* in the third person, and to omit many personal details – including his entire childhood. Although he mentioned meeting Henry VIII with his grandfather Maximilian in 1513, 'where, among other things, the emancipation of the archduke [Charles] was discussed and agreed', the narrative began only after the provincial estates of the Netherlands 'received him as their lord' two years later. It ended with his return from Germany to Brussels in the summer of 1548.[59] Stylistically, the *Memoirs* fall into two parts. Until the conquest of Guelders, Charles provided a terse account of the events in which he felt he had invested personal energy and properly executed his duties as sovereign. He even listed the frequency of certain activities: how often he had met the kings of England and France (three times each); appointed his aunt and his sister regent in the Netherlands (three for Margaret, five for Marie); sailed the Atlantic (three times) and the Mediterranean (eight times); suffered attacks of gout (seventeen since 1528); and so on.[60] Both the tempo and content of the *Memoirs* changed significantly when Charles reached 1543: it metamorphosed from a travelogue into a campaign diary, and devoted twice as much space to the next five years as to the previous thirty. The emperor provided a detailed account of his role in the campaigns against France and the Schmalkaldic League, as well as a rationale for several of his own important decisions (what would have happened if he had captured the Marne bridge at Châlons in 1544) as well as those of his enemies (he noted six 'errors' committed by the German Lutheran leaders between March 1546 and April 1547 and explained how, 'thanks to God's support of the imperial cause', they brought about his enemies' 'total ruin').[61]

These stylistic changes formed part of a broader campaign by Charles and his entourage to rewrite history in his favour. In 1548 a copy of a flattering history of Emperor Maximilian written by the Seville historian Pedro Mexía reached Charles in Augsburg, and 'he, his confessor, Domingo de Soto, and other prominent courtiers read it with such satisfaction' that Charles commissioned Mexía to write a similar account of his own reign.[62]

Two years later Paolo Giovio, perhaps the most celebrated European historian of his day, completed his ‘universal history’ and sent Charles a copy of the chapter concerning the Tunis campaign ‘so that it may be perused and revised by Your Majesty before I send it to the press’. Giovio obsequiously promised ‘to change, add and reduce it as seems best to Your Majesty’s rich memory and flawless judgement’. No doubt to his surprise, the emperor took this invitation literally and gave the manuscript for evaluation to Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga (a veteran of the campaign, who subsequently served Charles as an intermediary with other historians). According to the Florentine ambassador at Charles’s court, ‘His Majesty covets glory so much that it appears to him that Giovio has detracted from his achievements’ and ‘continually seeks to belittle them’, whereas Charles wanted his deeds ‘to be celebrated more than they are’. Ávila therefore sent Giovio a list of changes that ‘emphasized the emperor’s selfless courage, and the manner in which he had exposed himself to danger’, to ensure that his ‘name and glory are not obfuscated by the mists of passion’. Since the book was to be published in Florence, Ávila also asked Duke Cosimo to ‘make certain to correct [Giovio’s] errors and not consent to publication’ until the changes were made – but although Giovio rectified a handful of factual errors he refused to modify his treatment of Charles.[63]

Charles was more successful in censoring another history book that annoyed him: Francisco López de Gómara’s *Spain victorious: The first and second part of the general history of America, with all the discoveries and notable events that have occurred down to the year 1551*, published at Medina del Campo in August 1553. It not only presented the conquest of Mexico as almost entirely the work of Hernán Cortés but also blamed Charles for neglecting America: ‘Much more could have been discovered, conquered and converted if Your Majesty had not been so busy fighting wars elsewhere.’ This time Ávila worked through his protégé van Male, who asked Pedro de La Gasca to provide a detailed account of the principal events in his pacification of Peru specifically to correct errors in Gómara. Three months later a royal warrant decreed that *Spain victorious* ‘should not be sold or read, nor should more copies be printed; rather those already in circulation should be collected and brought to our council of the Indies.’ Royal officials interrogated every bookseller about copies of the work they

had handled: ‘from whom they had acquired them, and to whom they had sold them and at what price, because His Majesty needs to know’.[64]

Ávila himself fared poorly in the emperor’s *Memoirs*. Although Charles plucked details from Ávila’s *Commentaries on the wars of Germany* without acknowledgement, he portrayed several events in a very different light – naturally, a light that shone primarily on himself. Perhaps the most egregious case involved the duke of Alba: Charles normally referred to him (when he referred to him at all) as ‘his commander’ and claimed credit for every major action – even discovering the crucial ford across the Elbe, just before Mühlberg, which both Ávila (an eyewitness) and Charles himself (in his first report of the victory) clearly stated was the work of Alba. Furthermore, although he named the allies whose support he had skilfully mobilized – the count of Buren and the Netherlands troops, Octavio Farnese and the papal contingent, Maurice of Saxony, and (albeit rather late in the narrative) ‘the king his brother’ – Charles himself was always the star.[65]

As Richard L. Kagan observed, ‘Charles presided over what today would be called a publicity agency’, and after the battle of Mühlberg, the emperor and his supporters commissioned numerous works of literature and art that portrayed him as the foremost champion of Christendom. Charles summoned Titian to Augsburg, where he began work on two of his most memorable portraits: an emperor victorious in war, and wise in peace (see Pls 25 and 27).[66] Shortly afterwards, Charles commissioned from Leone Leoni a series of heroic sculptures (statues, busts and reliefs in bronze and marble), including seven of himself, three each of Philip and the empress, and two of Marie. The largest item, a life-size statue of the emperor wearing armour that could be removed to reveal his nude body, showed him standing vigilantly above his vanquished enemies, poised to take up arms again if necessary (Pl. 29). Meanwhile Marie commissioned Willem de Pannemaker to weave a series of vast tapestries, based on cartoons by Vermeyen, to commemorate the victorious Tunis campaign (see Pl. 20); and Charles’s ambassador in Venice oversaw the publication of both Ávila’s *Commentaries* and a series of engravings commemorating each of the emperor’s recent triumphs.[67] Not all images were commissioned by the emperor and his ministers. Some bookbinders in the Netherlands stamped their work with a portrait of their sovereign (often in armour) and his *Plus*

Oultre device; town halls and even some churches displayed statues and portraits of him. In 1521, Anna Büschler, the ‘mischievous, insolent and disobedient daughter’ of the burgomaster of Hall, asked one of her clandestine lovers, then at the Diet of Worms, to ‘please have a sketch of the emperor made for me, one that portrays him as neither more handsome nor any uglier than he really is, for such a sketch would be worth something’. Many of her compatriots collected (and no doubt used) game pieces that carried the imperial likeness to play chess and draughts (the popularity of both games increased markedly during Charles’s reign; Pl. 30).[68] In 1550, Leoni happened to see a ‘fantastic gem’ that portrayed both Caesar and Augustus, which gave him the idea of creating a magnificent onyx cameo that showed the empress on the reverse and Philip and Charles on the obverse, the emperor wearing a laurel crown as well as his Mühlberg armour: once again, a reminder that he excelled in war as well as in peace, and that he had sired a worthy successor (Pl. 31).[69]

SECURING THE SUCCESSION: III. GERMANY

The emperor composed his *Memoirs*, at least in part, to impress his brother. He repeatedly stressed how he had supported Ferdinand and furthered his interests, both directly (by securing his election as king of the Romans; by sending troops and treasure to defend his possessions against the Turks) and indirectly (by compelling the pope to convene a general council primarily to bring religious peace to Germany; by smashing the Schmalkaldic League). He ordered van Male to translate the work from French into Latin, ready for publication, but it never materialized, perhaps because of the enmities generated by the family summit convened by Charles in Augsburg to discuss the succession to his various dominions: in Italy, where his investiture of Philip as duke of Milan dashed Ferdinand’s hopes of acquiring the territory; in the Netherlands, where he had reneged on his promise to make Maximilian and María his successors; in Spain, where if Charles predeceased his mother, Ferdinand might challenge Philip for the role of co-sovereign of Castile; and, above all, in the Holy Roman Empire.[70]

Jacob Sturm from Strasbourg was apparently the first to divine Charles’s grand design. In December 1547, from the Armed Diet, he

reported rumours that the emperor had summoned his son to Germany with the express intention of arranging for his succession to the imperial throne. Four months later the Venetian ambassador picked up the story, and in June 1548 the nuncio in Augsburg reported not only that ‘many suspect that His Majesty wants to have his son elected king of the Romans, and thus perpetuate the imperial dignity in his family’, but also that many opposed it. Nevertheless, he added sarcastically, ‘His Majesty, proceeding with his accustomed authority and gravity, pays little attention’ to contrary opinions. Indeed, he continued, ‘whereas he used to receive the Electors with great solemnity, now they seldom get an audience – and if they do, they first have to wait for an hour or more in his antechamber.’ The nuncio also reported an outburst by Archduke Maximilian one evening at dinner: ‘That he was a good German, and he would never tolerate anyone other than a true German as emperor’, and he railed against the idea that ‘the Spaniards might think of governing Germany’.[71]

Ferdinand chose to disregard all this evidence until the spring of 1549, when he protested to Marie about ‘something that seems to me totally unbelievable’: namely rumours that ‘in the court of Prince Philip my nephew, and in the Empire, people say openly that my lord the emperor has discussed with me the transfer of the office and title of king of the Romans to the prince’. He denied that any such discussion had taken place, and added ‘I cannot believe that such a thing could have occurred, or would ever occur, to His Majesty in his thoughts or dreams, because I consider him such a good brother – and not only brother but also my true father’. Marie reassured Ferdinand that such stories were idle gossip – albeit adding ominously that ‘I am absolutely certain that His Majesty would only decide such a matter with you in person’.[72]

There the matter rested for another year, with Charles, Philip and Marie in the Netherlands, Ferdinand in Austria, and Maximilian in Spain; but just before the emperor and his son set out for Augsburg in May 1550, Marie wrote a letter to Ferdinand ‘in complete confidence, which is intended for you alone and should be burnt after you have read it’. She proceeded to communicate ‘what I have learned of the intentions of our brother and nephew’, adding that it was ‘something that I would rather have told you in

person, if it could have been arranged'. She confirmed all the rumours she had previously denied. Prince Philip, she began:

> Shows a strong inclination to take responsibility for the Empire after you, advancing a wide-ranging rationale because it seems an essential step to maintain our whole dynasty. The emperor sees reasons for and against, and therefore will not take a decision until he joins you, so that you can decide together what would be most advantageous for our dynasty and best for all Christendom.

She also stressed the need to secure Maximilian's concurrence, because his opposition to Philip 'would generate an eternal enmity and rivalry that would inevitably ruin both of them'; and she concluded by reminding Ferdinand of how much he owed to Charles, notably 'the favour he did you in supporting you ahead of his own son' as king of the Romans. Now it was time to return the favour, and support Philip ahead of Ferdinand's own son.[73]

It was a skilful argument, obviously constructed with the emperor's blessing, but it reneged on Charles's promise to his brother, often repeated, that Maximilian would succeed him. Deeply hurt by this brusque demand, yet reluctant to offend 'his true father', Ferdinand came to Augsburg and suggested that Philip and his successors could become permanent Imperial Vicar (deputy) in Italy instead – a sensible suggestion that offered Philip far more than he eventually received – but Charles rejected this and repeated his demand that Ferdinand must persuade the Electors to choose Philip as his immediate successor, perhaps as a second coadjutor. Ferdinand predicted disaster: 'If we try prematurely and by violent and inappropriate means to ensure that our dynasty retains the empire,' he warned Marie, 'we will lose it and create an opportunity for our enemies to secure it.' Changing the order of succession 'may give food for thought to others who are powerful, and closer to the Empire than Spain'. Therefore, he continued apprehensively, 'I hope we shall get by without discussing' the pre-election of Philip:

> In my view, that would be the best for many reasons – and among them, not the least is that I think it would be impossible to obtain it,

> and that proposing it would generate hostility and resistance, in many places and in many ways, which for my part I would willingly avoid. If it is proposed, I think you will find that I have told you the truth: that it would have been better if it had never been proposed.[74]

Charles disagreed, and instead ordered Marie to drop everything and come and help him convince Ferdinand, because ‘the point to be settled at Augsburg outweighs all other considerations’. Just before she arrived, the sudden death of Granvelle on 27 August 1550 removed an important voice of moderation, and although Charles ordered Perrenot to take over his late father’s work, he lacked the same authority.[75] Relations between the brothers rapidly deteriorated until, one evening in November, Ferdinand announced that in view of rumours of another Ottoman invasion of Hungary he would again demand help from the imperial Diet. Charles interrupted his brother more than once, arguing that since Hungary was not in imminent peril, its situation did not justify using money raised by the Diet, which he intended to use for his own purposes in Germany; but Ferdinand remained adamant. He stated that his conscience and his honour, as well as the need to protect his own possessions, all obliged him to mobilize German assistance for another campaign in Hungary. This infuriated Charles, who berated his brother for ‘always justifying everything you want to do as a matter of conscience and honour’. He also asserted that Ferdinand had received the lion’s share of all previous taxes voted by the Diet, ‘while I got nothing; yet you still want everything for yourself. In the end,’ Charles told Ferdinand, ‘we need to establish who is emperor: you or me’, and he threatened that if his brother persisted in requesting funds from the Diet, he would openly oppose him. Ferdinand stormed out of the room.[76]

After relating these bitter exchanges to Marie, Charles pouted that ‘nothing that the late king of France [Francis] did to me’ had affected him ‘as much as the way that the king our brother treats me. What I resent the most’ is that ‘when we are together I see no sign of repentance or shame in him. I therefore have no choice but to put my trust in God, begging Him to grant sense and wisdom to my brother, and strength and patience to me.’ He begged in vain. The brothers refused to speak to each other.[77] Charles now summoned Marie back to Augsburg where in March 1551, after weeks of

heated discussion, she brokered a settlement between her brothers. The imperial succession would alternate between the two branches of the family: Ferdinand would succeed to the imperial title, but promised to delegate imperial powers over Italy to Philip and to arrange his nephew's election as king of the Romans; next, as emperor, Philip would secure Maximilian's election as his successor, and while absent from Germany would appoint Maximilian as his regent. The prince also promised to support Ferdinand and Maximilian in the Empire and in Hungary; to abstain from intervening in imperial affairs except when requested by Ferdinand; and to marry one of Ferdinand's daughters.[78]

Although Maximilian grudgingly gave his verbal consent to this Family Compact he refused to sign it, complaining that the 'standard operating procedure' of his uncle (and now father-in-law) 'was to be always superior to everyone and to always keep a tight rein on his associates so that he could control them'; and although Ferdinand signed the agreement, he remained resentful. Some years later he recalled that he had warned Charles of 'the difficulties, uprisings and disorders that this could provoke in the Empire, and that he would not prevail', but after the emperor insisted that we 'bow to his will, we had to do what we did [*hubimos de hacer lo que se hizo*]; and shortly afterwards we found that I had been a better prophet than we would have wished because when the princes of Germany discovered our plan, they took up arms against His Majesty.'[79]

The Family Compact jeopardized all of Charles's hard-won achievements since Mühlberg. As Roger Ascham observed, by the summer of 1551 there were 'few Princes in all the Empire' but 'some good big matter of unkindness hath bene offered unto them by the Emperor. Yea *Ferdinand* his brother, *Maximilian* his nephew . . . have bene shrewdly touched therewith'. But both Charles and his son seemed oblivious to all this. Convinced that they had triumphed, Philip left Augsburg in May 1551 to resume his regency in Spain and soon afterwards Charles departed too – perhaps, as Richard Morison (Ascham's successor as English ambassador) shrewdly suggested, he left the city because he felt as all 'fathers do, and wold be away from that howse a season where his son and he had been so long and now were sundered'. Philip would not see his father again for

more than four years, and by then the Habsburg world had been transformed.[80]

— FIFTEEN —

THE EMPEROR'S LAST CAMPAIGNS, 1551–4

THE EMPEROR AND THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM

After leaving his father in Augsburg, Philip paused on his journey south in Trent, to observe one of Charles's most remarkable achievements: the second session of the general council of the Church. The murder of Pier Luigi Farnese in 1547 had poisoned relations between his father Pope Paul III and the emperor, and prevented further cooperation on the council; but Paul died two years later. Soon after his election in February 1550, Pope Julius III declared that the general council could reconvene either in Trent or, 'if that location seems inconvenient, somewhere deeper in Germany' acceptable to the emperor. Charles was overjoyed: Julius could not have done anything 'that we would appreciate more', he informed his ambassador in Rome, and he hastened to exploit the new opportunity to achieve his long-term religious goals – although he could not resist pointing out that deviant religious 'opinions in Germany are now many and various', complicating a reconciliation that 'could have been effected some years ago, when the differences were confined to a few issues, and each opinion had fewer followers'. Charles insisted that the German Lutherans 'must be given a hearing on any subject they choose to propose' so that later 'they cannot recuse themselves from the council on the grounds that they will not be heard'.[1] He was therefore furious to discover that the Bull convoking the council failed to mention Lutherans by name, and he signed a notarized protest witnessed by Prince Philip, Antoine Perrenot and the duke of Alba. For the time being he kept it secret, and instead sent letters to all prelates and selected theologians in his various dominions ordering them to attend

the council. Thanks to these efforts, Charles's subjects made up more than half of its participants. Francisco de Toledo, the imperial ambassador, exploited this numerical advantage so well that (according to the pope) a joke circulated in Rome that 'the council of Trent was really the council of Toledo'.[2]

Initially, the emperor accepted Julius's demand that the council should first resolve outstanding issues of doctrine, because many Catholics yearned for clarification of what was orthodox and what was heresy, but he insisted that this time (unlike the first session) the council also devote some attention to reforming abuses, 'to eliminate and remedy the scandals that have grown up in the Church, because to do otherwise will mean that the errors will gain ground, and the heretics will continue their criticisms of them'. He continued: 'just as it is not our intention to reduce the authority of His Holiness . . . so His Holiness should not fail to do his best to remedy the abuses, because that is what has given rise to these problems in Germany'. In November 1551, shortly after writing this, Charles and a small entourage travelled to Innsbruck, less than 200 kilometres from Trent, in part to ensure that the assembly addressed at least some 'of the abuses that scandalize the faithful . . . because that is what we owe to God and to the world'.[3]

Early in 1552 some Lutheran theologians arrived at Trent. The emperor considered their participation 'the only remedy for the ills that afflict the Church', and he worked tirelessly to ensure that they would receive a hearing. He was therefore outraged when Julius threatened to suspend the council if the Lutherans spoke. 'I do not want to hear about a suspension,' he thundered to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, his ambassador in Rome: 'Such a thing should not be proposed, let alone agreed, because it would obviously damage my reputation, which is the same as the service of God' – an amazing claim. The emperor insisted that his ambassador tell the pope personally that: 'If His Holiness and his ministers should do something else, and some disorder occurs, it needs to be clear . . . that it was not His Majesty's fault, so that he is free of blame before both God and the world'. Julius remained unimpressed by this passive-aggressive bluster: 'We are sure that His Majesty is admirably sound in all his opinions, and has good

will towards us,' he informed his legate at Trent, but 'like everyone else he must respect the power given to us directly by God'.[4]

Charles remained optimistic. 'Since these matters depend on time and circumstances,' he reminded Mendoza at the end of February 1552, the ambassador must send constant updates so that he could make adjustments to his plans 'from time to time, according to how things seem elsewhere'. Little did Charles suspect that a few weeks later 'circumstances' – in the shape of a hostile German army – would not only lead those attending the council to flee Trent, thus ending the last meaningful attempt to reconcile Lutherans and Catholics, but also force the emperor to flee Innsbruck to escape capture by his own subjects.[5]

NEMESIS

In 1553, Roger Ascham, who had resided for some time at Charles's court, noted with surprise 'how the emperor, being at peace with all the world' three years earlier, 'had soon after so many enemies as he knew not which way to turn him'; and he attributed this remarkable deterioration to the 'great confusions of alliances, dissensions, plunderings, wars, various changes of fortune, and very serious disruptions; all these disasters compounded by ingratitude, treachery, perfidy, lust, avarice, ambition, tyranny and enmity toward God, as liberty was driven out, the law violated, religion besmirched, and God himself scorned'.[6] In international affairs the 'disasters' began in March 1550 when the regents for Edward VI of England, anxious to buy peace abroad, agreed to restore Boulogne to France, to withdraw all their troops from Scotland, and to allow Mary, queen of Scots, to marry the heir to the French throne. On hearing the news, the emperor displayed 'a notable pensiveness, and seemeth to be troubled', because 'this peace was concluded both without him and contrary to his expectation, whereby he is in fantasy that his reputation is much blemished – as indeed it is, both in Almain [Germany] and in Italy'. Peace with England also secured Henry II of France's western flank as he prepared to exact revenge for his four years of imprisonment in Spain in the 1520s, and for the humiliating terms of the peace of Crépy. According to a Venetian ambassador: 'The king cannot conceal his hatred of the emperor, desiring

for him every evil that one can wish upon one's enemy. No medicine can cure this condition except the death or destruction of his enemy.'[7]

Unaware of these developments, Charles had already weakened his position by authorizing Andrea Doria and his fleet to capture Mahdia, a north African port-city that served as headquarters to Dragut, now the leading Barbary corsair, who made his living by preying on shipping from Habsburg Naples and Sicily. When news of Doria's success arrived in September 1550, the imperial court indulged in 'the greatest rejoicing' and staged a tournament in which Prince Philip took part; but the defeated Dragut sailed to Istanbul and requested the sultan's help against what he claimed to be naked Habsburg aggression. Charles wrote to the sultan asking – almost pleading – that these actions be regarded as actions against north African piracy, and not as contraventions of the truce concluded between them three years earlier; but since he refused to return his conquests, in 1551 Dragut led a huge Ottoman fleet against Mahdia and then against Malta. When both operations failed, Dragut launched a surprise attack on the important Christian outpost of Tripoli, which surrendered on terms negotiated by the French ambassador to the sultan (who travelled aboard the Turkish fleet).[8]

Ascham deemed Charles's aggression in the Mediterranean a catastrophic error because 'The Turk being once disclosed an open enemy to the emperor, many mean men began to be the bolder to put out their heads to seek some open remedy for their private injuries; France being at every man's elbow to hearten and to help whosoever had cause to be aggrieved with the emperor.'[9] These included Duke Octavio Farnese of Parma, Charles's son-in-law, who despaired of ever recovering Piacenza, seized by Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Lombardy, after the murder of his father (chapter 12). In June 1551, on his way back to Spain, Prince Philip visited Piacenza, guided by Gonzaga, and then made his way to Parma, where he met for the first time his half-sister Margarita and her husband. Although the visit went smoothly, shortly afterwards Pope Julius declared Octavio a rebel and proclaimed that 'our cause is the same as that of His Imperial Majesty in all things'. The duke retaliated by signing a treaty that placed his possessions under French protection, and Henry's troops soon ravaged part of the Papal States and occupied several strongholds in

Piedmont. Gonzaga begged the emperor to send him reinforcements from Germany to prosecute the siege of Parma.[10]

Charles was happy to oblige, given the importance of Parma to the security of the duchy of Milan (to which it had once belonged). In addition, as he explained to his brother, 'it is impossible for me to maintain any longer the Spanish troops that currently garrison the fortresses in Württemberg, since they have already added so much to the unbearable burden of my expenses'. Therefore, confident that the Interim and the Family Compact had secured his hold on Germany, in October 1551, Charles ordered the Spanish garrisons to cross the Alps, followed by many of his German veterans.[11]

Charles had made another catastrophic error because several Lutheran states in north Germany defied him. Early in 1550 the duke of Mecklenburg and some of his Protestant neighbours formed a league 'for the defence of princely liberty and the Lutheran faith'. The printers of Magdeburg published almost 150 books and pamphlets denouncing the Interim, earning their city the title (albeit only among Protestants) of 'the chancery of God'. Although Maurice of Saxony raised an army in Charles's name to besiege Magdeburg, his efforts remained half-hearted.[12]

Charles overlooked the significance of these developments, in part because he lingered in Brussels and only reached Augsburg, where he had convened another imperial Diet, in July 1550. Luckily for him, for a time Henry II also overlooked their significance. 'There are few people in Germany in whom we can place much trust,' he lamented, 'and I see little chance of improving the situation because of the divisions that exist among them, and the fact that their hearts are so weakened that I see no prospect of them agreeing about anything.' The king detected only two glimmers of hope: the first was the discord between Charles and his brother 'on the imperial succession, which might ignite matters somewhat – although I see little chance of this, because I believe the emperor takes such good care of his affairs that he will not stir up trouble there'; the second was the arrival in France of a secret envoy from Maurice of Saxony.[13]

The new Elector harboured several grievances. Like other German Lutherans, Maurice felt threatened by the reconvened council of Trent; and although at the emperor's request he sent representatives, they insisted that

all earlier decisions taken in their absence be regarded as invalid. Naturally Charles refused. The plan to have Philip elected king of the Romans also alienated Maurice, along with the other Electors, on the grounds that arranging the imperial succession in advance (as had happened in 1530–1) undermined its elective nature. Once again, Charles refused to listen. Finally, and most galling, was the continued imprisonment of Maurice's father-in-law, Philip of Hesse.

Initially, Maurice tried to win the landgrave's release by cultivating the friendship of Charles's relatives. In 1549 he visited Prague where, according to Ferdinand, 'the outstanding quarrels between this crown of Bohemia and the House of Saxony were resolved very advantageously for us and much to my satisfaction'. The new Elector also hunted and caroused with Prince Philip of Spain, and persuaded him to petition 'his father for the landgrave's delivery', but Charles refused. Ascham deemed this another serious error:

> Men may say it was not the wisest deed that ever the emperor did, to deny the prince this suit; for if the prince had been made the deliverer of the two princes [Hesse and Saxony] out of captivity, he had won thereby such favour in all Germany, as without all doubt he had been made coadjutor with the king of the Romans his uncle, and afterward the emperor.[14]

Instead, Charles's chancery drafted a secret declaration condemning the landgrave to 'ten years of continuous prison' – which Charles himself struck through and increased to 'fifteen years': in effect a life sentence, since the prisoner was by then forty-six years old.[15]

In December 1550 the landgrave orchestrated a plan to escape from his prison in Mechelen, with the aid of conspirators in France, Germany and the Netherlands, culminating in a shoot-out with his Spanish guards. The breakout failed, but this challenge to Charles's 'jurisdiction in our patrimonial provinces, and the attempt to kill the captain of his guards and those with him' so enraged the emperor that he instructed his officials to threaten that if Philip of Hesse 'does not tell you the truth voluntarily, we will make him do so by force'. The strategy worked: the landgrave burst into tears and named his associates (many of whom soon joined him in

prison), whereupon Charles ordered his removal to a windowless cell and deprived him of cash, servants and all contact with the outside world. Maurice, concluding that Charles would never release his father-in-law, negotiated a secret agreement with the duke of Mecklenburg and his allies, pledging to secure the landgrave's release and also to 'defend the liberties of Germany', if necessary through an alliance with France.[16]

In October 1551, just as the Spanish garrisons left Württemberg for the siege of Parma, Maurice and his north German allies signed a secret 'treaty of confederation and alliance' with the king of France 'against the Emperor Charles V, to conserve the privileges and liberties of the Electors, princes and estates of the Empire', and to thwart Charles's efforts to reduce them 'to the bestial, insufferable and everlasting servitude that he has created in Spain and elsewhere'. Henry II promised to provide a monthly stipend to sustain a confederate army to fight for German liberty, Lutheran worship and the liberation of the landgrave; and he also promised to seize the French-speaking imperial cities of Metz, Toul and Verdun in Lorraine, and to 'light fires in the Netherlands so that the enemy will need to put them out, forcing him to divide his forces'. In return, the German confederates promised to help Henry recover all the territories France had lost to Charles, and to favour his election as the next emperor.[17]

GROUPTHINK

It proved impossible to keep such a widespread conspiracy secret and many of Charles's ministers relayed warnings to his court – but, amazingly, no one there listened. Part of the problem lay in a mindset that a later age would call 'groupthink': the creation of a false appearance of unanimity among decision-makers by discouraging any expression of dissent while guiding discussions in ways that minimize disagreement. The problem was not new. One of the ministers sent into Germany by Margaret of Austria to arrange Charles's election as king of the Romans in 1519 already detected the danger. 'To tell you the truth,' he confided to Margaret, 'the lords here dare not say or write what they think, for fear of displeasing the king' – just before begging her to keep his dissenting views to herself. Charles's reliance on summaries of incoming reports, rather than on the originals, exacerbated the problem, because it allowed ministers in his entourage to

suppress items that they did not like. Thus in 1544 a letter from García de Loaysa offered congratulations on the imperial victory over Cleves and then begged 'Your Majesty to make some move towards peace, even if it means losing some of your undoubted rights'; but Charles never read the letter, relying instead on an abstract read out to him by a secretary – who omitted the advice to make a settlement.[18] By 1551, according to Ascham, the emperor 'hath many irons in the fire, and every one able alone to keep him in work enough; the Turk by land and sea; the French sitting on his skirts on all sides', besides Magdeburg and other centres of resistance in north Germany; and yet, he continued, 'blinded with the over-good opinion of his own wisdom, liking only what himself listed, and contemning easily all advice of others (which self-will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wits)', Charles allowed himself to be deceived.[19]

The circle of ministers whom Charles consulted had dwindled. In 1545 a courtier opined that 'His Majesty has decided to discuss his affairs only with Monsieur de Granvelle, whom he has found faithful and extremely prudent'. Three years later, the nuncio reported that Antoine Perrenot, bishop of Arras, jointly with his father Granvelle, now monopolized the emperor's affairs: 'they do everything, and unless business passes through their hands, nothing gets done, *because His Majesty is only the third most important person in this court*' – a remarkable assertion. The nuncio also stated that 'this is a court where you have to make donations, or else no business is successfully transacted'. He held up the example of Duke Cosimo of Florence, who (he claimed) plied Granvelle and his son with presents and therefore 'obtains whatever he wants in this court'. His Venetian colleague was more specific. He claimed that Cosimo gave 15,000 crowns a year to Granvelle as a regular pension, with supplements for special requests, and that 'with all the donations from individuals in Germany, Spain and the Netherlands, Granvelle received 100,000 crowns every year'.[20]

It would be easy to dismiss these accusations as spiteful gossip, but Cosimo kept such excellent records that historians can document many bribes. For example, early in 1543 the duke sent Granvelle warm furnishings for his bed and his bedroom 'because I know you are going to

the cold climes of Germany'. Two years later he sent several cases of sweet wine, an altarpiece painted by Agnolo Bronzino, and an engineer to drain the swamps on Granvelle's estates, with his salary paid by Cosimo for 'three or four months, or more if necessary'. In 1547 the duke sent some red satin bedcovers to Granvelle, linked with a request to sell him Pontremoli, an estate confiscated from the Genoese rebel Count Fieschi, at the bargain price of 25,000 crowns.[21]

Those who wanted or needed something from Charles seem to have tolerated the corrupt system run by Granvelle, but after his death in 1550 some complained bitterly about the rapacity of his son Antoine. According to Ferrante Gonzaga, whereas Granvelle had always 'understood the importance of never disrespecting the ministers of His Majesty', between 1551 and 1553 Perrenot levelled twenty-three specific criticisms regarding Gonzaga's conduct as governor of Milan, including his seizure of Piacenza ('which he sees as the cause of all setbacks') and his failure to capture Parma ('which has cost 1½ million gold ducats'), so that 'at present, even if I were Caesar or Hannibal, he would not be satisfied with me'.[22]

Those who disagreed with Granvelle and his son were soon either marginalized or dismissed – another essential aspect of groupthink. Not even the imperial confessor was immune. In August 1548, Granvelle arranged a compromise with the Lutheran preachers of Augsburg that allowed them to retain their livings provided they endorsed and observed the Interim. Fray Pedro de Soto, who had always urged Charles to use force towards the German Lutherans, vehemently objected to this measure and called instead for an imperial edict that would deprive the preachers of their livings unless they abjured their errors and followed Catholic teaching in all things. The emperor ordered Granvelle to convene a committee of ministers and theologians (including Soto) to discuss the matter, and all except the confessor agreed that 'His Majesty lacked the resources to enforce such an edict'. The next day Soto protested to Charles, and when the emperor upheld the majority decision, the confessor resigned and insisted on returning immediately to a monastery in Spain, saying (at least according to Granvelle) 'several impertinent things'. Charles thus lost an important source of independent advice.[23]

Some thought the emperor was losing touch with reality. His nephew and son-in-law Maximilian, who had seen him at close quarters on campaign in Saxony and later at the Augsburg Diet, as well as from afar when he served as regent in Spain, considered Charles's greatest fault to be 'the tenacity and inflexibility that he normally shows when dealing with his own affairs'. Perrenot voiced a different complaint. 'I find His Majesty more lethargic than is appropriate,' he complained to Marie:

> In everything His Majesty despairs of finding a remedy, replying to whatever is proposed to him that 'One must find the least bad remedy for each problem . . .' When it is suggested to him that we should court the English, the Venetians, the German princes and others, and win the good will of people, he seems to set so little store by it, holding them all in such low esteem.[24]

THE NADIR OF THE REIGN

Groupthink, combined with the absorption of the emperor and those around him with other matters, led to the neglect of Germany, including the potential threat posed by Maurice of Saxony. 'Although I do not place much reliance on his goodwill,' Perrenot informed Marie (one of those who relayed warnings of a conspiracy building up against Charles):

> I do not believe [Maurice] would dare move openly against His Majesty because . . . he is too fearful of undertaking a great enterprise, too poor to sustain great expenditure, and too unpopular in Saxony. He also fears that we might set free Duke John Frederick who, broken though he is, could still – thanks to his popularity in the area – easily chase out [Maurice].[25]

Marie responded by stressing that 'we have many enemies and ill-wishers, but few friends and well-wishers', and repeating that 'everyone agrees that Elector Maurice has contacts in France' as well as 'with all those in Germany who are hostile to His Majesty'. She therefore urged that her brother should move north from Augsburg into the German heartland, the better to monitor the situation there.[26] Yet again, Charles refused to listen:

instead, he moved south to Innsbruck, thus isolating himself further from developments in the Empire.

Ascham's analysis resembled that of Marie: Charles had indeed offended many of his German friends and well-wishers. By way of example, Ascham cited Luis de Ávila's recently published *Commentaries* on the Schmalkaldic war (chapter 12), which belittled or criticized the conduct of several German princes, including Elector Frederick of the Palatinate (who complained to Charles in person about his portrayal in the book), Margrave Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg (so enraged that he challenged Ávila to a duel), and the duke of Bavaria (who became 'more friendly to the princes confederate, than else peradventure he would have been'). Although a courtier may 'please his own prince' in the short term, Ascham reflected, 'yet he may perchance as much hurt him in the end, as Luis de Ávila did hurt the emperor his master in writing of this book', because the emperor would later lack 'both their hearts and their hands when he stood in most need of friends'.[27]

Perhaps Charles was distracted by the arrival in Innsbruck on Christmas Eve of his daughter María and her two children – the first of his grandchildren whom he had met. According to the Florentine ambassador, as soon as he saw María the emperor 'arose from his seat, removed his hat and walked towards her smiling'. He 'kissed her face most tenderly and then they started to laugh together'. Afterwards he kissed his grandchildren 'many times, which showed how much they pleased and delighted him'. Soon after the New Year, 'to increase the emperor's pleasure', Ferdinand's younger daughters 'joined him and so they enjoy themselves in their solitude' – but at a cost: the nuncio noted with irritation that 'this means that [the emperor and his ministers] pay no attention to business, which is transacted in this court so slowly and with so many delays'.[28]

The nuncio also regretted that although 'His Majesty, as good gladiators do, will take advice' before making decisions, 'his affairs pass through so few hands': in short, groupthink continued to characterize the imperial court.[29] On New Year's Day 1552, Perrenot belittled a correspondent who reported that convoys of French gold had been observed heading into Germany, while 'as to the league between Saxony, Brandenburg, Hesse, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, I promise you that it's nothing [*che non è*

niente]'. Three weeks later Perrenot again dismissed the rumours of plots and foreign alliances, and also the news that Maurice refused to demobilize his army after the capitulation of Magdeburg because, he declared loftily, the Elector had no reason to break with the emperor – and even if he did, neither Maurice nor his putative allies 'have the brains or the funds' to sustain a successful rebellion. As late as 26 February 1552, Charles detected 'nothing serious to reprove' in Maurice's behaviour and 'could see no grounds to proceed against him'; but that same day, in Brussels, Marie found irrefutable proof of the plot in some intercepted letters from Maurice to his German allies containing details of his conspiracy and some commissions to raise troops. She sent the compromising correspondence to her brother by express messenger.[30]

This finally broke the spell. Charles now signed letters to the towns and princes of Germany, urging them to reject the confederates' offers, and he asked Ferdinand to placate Maurice by promising that he would set the landgrave free and pay any outstanding debts to Lutheran rulers – but this was an empty promise, because his treasury was empty. 'The devil take this war of Parma!' Charles lamented to his sister. 'It has ruined me, because I have used all the money that has come from America to fund it, and now it has almost gone.'[31] Two Lutheran armies, one commanded by Maurice and the other by Albert Alcibiades, now marched southward and almost every town on their route opened its gates to them: in each of them the princes restored the magistrates and the Lutheran preachers whom Charles had removed. They entered Augsburg in triumph on 4 April 1552. A few days later Metz opened its gates to the French and its magistrates recognized Henry II, 'being in his lodgings in the city', as 'protector and defender of German liberty'.[32]

The emperor was now bankrupt and isolated. As he explained sadly to Marie, 'I cannot find a penny, or anyone who wants to lend me one, or a man in Germany who seems ready to declare support for me.' He even suspected his brother's loyalty: 'Seeing that this unrest is so universal, and considering that the news of current events provided to us by [Ferdinand] has been so vague, and since he has offered us neither help nor advice on what we should do' – a grossly unfair accusation – 'we begin to wonder whether he might have some secret understanding with the authors of this

conspiracy, which makes him less solicitous for what affects us'.[33] Worst of all, Innsbruck lay far from Charles's principal power-bases, making it hard for reinforcements to reach him. He begged his son to send money and troops from Spain, but expressed confusion about where to send them: the French army's advance into Germany cut him off from the Netherlands, yet joining Ferdinand in Vienna would place him under obligation to his brother and thus perhaps jeopardize the gains promised by the Family Compact. So the emperor of half the world reluctantly concluded that he could only be safe if he stayed put in Innsbruck – although he felt so insecure even there that he sent his son the text of his *Memoirs* 'to avoid the risk of losing it. Make sure it is kept safe and unopened.'[34]

The fall of Augsburg dramatically worsened Charles's situation. On hearing the news, he analysed his predicament for the benefit of Ferdinand: 'If I stay here any longer I shall surely be captured one morning in my bed', yet if he fled across the Alps 'I hold it certain that all Italy would immediately rebel, and the Low Countries would be at the mercy of France.' 'This would be,' the emperor concluded bitterly, 'the greatest humiliation and disgrace that any prince ever received.' Therefore:

> Trusting in God and placing myself in His hands, I have decided that I would rather be taken for an old fool than to lose everything in my old age without doing everything I can – and perhaps more than my infirmities and ailments suggest that I should do. Seeing the situation in which I find myself at this moment, and the obstacles already mentioned, and seeing that I must either undergo a great humiliation or else place myself in great danger, I have chosen the path of danger because the remedy will then lie in God's hand. I will not wait here to be humiliated.

He declared his intention to leave Innsbruck secretly in a bid to reach the Netherlands, where he would be safe. 'If God is pleased to grant me a favourable outcome, I hope it will be for the best; and if He disposes otherwise, I will feel better about ending my days either in death or in captivity, in doing what I can, than to live longer in greater comfort. May God arrange what is best for His service.'[35]

Charles's reliance on Providence proved misplaced. Although he managed to leave his palace undetected, he had not even travelled eighty kilometres towards the Netherlands when he learned that Maurice's forces blocked his route. He therefore returned apprehensively to Innsbruck and redoubled his pleas for assistance from Spain. Realizing that Maurice's intention 'will be to come towards me, with the aim of driving me out of Germany', he begged Philip to send him 'without losing a minute' as many Spanish troops as possible, 'and above all pay attention to sending money, because you can see how it affects our honour and reputation, as well as the preservation of the lands that God has given us' – the use of 'us' once more serving as an unsubtle reminder that whatever Charles lost, Philip would lose too.[36] The emperor now resolved to swallow his pride and seek refuge in Vienna but (he complained) Ferdinand 'repeats in many letters that I should under no circumstances come to him, because it would ruin both him and his affairs, and that he cannot provide from there any help for mine.' The Family Compact forced upon him the previous year gave Ferdinand little incentive to fight for his nephew's inheritance.[37]

Ferdinand instead tried to remain neutral. First he travelled to Maurice's headquarters to find out what he wanted, and then to Innsbruck to ascertain what concessions Charles was prepared to make; but the emperor's best offer was to free the landgrave of Hesse two weeks after the rebel army demobilized, and to refer a permanent religious settlement to the imperial Diet, where the Catholics predominated. Maurice and his army therefore continued to advance, fighting their way over the Alpine pass that stood between them and Innsbruck. Sandoval's *History* imagined the scene when Charles heard the startling news of this on 19 May: 'There was not even time to grab the emperor's furnishings and clothes. He left at midnight, and some say that it was such a close call that as he left by one door, Maurice's troops entered by another.'[38]

Sandoval may have exaggerated slightly, but Charles's humiliation could hardly have been greater: he had to flee south across the Brenner pass, fifty kilometres away, to find safety. 'We rode almost all that night in wind and rain, and in the deepest darkness the world has seen,' an ambassador complained; and when the imperial party at last reached 'a small and uncomfortable village', they needed to commandeer 'a couple of

sheets in which His Majesty could sleep, because his baggage had not arrived'. Five days and 300 kilometres later, 'in a litter and crippled by gout', Charles and his entourage reached the comparative safety of Villach, a remote town in the Austrian province of Carinthia, where they would spend the next two months.[39]

Count Stroppiana, the ambassador of Savoy, summarized the strategic dilemma that Charles now faced. He needed not only to avenge 'the disgrace of his flight from Innsbruck' by restoring his authority in Germany, but also to 'counter the audacity and gains made by the French', otherwise 'he stands in great danger of being chased out of both Germany and his hereditary lands'. Worse, if Henry II 'should mobilize against the emperor all the resources of France, and a good portion of those of Germany, Poland and the Turks, and makes trouble in Italy, he may lose both Italy and the Netherlands. His only remedy,' Stroppiana concluded briskly, 'is to castrate the French rooster and turn him into a capon.'[40]

Charles agreed with this bold analysis, but he needed to buy time. He therefore sent his brother back to negotiate with Maurice, now in Passau, with instructions to procrastinate until troops and money arrived from Spain, but the threat of French intervention led Ferdinand to disobey. Instead he offered major concessions: permanent freedom of worship for all Lutheran rulers and their subjects; the immediate liberation of the landgrave of Hesse; no further obligation for German princes to serve against France; and an undertaking that all political grievances against the emperor would be settled by an assembly of confederate rulers. Ferdinand even promised that if Charles did not observe these terms, he and his son Maximilian would declare war on him. In a holograph note that accompanied these concessions, 'your most humble and most obedient brother' warned Charles that unless he was prepared to wage all-out war, he must accept these terms as they stood.[41]

Charles could hardly believe his eyes as he read these documents and he composed a blistering reply. Although 'I do not intend to make war on the Lutherans, nor have I presently the means to do so', he found their terms – especially the demand that he grant permanent toleration – 'exorbitant':

> I cannot accept the bridle that they want to place on me . . . I would have to promise not to act against heresy for ever afterwards,

> although there could come a time and an occasion when my conscience would oblige me to do this. . . . As I have written and told you so often, I will never consent, for anything in this world, to something that goes against my duty and my conscience.

He pointed out that the religious concessions demanded of him would 'undo the decisions taken by the last two Diets without the participation of those who have a stake in them. This I cannot and must not do, especially in something of such importance to them.' Above all, Charles continued, the concessions would invalidate 'the Interim, and everything that has been achieved in religious matters, with such effort and cost'. He asserted that he was not motivated by pride, 'because if it only involved humiliation, I would easily suffer that in order to have peace . . . The problem is that, along with the humiliation that can be overcome, there is a burden of conscience that I cannot endure. And so I cannot accept the treaty.'[42]

Instead Charles agreed to 'bind myself with all the sureties they desire that in matters of religion I will accept whatever may be determined in the next Diet' – that is, his conscience allowed him to make another temporary concession, but not a permanent one. As he had done many times before, he granted full powers to Ferdinand 'since you are close to events', to negotiate in his name, but this time he included:

> A proviso, which I share with you now for future reference: that I do not wish or understand myself to be obliged to observe any concession beyond those indicated above. And in this sense, the more exorbitant it is the better, because my intention is to refer to the next Diet the wickedness [of the confederates], and the reasons why I do not wish to consider myself obliged [by consenting now], given the duress applied.

This was precisely the ruse that had so outraged Charles when Francis I employed it before signing the treaty of Madrid in 1526. In addition, in a holograph postscript, the emperor urged his brother to prolong deliberations as much as possible, since 'time is the greatest advantage for our side: time to weaken our enemies and to allow my forces to assemble – all I need is fifteen to twenty days.'

Two other letters at this time shed light on the emperor's resilience under extreme threat. Having learned of the death of María and Maximilian's first child, on whom he had doted at Innsbruck the previous winter, despite 'a finger on my right hand that torments me' he wrote a holograph note of condolence to remind Ferdinand that 'in the end we must accept what God grants', followed by a prayer that 'God will help you to deal with current problems as His Holy Service and the prosperity of our own affairs require'. He then wrote a similar holograph letter of consolation to Maximilian (whom he addressed as 'my son', signing off 'Your good father, Carolus'): 'God be praised for all He does. We must accept His will and at the same time beg Him to watch over those of us who remain, and bless us.' Despite the personal and political setbacks, Charles remained convinced that God would advance his interests and those of his family.[43]

A few days later, Charles informed Marie that he was prepared 'to leave Germany and transfer the imperial crown' to Ferdinand and authorize him to make the concessions demanded by the Lutheran princes, because 'he says that his conscience will let him do it, while my conscience tells me the opposite'; but before a courier could leave with the letter, Charles was able to retrace his steps to Innsbruck – a move that (he told Marie) would 'encourage some and amaze others'. The balance of power had shifted dramatically in his favour: the duke of Alba approached at the head of 5,000 Spanish infantry, accompanied by 'many gentlemen who had decided to spend their personal wealth serving His Majesty' together with 'two million ducats minted into coins, or ready to be minted', brought from Peru; and everywhere his lieutenants raised troops to serve him. As the nuncio travelling with him realized, Charles could now 'not only defend himself but also attack his enemies and *get revenge*'.[44]

THE EMPEROR STRIKES BACK

'The arrival of the duke of Alba, with his Spaniards and the money has greatly raised our spirits,' wrote a member of Charles's entourage. 'Now the council of war meets in the duke's apartment for long and detailed discussions.' The arrival of these reinforcements also strengthened Ferdinand's bargaining position, and a week later at Passau he and Maurice reached a tentative agreement: on his brother's behalf, Ferdinand promised

an unconditional pardon for all who had taken up arms, the immediate release of Philip of Hesse and John Frederick of Saxony, and the summoning of an imperial Diet to find a permanent solution to the religious issue and to address all alleged abuses of power by the emperor and his agents since Mühlberg. In return, the confederates agreed either to disband their troops within ten days or to send them to defend Hungary. Almost immediately Maurice led his men to fight the Turks, while Charles entered Innsbruck 'on horseback, showing himself more robust than usual, with his arquebus upon his saddle'. The emperor who only a month before had seemed 'old and weighed down by his many infirmities' now commanded over 68,000 troops in Germany with a further 41,000 in the Netherlands and 24,000 in northern Italy. What would he do with them?[45]

One possibility was a campaign in Italy, where the successful defiance of Parma had called into question Charles's ability to impose his will; but in July 1552, Venice rejected France's offer of alliance, which led almost all other Italian rulers to maintain their neutrality too. Only the republic of Siena threw caution to the winds – the citizens of its capital chased out the Spanish garrison amid cries of 'France, liberty and victory' – and Charles decided that his ministers in Italy possessed sufficient strength to prevent the 'contagion' spreading to other parts of the peninsula. Instead he announced that 'We have resolved to deal, for the present, principally with finding a remedy for the affairs of Germany, on whose pacification the success of our affairs mostly depends'.[46]

This decision led to the worst strategic catastrophe of Charles's reign: the siege of Metz. Luckily for historians, a profusion of surviving sources – above all, the correspondence of the emperor himself and of the ambassadors attached to his court – make it possible to reconstruct in detail his path to disaster.

Although the treaty of Passau restored peace to most of Germany, Charles still faced two important enemies. Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg seized Trier at the head of some 12,000 men, ravaged adjacent Catholic lands, and threatened the Habsburg duchy of Luxemburg; and the French left a powerful garrison in Metz. The imperial army now marched towards the Rhine in two divisions: Charles, once again wearing full armour, rode at the head of the main contingent, which lodged each evening

in the quarters vacated that morning by the vanguard under the duke of Alba. Nuncio Camaiani reported (with a mixture of admiration and irritation) that he could not divine their objective; and although in September he realized that Charles aimed to cross the Rhine at Strasbourg, he remained unsure whether the ultimate target would be Trier or Metz. Although ‘almost all the courtiers here believe that His Majesty intends to do his best to recover Metz from the hands of the French’, the nuncio fretted about the high risks involved in campaigning so late in the year, when prolonged periods of rain and cold were inevitable. Nevertheless, he recognized that either retaking Metz or neutralizing Albert Alcibiades ‘will boost His Majesty’s reputation’, especially if he participated in person.[47] Charles had already reached the same conclusion. When his physicians warned him that ‘he must not take part in the campaign, both because he lacked the health for it and because he would create more problems than if he were absent’, the emperor ‘responded that, come what may, he was resolved to press on’. He also informed his son that:

> Although there are obstacles, because the season is well advanced and because of the other problems that usually occur in such great enterprises, let us hope that God will hold everything in His hand, and guide me and bring about a successful outcome. At least I will do everything possible on my part, risking (whenever it is appropriate and necessary) my own person.[48]

Despite his apparent confidence, Charles harboured some misgivings. Already in June he predicted that a French army would lurk ‘near to the frontier of Luxemburg to keep our troops at bay while they finish the fortification of Metz’; and three months later, perhaps recalling his own experience at Ingolstadt, he worried that once Metz acquired modern defences, ‘we can abandon hope of finding a way to recapture it’. Moreover, ‘if the city remains in French hands, it will provide them with a highway into Germany as far as the Rhine’, and also ‘sever a secure passage between the Netherlands and Burgundy’. Time, therefore, was of the essence. Charles conceded that the lack of victuals, the lateness of the season, the size and resources of the French garrison, and his own lack of money meant that ‘we cannot mount a blockade that will starve them out

and thus force them to surrender'; he therefore asked Marie to consult anyone who 'knows the place, and has seen it recently' to declare 'whether or not Metz can be taken by storm'. If not, her experts must 'tell me what they think the army I command should undertake, in order to inflict the maximum damage on our enemies in what remains of the campaign season'. In any case she must send sappers (together with surplus entrenching tools, 'since several break when they are used, and sometimes it is necessary to make the soldiers dig'); all the gunners she could spare ('since one always needs experts where artillery is concerned'); and engineers ('since if I need to build siege-works, I will need good engineers both to explain to others what they must do, and to design the siege-works and oversee their construction').[49]

Given the numerous disadvantages listed by her brother, Marie predictably advised him to leave Metz alone and instead attack somewhere closer to the Netherlands and to safe winter quarters. Equally predictably, Charles countered with providential arguments – indeed he used almost the same rhetoric he had used to justify his perseverance with the Algiers campaign a decade before. 'As far as I can see, we have no other course of action, because if we abandon this enterprise I will have to disband my army, having spent so much money without achieving anything. I have therefore decided to spend even more, and await what God pleases to give us, rather than to quit without seeing what Fortune brings.'[50]

This decision seems particularly rash in view of the military evaluation by Camaiani. 'In terms of numbers, the emperor's army is equal to any enterprise,' the nuncio conceded:

> But as to the state and quality of the soldiers, the majority of the German infantry is very poor: badly armed and lacking military experience. The Spanish infantry includes the excellent veterans who served at the siege of Parma, but the majority of those just arrived from Spain are also very poor and there are many who are sick . . . The cavalry is inferior in numbers to that of our enemy.

Camaiani agreed with Charles that 'if this army achieves anything this year, it will owe more to the emperor's customary good Fortune than to anything else'.[51]

For a time, Fortune once again favoured Charles. In the Netherlands, his troops captured Hesdin, forcing Henry II to relocate soldiers and resources from the eastern to the northern frontier of his kingdom. In Germany, Alba persuaded Albert Alcibiades to accept the treaty of Passau and join him in the siege of Metz. Charles lamented the need to ally with the odious self-proclaimed 'priest-eater [*Pfaffenfresser*]' – 'We would be glad not to do this, so that we could punish him as he deserves' – but he reluctantly overrode his conscience because, without Albert Alcibiades's troops, 'we would not be able to complete the siege of this city, given its size, so that relief could enter it whenever they want'. Secretary of State Francisco de Eraso, travelling with Charles, also felt pessimistic: besieging Metz, he opined, 'was better than doing nothing', because then critics would jest that 'this huge army was assembled merely to escort His Majesty to the Netherlands'.[52]

'THE BEST SIEGE THAT EVER WAS'

The imperialists started digging trenches around Metz on 23 October 1552, but the emperor did not stay to watch. According to Eraso, the previous month Dr Baersdorp 'insisted that His Majesty must not go to the trenches under any circumstances, because his health would not allow it, and that his presence would create greater difficulties', but the emperor 'told him that, come what may, he was determined to take his chances'. He only changed his mind when, as he approached Metz, 'I felt so much pain from my gout that I had to stay in bed today' and decided to go to Thionville, thirty kilometres to the north, 'where I can live with less discomfort than in the camp, and can make a swifter recovery'.[53]

His troops before Metz suffered far more than 'discomfort'. Over the summer the French garrison had erected thick ramparts punctuated by bastions, and demolished all buildings outside the walls, creating an artillery fortress. This worried the commander of the Netherlands contingent in the imperial army because 'I have never met a man who has seen or heard tell of towns thus defended being taken by assault'. He soon complained about 'the attacks launched every day by the defenders, gallant fighters who know their business'.[54] After a month of stalemate, Charles worried that 'since things were not going well my reputation has become

involved, as if I were personally present since I was so close. Moreover, if I were there I might be able to attend to some things.' He therefore arose from his sickbed at Thionville and travelled south, arriving at the camp before Metz with a 'happy and cheerful countenance'. On 22 November, accompanied by Alba and Albert Alcibiades, he 'rode around the trenches and the batteries, looking good on his horse', and the following day he entered the trenches to direct a bombardment so ferocious 'that you could hear the thunder of the guns beyond Strasbourg', 200 kilometres away.[55]

Nevertheless, a week's bombardment brought down only twenty-five metres of the curtain wall and his troops refused to launch an assault because the defenders' guns on the bastions overlooking the breach remained intact. Next, 'to avoid permanent regret for failing to try everything imaginable to prevail in this enterprise', Charles exploded gunpowder mines placed under the walls; but like the artillery barrage, they achieved nothing. Some considered this wasted effort, 'because Metz cannot be captured by mines', and they blamed the emperor 'for an unwillingness to change his mind, which might be called obstinacy'. A week later Charles returned to Thionville, and according to the Venetian ambassador, 'Now both the court and the army openly begin to lose whatever hope they may have had of capturing Metz.'[56]

A decade later, the French soldier and writer Pierre de Bourdeille, lord of Brantôme, deemed the emperor's attempt to take Metz 'the best siege that ever was', but it did not seem that way to the men in the trenches. 'The soldiers cannot resist the cold, which kills them like flies; and the rest flee as far as they can, because they cannot find food or fodder,' wrote the Savoyard ambassador, while his English colleague claimed that 'I never since I was born felte such cold as hath ben herre thys Christmas'. Even twenty years later, Perrenot could still 'feel in my legs the cold that I experienced before Metz'.[57] Charles also suffered. From his sickbed in Thionville he complained bitterly to Marie that 'I eat so little that I'm beginning to think starvation cannot kill a man. You should know that I have lost all the spare flesh that I had before and that I lack the strength required for the trade [*mestier*] that I currently practise' – namely to wage war. 'I hear Mass in bed and get up only for lunch, and the cold and my weakness compel me to retire again after 4 or 5 o'clock.' While there,

Guillaume van Male read aloud to him passages from Classical works, notably *The Jewish War* by Josephus (a history full of successful sieges), and from the Old Testament, especially the book of Daniel and the Psalms (full of courage and eventual triumph in the face of adversity). Charles even compiled ‘a book composed of fine texts from the Psalms that he has chosen’, which La Gasca, the pacifier of Peru and now a bishop in Spain, considered ‘very devout and a testament to His Majesty’s sacred and devout intention’.[58]

Evidently it did not suffice to placate the Creator: while the emperor’s main army lay impotently before Metz, the French blockaded Hesdin. That tipped the balance for Charles: ‘Madame my good sister,’ he wrote to Marie, ‘the French actions against Hesdin may have important consequences, and having attempted everything possible against this city [Metz] without any sign that we may be able to take it, in order not to lose more men through illness without purpose, and to be able to relieve Hesdin . . . I have finally decided to raise this siege’. Alba skilfully concealed the withdrawal and at 11 p.m. on New Year’s Day, 1553, the imperial army silently abandoned the trenches.[59]

The unvanquished defenders unfurled banners and issued medals that parodied Charles’s motto: an eagle chained to the columns of Hercules and the slogan NON ULTRA METAS, with the double meaning ‘Not beyond Metz’ and ‘Not beyond these limits’.[60] According to the Venetian ambassador, the siege had ‘cost the lives of 25,000 soldiers, not counting boys, women, sutlers and others, and 25,000 horses’; and Stroppiana reported that ‘mortality on the imperial side was far greater than stated: there are no courtiers left, because all are dead or dying’. More soldiers were left to the mercy of the French because they were too ill or injured to be moved, and Alba abandoned ‘armour, guns, pikes, swords and other weapons, an infinite amount of baggage and most of their tents’, and threw a further thirty guns with their carriages into the river on the retreat.[61] It could have been worse. Just sixty kilometres away, and seventy-five years earlier, a foolish decision to besiege Nancy in winter had led to the catastrophic defeat and death of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy – a precedent well known to the emperor, because two years before he had

ordered his ancestor's mortal remains to be exhumed from their humble tomb in Nancy and triumphantly transported to Habsburg territory.[62]

Although the emperor left the siege of Metz alive, he almost immediately provoked a major row among his ministers by ordering 'that, since he lacked the money to pay the German troops, the duke [of Alba] should pacify them with words, promising payment in Trier. The duke replied that he did not know how to perform miracles', and suggested that Charles should delegate the task 'to those ministers' – meaning Perrenot – 'who had advised him to persevere with the siege of Metz but had not provided, as they should have done, the necessary money and materials . . . This caused great confusion among his ministers'; and while they argued, the French recaptured Hesdin.[63]

THE EMPEROR AT BAY

All of Charles's plans had miscarried. Parma, Siena and Metz had successfully defied him; he had lost Hesdin; and he had agreed to renew toleration for the Lutherans of Germany. Moreover, his unprecedented and prolonged mobilization had ruined his finances. James Tracy has calculated that the loan contracts signed by the treasury of Castile in the course of 1552 were 'by far the largest total for any year of Charles's reign' – 3.7 million ducats – while 'the next highest totals were for 1553': 2.2 million. In the Netherlands, treasury spending soared from £1.3 million in 1550 to almost £6 million in 1552 and even more in 1553 – likewise, the largest totals of the reign.[64]

The emperor had also ruined his health. On Christmas Eve 1552, van Male reported that his master constantly 'complained about intestinal problems and diarrhoea' but still insisted on drinking 'ice-cold beer that has been left out all night exposed to the cold. For some time he has been addicted to these excesses and will not give them up.' Van Male warned that 'no one, not even someone with strength and good health, could survive drinking iced beer before daybreak in winter, let alone someone of his age, with his health undermined by illness, travel and hard work'. He also complained that Charles constantly 'devoured oysters – which he consumes raw, boiled and fried – and almost all types of sea fish', despite the fact that 'every day before dawn, I hear his groans and sighs produced

by the pain'. A week later, although 'his stomach and his haemorrhoids are better', Dr Baersdorp noted that Charles had lost his appetite 'and subsists on eggs and soups'. After an audience in January 1553, Ambassador Richard Morison wrote that he had never seen Charles 'so nigh gone, never so dede in his face, his hand never so leane, pale, and wan; his eyes that were wont to be full of life whan all the rest had yelded to sycknes, were now heavy and dull, and as nigh death in their look as ever I saw.'[65] It took the emperor over a month to get back to Brussels, a distance that he had previously covered in a week, and he entered the city cradled 'in an open litter, his eyes always raised to heaven'. According to Stroppiana, 'His Majesty is very weak, and takes no pleasure in either eating or drinking. He is in a lot of pain, without having any specific illness. His condition makes me very fearful.'[66]

Charles still dreamed of revenge. In February 1553, despite his infirmities, he appeared before the States-General of the Netherlands to ask them to vote new taxes worth 1.5 million ducats, but first he delivered a tirade against French treachery. King Henry had occupied parts of the Empire 'in order to take them over and reduce them to the same cruel servitude in which he held his own kingdom'; he had fomented rebellion in Germany; above all, he had encouraged the Turks to attack both in the Mediterranean and in Hungary. Exhausted by his efforts, Charles then withdrew to his apartments in the Coudenberg palace, where he spent the next four months (according to the Venetian ambassador) 'complaining about everything' and everyone.[67]

The emperor appears to have suffered a physical and psychological collapse. According to Nicholas Nicolay, a Netherlands councillor, arthritis 'has spread to all the limbs, joints and nerves of his body', and as usual cold weather increased the pain. In addition, catarrh so affected him that 'when he has it he cannot speak, and when he speaks he cannot be heard or scarcely understood by his attendants'. Finally, 'his haemorrhoids have swollen and hurt him so much, but they cannot be put back in without great pain and tears'. The combination of these ailments, Nicolay continued, had crushed the emperor's spirit, so that instead of being gracious and affable 'as he used to be', he had become sad and pensive, 'and often he cries violently, and sheds many tears, just as if he were a child . . . His Majesty

does not want to hear about business, or to sign the few [papers] that are prepared.' He refused to give audiences or appear in public, and he banished from his presence one veteran minister, Louis de Praet, 'because he insisted on talking to him about business'. He even lashed out when Antoine Perrenot complained that he had received much public opprobrium but little recompense for his many services, and requested a lucrative office: 'As for what you say about others having received rewards for services when you have not, given the amount of business you handle, if I had to reward you for each one it would not be in my power to satisfy you.' Nicolay claimed that Charles now:

> Occupied himself day and night with adjusting and synchronizing his clocks . . . At night, since he cannot sleep when he wants to, he often wakes up his valets and others and orders them to light candles and torches, to help him dismantle some clocks and then to reset them. He has spent and still spends many days reading the psalms of David and the Commentaries on them.

According to Nicolay, Marie had taken over the government of the Monarchy in order to forestall disaster, but everyone realized that this could only be a temporary measure.[68]

At Marie's insistence, probably unknown to the rest of the court, Charles signed a letter on 2 April 1553 commanding his son to return to the Netherlands in order 'to gain reputation and to make yourself known, so that the world, including your enemies, will see that you will not give them the chance – as perhaps they expect – to undertake anything'. The emperor believed that the best way to achieve this was for Philip in person to lead a successful campaign against the French, but since the Low Countries could pay no more, 'you must bring with you such a large sum of money that it will serve to sustain these provinces adequately. This is the only remedy for the present situation', and it would also avoid the need 'to ask the provinces for new taxes as soon as you arrive, which, since they are so exhausted, will not only cost you their affection but also cause them to resent twice as much (as subjects often do) the sacrifices you ask of them'. Therefore, 'since the situation is so desperate', Charles reviewed a series of dubious expedients for raising in Spain the funds he needed. He proposed the sale of

knighthoods for 2,000 ducats each (except to descendants of Jews, Muslims and Comuneros); he petitioned the pope for permission to sell more church property; and he even authorized discussion of ‘what we might raise from the encomiendas in America’. In the meantime, Charles declared, he planned ‘to return to Germany to hold a Diet in late June’, provided ‘my health and my other commitments will allow it’; and from there he would travel ‘in the autumn first to Italy, and from there to Spain’. He continued:

> I would like very much to have you here before I leave, so that I can talk to you about the things that seem important to me, and to hear from you in person the things that should not be written down about the state of [Spain]. I do not think that these provinces should be left at a time like this without the presence of one of us, and so while I am in Germany I want you to hold the fort here.[69]

Charles then turned to micro-managing the sex life of his son, now aged twenty-six, as he had done a decade before: ‘So much time has passed since the death of the princess [María Manuela] that I think it is both opportune and necessary for you to marry again, given your age and given the need for the heirs that I hope God will give you.’ As usual the perfect choice seemed to be a cousin, specifically María, daughter of Charles’s sister Eleanor and the late King Manuel of Portugal, now aged thirty-two and one of the richest women in Europe. Nevertheless, ‘it seems that a great obstacle lies in the way of this business’: namely that, as part of the Family Compact at Augsburg, Philip had promised to marry another cousin, one of Ferdinand’s daughters. Although Charles could and did break solemn promises whenever it suited him, this time he worried about the possibility that if his son ‘defaults on the marriage [Ferdinand] will claim that everything is linked together’ and renege on his promise to arrange Philip’s succession as emperor. ‘Nevertheless,’ he continued, ‘we agreed that the marriage is to take place after your election [as king of the Romans], of which there is little hope as long as Germany remains in such disorder. Until that changes, I cannot recommend that you accept the Empire, even if you were offered it.’ Charles therefore instructed his son to give Ferdinand an ultimatum: ‘You are now of marriageable age and for that reason, as well as to please our subjects, you should not be tied down or impeded from doing so; and

since the agreement on your marriage to one of his daughters is linked to your election, you should ask him either to take steps to make this happen or else release you to marry whomever you want.' Since apart from Ferdinand's daughters 'we cannot see a suitable match for you anywhere else', the emperor urged his son to conclude his negotiations with Lisbon as soon as possible so that he could consummate the marriage before leaving his wife and coming to the Netherlands.[70] In June 1553, Philip obediently sent a confidant, Ruy Gómez de Silva, to finalize the marriage terms with his aunt (and former mother-in-law) Catalina and her husband, King John III.

Meanwhile French military pressure forced Charles to wage another campaign in the Netherlands instead of travelling to Germany as he had intended. This time, he triumphed. First he sent an experienced general, the count of Roeulx, to capture Thérouanne, a heavily fortified French enclave in the Netherlands. Realizing that 'unless we wage a cruel war, we will never gain our objective', during the three-week siege of Thérouanne Roeulx's artillery fired an average of 800 rounds a day (compared with 300 a day at Metz) and he exploded five gunpowder mines to force the dazed garrison to capitulate. Even before its surrender, the emperor had decreed that the city 'will be immediately sacked, and then razed to its foundations. Not only will secular buildings be destroyed, but also the churches, the monasteries and the hospitals. Not a vestige of its walls will remain.' He kept his word. According to François de Rabutin, a hostile French commentator, when the emperor heard that Thérouanne had fallen, 'he was as pleased as if it had been Constantinople' and over the next two months further gunpowder mines razed the city to the ground. Although today trees grow along the lines of the pre-1553 fortifications, only fields exist within: of the city and its cathedral, no trace remains. The victors then laid siege to Hesdin and, according to Rabutin, 'every hour, day and night, they maintained the most furious battery that anyone living could recall'. After the garrison surrendered, the imperialists once more used mines to destroy the city.[71]

Then news arrived that Henry II in person had laid siege to Cambrai. Yet again, the emperor rose to the occasion. On 28 May the nuncio found Charles 'so weak that he lacked the will to speak', and reported that even

Marie and her ministers ‘have had trouble in making him speak even one word in a week’; but a few days later Perrenot revealed that:

> We are trying to prepare His Majesty to appear in public, sometimes getting him dressed as if he were healthy and sometimes making him wear his sword and cloak. We also make him speak more loudly and vigorously than he normally does, on account of his weakness and debility. In short, we are doing everything to make him appear more comely and lively [*più bella et vivace*].

The makeover seems to have worked, because at his first audience since the retreat from Metz, on 9 June 1553, the nuncio reported that ‘although his face shows some pallor, he has been like that for many years’, but now his ‘eyes were lively and sparkling’ and ‘he hears and speaks with the same attention and gravity as ever’. The imperial temperament also remained unchanged: when the nuncio relayed a French peace offer, Charles observed that Henry II was just like his father – always trying to revisit issues already decided, and allying with Turks ‘despite his title of “Most Christian King”, so that you could not trust any promise he might make’. Therefore, Charles continued, ‘he believed it would be better to continue the war because he would lose nothing by doing so, and even if he should lose he would prefer it to being assassinated when he least expected it’.[72] In August, motivated by his ‘deep hatred of the king of France and his fear that for lack of good leadership some misfortune might befall his army’, Charles decided to take the field himself, ‘even though it will be hard on his system, since he has not left his small apartment for seven whole months’. Accompanied by Marie, who looked after him, he travelled to Mons and from there joined his army in the field until King Henry withdrew. To celebrate, the emperor then spent a whole ‘daye in hunting of the bore’, and ‘liked that daye his passetyme so well’ that he did ‘the same again on the morrow’.[73]

Delight at developments across the English Channel no doubt contributed to the emperor’s remarkable recovery. Edward VI, king of England and Ireland, died on 6 July 1553, and although (at the direction of his councillors) he had signed a ‘Device’ naming as his successor his Protestant cousin Lady Jane Grey, she found few supporters. After a few days of uncertainty Edward’s Catholic half-sister Mary Tudor defeated

Jane's adherents and ascended the throne. Almost immediately the new, unmarried queen of thirty-seven turned for advice to Charles, her cousin and former fiancé, and indicated that she would look favourably on a renewed offer of matrimony. The emperor, assisted by Marie and Perrenot, skilfully exploited this windfall. Charles claimed that he lacked the energy to wed Queen Mary himself, and offered his son instead. He carefully explained to her the advantages: it would provide a 'husband who could take charge in wartime and perform other duties that are inappropriate for women', such as organizing an invasion of Scotland that would 'make it subject to the kingdom of England' and a campaign to 'recover Guyenne, unjustly possessed by those who now hold it, and perhaps even the kingdom of France.' In addition, gaining the crown of England would allow Philip to rule both Spain and the Netherlands effectively, even without becoming king of the Romans, while creating a new Anglo-Netherlands state to be ruled by the heir of Philip and Mary would permanently secure Habsburg domination of the Channel and North Sea, and thus 'keep the French in check and reduce them to reason'.[74]

Nevertheless, Mary Tudor felt limited enthusiasm for marriage. A few days after her accession she told Charles's ambassador, Simon Renard, that she had always been single and had never experienced love. As a woman, Mary continued, she had no wish to change her status, but as a queen she recognized that for the good of her realm both a marriage and a child were now essential. She 'laughed not once but several times' with embarrassment as she discussed these unfamiliar topics with Renard, and expressed the hope that whoever Charles 'proposed and put forward for her [husband] would be a Catholic; that she would have a chance to meet him first; and that he should not be too young.' When the conversation turned to Philip as a possible suitor, the queen responded that she understood he was already promised to María of Portugal, that he was twelve years her junior, and that 'in addition, His Highness would want to stay in Spain and govern his other dominions'. Renard forwarded her concerns to Charles, who hastened to address them. Mary's 'desire to see her future husband' in advance, he pointed out, 'would be hard to arrange' because 'no prince equal to her in rank would wish to take the risk of going there and being rejected'. Instead he sent her a flattering portrait of her suitor by Titian, done at Augsburg

three years before; and assured her that after their marriage Philip would reside frequently in England.[75]

It was almost too late. A courier had already left Philip's court bearing his final approval of the terms of his marriage contract with María of Portugal when an express messenger arrived from Charles ordering him to marry Mary Tudor instead. The prince recalled his courier, so that the letter of approval never reached its destination, and he ceded full powers for his father to negotiate an English Match on his behalf.[76] Hard bargaining took place between Mary's councillors and Charles's envoys, led by Renard, who only prevailed by 'explaining to her the benefits that would come to England if, through her children, the kingdom were united with the Netherlands'. In October 1553, Renard triumphantly advised Philip that Mary Tudor had made up her mind to marry him, so that 'it would be advisable for Your Highness to practise speaking French or Latin'.[77]

The emperor favoured cementing the union by proxies, which would take immediate effect, but the English preferred that 'the wedding should be concluded and solemnized in the presence of both spouses'. Charles therefore demanded that his son send 'two powers of attorney, drawn up like the attached drafts, so that we can use whichever one is needed without wasting any time'. Once again, the prince complied – but with serious reservations. On 4 January 1554 he executed before a notary a deed stating that he will 'approve, authorize and swear to the said articles so that his marriage to the most serene queen of England may take place, but this does not bind or oblige him and his possessions, or his heirs and successors, to execute or approve any of them, especially those that involve his conscience'.[78]

The prince had little choice but to accept whatever marriage terms the English offered, because he had now burned his bridges with both Ferdinand and María of Portugal – but the emperor treated both broken promises with his usual insouciance. When a Portuguese envoy arrived in Brussels and 'gave vent to his discontent . . . we told him what was necessary, without wishing to justify or discuss the matter further'. Charles advised his son to do the same, 'because when these matters are past it is best to dissimulate'.[79]

After his success in arranging the English Match, Charles's interest in public affairs seems to have waned again. According to an ambassador in December 1553, he rarely signed letters of state, 'and although he has held a few audiences, they are mere formalities, because those who come are ordered not to discuss business . . . Some ministers have used stratagems to get him to hear and sign many matters, but nothing really works.' Eraso (whose constant attendance on the emperor gave him considerable insight into his master's state of mind) warned Philip of the precarious situation he faced. Charles now seemed determined 'to abandon all business, and his aim really does seem to be to go to Spain'; but 'there are signs that if God chose to remove His Majesty, dangers would soon arise here if Your Highness were not present'. Charles himself alerted his son to his failing health: 'I have recently had a setback, and the pain from my gout is beginning to spread so that I now have more pain than I would wish on all my left side and some, although less intense, in my right arm.' Shortly afterwards he apologized again that 'I have spent five weeks in bed beset by gout and other ailments, and so have not been able to transact business', and he told his son:

> I am well aware that it would be better if I returned to Spain before you left, and it is something that I really want to do; but my health will not let me travel and even if I could do so, it would be impossible to get a fleet together in time . . . It therefore seems best to me that I should leave after you arrive, and after I have discussed with you the affairs of [the Netherlands] and arranged what needs to be done here. So I will do everything I can to be able to leave, if God wills, next August or September.[80]

Charles now lived in a cottage in the park surrounding the royal palace in Brussels: a suite of apartments 'approached by a stairway of ten or twelve steps', with an antechamber that 'opens onto his receiving room and bedroom, none of them larger than twenty-four square feet', while a corridor linked his bedroom to a small chapel where he worshipped. The only decorations in the public space were his coat of arms and his motto, *Plus Ultra*, prominently displayed both on the walls and in special roundels in each window. It was, a nuncio asserted (somewhat implausibly), 'a little

house no larger and no better than the quarters of a Carthusian'.[81] Another papal diplomat reported that 'inside the cottage, His Majesty spends part of his time beside a clock that includes all the planetary movements': he referred to the eight-sided spring-driven planetary clock known as the 'Microcosm' constructed and maintained by Janello Torriani from Cremona, whom Charles hailed as 'the prince of clockmakers'. It was 'circular, almost two foot in width and a little more in height', powered by perhaps 1,800 gears, 'showing all the motions of the planets and everything we know about astrology'.[82] A provincial lawyer who visited the imperial court in April 1554 recorded the general excitement when the clock and its inventor arrived from Italy: 'Its novelty led the emperor to make such a fuss of it that would astonish you, and he took pleasure in the clock above all things.' Charles's obsession with time pieces became the butt of a joke at this time. One day he complained to his major-domo, Baron Monfalconetto, that the food served to him was always bland and unappetizing, 'to which the baron replied: "I just don't know any other way to please Your Majesty, unless I try to create a new dish for you: *clock soup*." At this, the emperor laughed louder and longer than anyone had ever witnessed before.'[83]

The emperor's prolonged absence from Spain, combined with his preoccupation with his clocks, his health and his responsibilities elsewhere, allowed Prince Philip to take many decisions on his own initiative. As one nobleman put it crudely: 'I beg your Highness to authorize a response to the memorial that I gave you in Madrid, because we all know that you can transact all affairs of state without awaiting permission from Germany' – that is, without consulting Charles.[84] Philip proved the truth of this assertion in spectacular fashion as he prepared to leave for England in the spring of 1554. The emperor strongly opposed the appointment of his daughter Joanna as regent – 'you know that the princess is very haughty, and I have heard that her household is badly run,' he warned Philip – yet the prince persuaded her to return to Castile after the death of her husband, heir to the Portuguese throne, and then spent several days with her (as he coolly informed his father) 'to inform her of matters that she needs to know' before she took over as regent. Having got his way on this key issue Philip hand-picked Joanna's advisory council, once again studiously ignoring the nominations and suggestions made by his father. Finally, he

issued instructions to his sister that explicitly overlooked or overrode Charles's directives. Joanna 'must not sign any document except those prepared by the secretaries indicated by me'; she must send him copies of all her correspondence with Charles; and she must consult him before taking any major decisions concerning Spain, Spanish Italy or Spanish America.[85]

At last on 13 July 1554, with his treasure chests full of cash to fund another campaign in the Netherlands and in command of a fleet large enough to deter any hostile attempt to intercept him, Philip left Spain to marry Mary Tudor and then take over from Charles in the Netherlands. After all the delays, the fleet took just seven days to sail from Corunna to Southampton, where both English and Netherlands envoys awaited him. The English brought him greetings and presents from his bride-to-be; the Netherlanders brought Charles's renunciation of his title to Naples in favour of his son, who thus became a king in his own right on the eve of his wedding. In addition, a special messenger brought Mary the tapestry series woven to commemorate the conquest of Tunis in 1535, 'which is one of the fayrest peces of worke that hathe bene made in our tyme'.[86]

These were gracious gestures by the emperor, who also sent his son a copy of the new will he had made. This document, written in Spanish although signed in Brussels, offers a fascinating overview of the emperor's preoccupations as his reign neared its end.[87] First came the conventional pious injunctions: 30,000 Masses must be said within a year for the repose of his soul, and his body must be conveyed to Granada and buried in the royal chapel beside his wife, his father and the Catholic Monarchs – he made no mention now of Bruges or Dijon, as in his earlier testaments: a reflection of how Spain had displaced the Netherlands and Burgundy in his imperial vision. He urged Philip always to uphold justice, protect widows and orphans, and revere the Catholic Church; and 'I particularly charge you to favour the Holy Office of the Inquisition.' Then came a series of more specific obligations. The sum of 30,000 ducats must be placed in the fortress of Simancas, in a locked chest to which only Charles had the key, to fund three charitable causes dear to his heart: to ransom 'Christians held captive in the lands of infidels . . . with preference for those who were captured during campaigns when I myself was present'; to create dowries

for poor virgins; and to succour the deserving poor. Charles commanded his son to pay the dowries promised to his daughters María and Joanna (but never paid); to distribute the money and jewels left to each of them by their mother's will (also never paid); and, so that 'our conscience will be discharged', his heir must pay not only all of Charles's outstanding debts but also those of his father Philip, his aunt Margaret, and all four of his grandparents (more obligations that Charles himself had failed to discharge), as well as finding 10,000 ducats 'to be distributed in good works for the soul of Her Highness', Queen Joanna, still living in seclusion at Tordesillas, with whom Philip must rule jointly 'in the same form and order as I have done and do'. Furthermore, the young king must respect an important clause in the marriage treaty just concluded with England: his son by María Manuela, Don Carlos, 'must be removed and excluded from the succession to our Netherlands possessions'. Philip must also retain and defend Milan, both because 'whenever it has been ruled by someone who did not possess other states' war had broken out in Italy, and because of 'the immense sums that retaining the duchy has cost our kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and the large number of our vassals and subjects, from all parts, who have died or shed their blood' in its defence. By contrast, Philip must 'take immediate steps to determine openly and sincerely whether justice and reason requires the return' of the kingdom of Navarre, conquered and annexed by Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512, 'or an offer of satisfaction or compensation to a third party'.

The emperor ordered Philip 'to honour and favour' his illegitimate daughter Margarita (although 'he is not obliged to do more for her, unless he wants to'), but although it covered forty-nine pages, his new will did not mention two other surviving illegitimate children: Tadea, then a nun living in Rome, and Gerónimo (later Don John of Austria). Instead, that same day the emperor wrote and signed a separate codicil about the latter – with the proviso that 'No one is to open this document except the prince' (or, should Philip predecease him, Don Carlos). Charles did not even reveal the boy's whereabouts, telling his son (or grandson) that 'if you do not know where this Gerónimo is', one of his aides would tell all. Charles preferred that the boy 'should become a member of one of the strict religious Orders', but 'if he prefers a secular life and lifestyle, I desire and require that he should receive a regular income of 20,000 or 30,000 ducats a year', equivalent to

the income of a count or a marquis.[88] This generous settlement saddled Philip with yet another financial obligation – to say nothing of a half-brother who would serve as a permanent reminder of his father's incontinence at age forty-six with a teenage domestic servant. The emperor's failure to impart this information to Philip in person showed great moral cowardice. Charles also sent his son 'a document in Latin, together with my last will, by which I bequeath him all my property and lordships so that he can administer and treat them as his own from the date thereon'.[89]

THE EMPEROR'S LAST CAMPAIGN

As with his previous testaments and codicils, Charles acted through fear of imminent death – this time on campaign. According to the English ambassador at the imperial court, writing on 4 June (two days before Charles signed his testament): 'Th'emperor is in very good estate of body, and is able to walke two or three howres in the daye', while a week later 'he was not more lustye these foure years then he is at this present' – so 'lusty' that when he 'tried on his armour [he] found that the corselet and a jerkin of buckskin which he wears under it were tighter for him than usual, by three fingers breadth, so he is stouter than he was'. Of course, Charles still complained about his health. He began an audience with the Florentine ambassador on 9 June 'by telling me about his indispositions, and in particular about the pain that his haemorrhoids have given and still give him. Then, suddenly remembering that the same ailment had given me a lot of trouble in the past, and since it seemed to him that I now looked well he wanted me to share some details.' Charles overcame this obstacle, too: now 'he is hable to arme himself, and ys on horssebacke in his parke some tyme three howres togither'.[90]

Charles had not planned to fight another campaign, but Henry II invaded the Netherlands in person and captured the newly constructed fortress of Mariembourg, 'which is extremely dangerous at the present time, because it is a place from which he can easily invade the duchy of Brabant. There is no fortress here that could stop him,' Charles informed his son. Nevertheless, although his field army was inferior to the French, the emperor decided to take personal command – and he expected Philip to join

him. ‘Make plans to come here,’ he wrote, adding coldly: ‘Once you have celebrated and (with God’s blessing) consummated your marriage with the queen [Mary Tudor], leave her after six or eight days.’[91]

On 7 July 1554 the emperor left Brussels in his open litter, accompanied by his leading nobles and cheered on by the citizens. ‘As he left, he said that if the French wanted to fight, he was willing to finish the war’ in a single stroke. In this, and in assuming personal command of his army, the emperor defied ‘his Counsell and all other men’, who had tried to dissuade him by stressing ‘the puissance of his ennemye, the unhablenes as yet of his army to encounter with them, the daunger of their chopping of ties between him and this towne [Brussels], the hazards of himself, his estate, and of all these countries’ should he meet with defeat. ‘Yett was ther no remedy, butt forth [Charles] wolde, and commanded them they shulde march *sans plus replique*.’ The English ambassador, Sir John Mason, feared the worst, recalling that Charles’s ‘headynes hath often putt him to greate hinderance, specially once by land att Metz, and another tyme by sea att Argell [Algiers]’. He warned that ‘this enterprise is more daungerous than them both’.[92]

Initially, the ambassador’s pessimism seemed justified. Charles could not prevent the French from capturing several places ‘buylded altogether *à l’antiqua*, without any kynde of such defenses as are requisyte for the wars of nowe a dayes’ – including Binche, where they burned Marie’s sumptuous palace to the ground.[93] Shortly afterwards some of his troops mutinied, but Charles turned the tide by boldly riding towards them. ‘According to his custom, he shook hands with all the German colonels and captains, and saluted all the rest by bowing his head.’ Then he approached the mutineers, listening attentively to their complaints, after which he told them:

> My soldiers, approaching me in such a disorderly fashion is not appropriate, because it dishonours you, your captains, and your nation, and it does me little credit. I am displeased that you have been wronged, but whenever something similar happens in future let me know through your colonel or your captains. I will never fail to render justice. I will be a good emperor and a good king to you. As for the wrong that you claim has been done to you, I will take

> steps to find out what happened and I shall not fail to punish those who erred.

‘At this, the mutineers returned to their duties’, and Charles ‘slept in the camp’ among his troops ‘and rode around taking care of everything’. At a general muster of his army ‘he appeared on horseback in full armour, raising everyone’s spirits’; and according to one of the cavalry troopers ‘the shouts of “Long live the emperor” lasted for an hour and were so loud that the king of France must have heard them in his camp’. When rumours of a French surprise attack circulated, ‘His Majesty drew his army up in battle order and rode up and down the ranks, preceded by a large red banner with the kettledrums beating.’[94]

Thanks to the money brought by his son’s fleet to provision and reinforce his army, Charles gained the advantage and forced the French to retreat from Binche, and he pursued them with ‘soch celerytie’ that he ‘marched in one day xxj myles; yet coulde he never overtake them’. On 4 August the frustrated emperor held a council of war to decide ‘what can be done with our army in the present state of affairs; and we decided to invade France and wreak the same destruction that they have done here’. But where? After discussing several alternative targets, Charles admitted weakly to his son, ‘we cannot make a decision because everything depends on what our enemies will do’. The only point on which he and his councillors agreed was that now ‘under no circumstances’ should Philip leave England and join his father, because ‘you are more likely to lose reputation than to gain it . . . and it is so important to gain it in your first campaign, when you want to impress the world’. He therefore granted his son permission to remain more than ‘six or eight days’ to enjoy the company of his new bride.[95]

A week later the French laid siege to Renty, another town that lacked ‘such defenses as are requisyte for the wars of nowe a dayes’, in the hope that Charles would risk a battle to relieve it. Instead he skilfully advanced without exposing his troops to attack, while Renty continued to resist, and on 14 August, Henry reluctantly withdrew ‘under cover of night, and of a thick mist the following morning’ with ‘great loss of reputation because they had to abandon their attack [on Renty] and dared not await something

that they have so often boasted that they sought', namely a battle. The retreat ended only after they had re-entered France.[96]

Mason had no doubt about the significance of this victory, and of Charles's personal role in achieving it. 'Th'emperor, in thies 9 or 10 daies followinge of his ennemye, hath shewed a greate courage and no lesse skillfulness in the warr; but muche more notablye', in seeking out and challenging the main French army 'against th'advice and perswasion of the substance of all his captains, which, yf he had not done', the Netherlands would have been ravaged on a scale 'as woulde longe after have been remembred. By his onlye wysdome and unconquered courage' he had decisively repulsed his enemies. By contrast, the French campaign had achieved nothing beyond 'the burninge and spoylinge of [all] sorts of poure people, which was easye to be done and as easy to be revenged'.[97]

Charles, as usual, attributed the favourable outcome to divine intervention. On 15 August, the day after the French withdrew, he wrote to his son (still in England): 'Son, God has guided this as He has been accustomed to do with my affairs. If there has been error it is mine, but still He has remedied it better than we had hoped.' His letter that same day to the duke of Alba (also in England, advising Philip) was less optimistic: 'Duke: You can imagine how I feel . . . Although some said yesterday that we should retreat, which would have involved great risks, instead He caused the enemy to retreat. Moreover Renty, which we feared was lost, has been saved.' But now, Charles declared, his fighting days were over: 'Although at the moment I enjoy better health than I expected, I am not strong enough to withstand the sort of health setbacks I suffered last year and this.' He likewise told Marie that 'I am in such a state that I fear falling to pieces', so that 'I need to avoid being in the field as much as possible'.[98] Two days later he left his army for the last time, and two weeks later he informed Philip that since 'it has pleased God to bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion, regaining some of the reputation that had been lost', and since Philip now 'is now so close' he wanted his son to take over from him. Charles hoped that the transfer of power could take place in January 1555, when 'we can spend some time together and enjoy ourselves', preferably with Mary, 'wherever you like. Then, after giving

you my blessing, I will leave you and continue my journey' back to Spain.[99] It all sounded too good to be true. And it was.

— SIXTEEN —

RESTLESS RETIREMENT, 1555–8

THE DIARCHY

On 9 October 1554, Charles returned to Brussels, once again victorious. He passed ‘through the Greate Streate in his lictier’, according to Sir John Mason, ‘to no small comfort of the beholders to see him after so greate travaile in so good a plight’. He was soon well enough to go hunting again, and at an audience a month later Mason ‘found him sitting very cheerfully at a table. His face, that was wont to be somewhat more full than naturally it ought to be, is now come to the very natural; his colour much amended; his arms at commandment . . . He was so lively as I have not of long seen the like lustiness in him.’ It did not last. At the end of November, a minister lamented that ‘so many poor people are complaining in the streets that they await the emperor’s signature, something that His Majesty could deal with in little more than an hour’; but at an audience on Christmas Eve, Mason again found the emperor ‘in right good estate and in such disposition as, to be looked upon, he was not these ten years better’. Charles then ‘entered into a great discourse of the difference between governing with rigour and governing in such sort as the prince and his subjects *can understand and appreciate each other*’.[1]

Charles did not feel that his son understood this difference. Shortly after Philip arrived in England, a courtier reported that the prince ‘keeps the queen happy and knows how to overlook her defects . . . As for his dealings with the noblemen here, even they admit that no king of England has ever gained the goodwill of everyone so quickly.’ In Brussels, Secretary of State Eraso received this news ‘in praise of our boss’ and immediately shared it

with Charles, who listened ‘with immense pleasure and gave many thanks to God for all His favours’ – before adding spitefully ‘The king has obviously changed a lot!’[2] Charles’s confidence in his son’s social and political skills sank so low that in September he sent Eraso to England with instructions to tell Philip that although ‘I never cease to thank God that the queen is so happy and satisfied’, he had heard complaints that his son seldom consulted his English subjects, and ‘I hear they are dissatisfied because they see Spaniards coming and going so often [to see you].’[3]

Such criticisms only abated after Mary Tudor announced she was pregnant and insisted that her husband must stay to provide support as her confinement approached. Now Charles plied Ambassador Mason with blunt questions such as ‘How goeth my daughter’s belly forward?’ – to which he replied that the queen would say nothing until she was sure, but volunteered that ‘her garments wax very straight [tight]. “I never doubted,” quoth [the emperor], “of the matter but that God, that for her had wrought so many miracles, would make the same perfect by assisting of nature to his good and most desired work. And I warrant it shall be,” quoth he, “a man child”.’ Mason affirmed that any healthy child would be a boon because ‘by that shall we at the least come to some certainty to whom God shall appoint, by succession, the government of our estate’. By contrast, he warned Charles, if the queen should die ‘without fruit, the realm were as good also to die. “Doubt not,” quoth he: “God will provide both with fruit and otherwise.”’[4]

Throughout the pregnancy, Philip sent a stream of orders to his ministers in Spain and Italy – and since Charles did the same (according to the Venetian ambassador in Brussels) ‘all persons who have any business to transact complain that they can obtain no decisions from the ministers either of the emperor or of the king’, because no one knew whom to obey.[5] Above all, Philip sought to outmanoeuvre his father on the most important policy issue: ending the war with France. In this he worked closely with Reginald Pole, the Cardinal of England, empowered by Julius III to promote peace throughout Christendom as well as to reconcile England with Rome. In November 1554, Philip informed his father that (thanks to Pole’s efforts) a French envoy had just arrived in London with a request that England should serve as mediator in the conflict between Henry II and Charles. Claiming (implausibly) that ‘the queen and I did not have time to consult Your

Majesty', they accepted. Construction began at once on a special conference centre near Calais, 'with a separate tent containing rich tapestries for each nation in the middle of a field' where delegates of the two sides met with Pole, representing the pope, and with English ministers representing Philip and Mary.[6]

Charles reluctantly declared himself willing to join the talks – albeit insisting that he had not entered the war through 'anny desyre he had to enlarge his lymitts, which God had given him large enough, but for the defence of that was naturally his lymitts' – but they had made little progress when the death of Julius in March 1555 fatally compromised the peace initiative.[7] Two months later Gian Pietro Caraffa became pope and took the name Paul IV. The new pontiff – an open enemy not only of Charles, whose government of his native Naples he considered corrupt and tyrannical, but also of Pole, whom he considered soft on heresy – boasted that the Habsburgs' 'possessions are like an old house which, when a simple stone is removed, falls to pieces; when we here in Italy give him a slight blow, everything will be laid in ruins'. News of Paul's election arrived at the peace conference on 2 June, and four days later the French delegation departed. The pope now began to plan an attack on Charles by France and several other hostile Italian states, assisted by the Ottoman fleet.[8]

THE LONG GOODBYE

In Brussels, Charles gave few audiences and tried to avoid handling business. When in May 1555 the Florentine ambassador presented him with a letter from Duke Cosimo, the emperor told him that 'since it was almost dinner time, and since the letter contained vexing matters, he would take it away with him: tomorrow he would read a summary of it and then decide what to do.' Although, according to a French visitor, Charles still 'retained knowledge and authority in public affairs', he relied almost entirely on Perrenot, 'who conveys his advice to his son and his council'.[9]

Perrenot could not help his master withstand the cold. Despite the presence of several stoves, the emperor's gout intensified as temperatures fell, leaving him 'very yll trobled' throughout the winter. On 1 April 1555 he received Mason for an audience 'lying in bed', and halfway through 'he pawsed, being (as shoud seme) somewhat weary of speaking'. A few days

later, while bidding farewell to Ferrante Gonzaga, who had served him for a quarter-century, he burst into tears and confided that his ailments made him ‘weary of this world, showing his hands crippled with gout, saying this was the worst time of his life’. He had rallied somewhat by St George’s Day (23 April), when ‘very sollemply in his chambre of presence’ he celebrated his membership of the Order of the Garter, reflecting on ‘the ancientie of th’order, and the long tyme that he had enioyed the same; so as nowe he said he was the most ancyent thereof, having bene a knight thereof the space at the leaste of 44 yeres.’ Mason predicted that ‘with this seasonnable weather . . . he is lyke dailie to growe to more perfeccion of health and more.’[10]

This proved too optimistic. A visitor from Portugal reported that the emperor’s ‘teeth look awful, because they are black’; while Fray Cipriano de Huerga, a professor at the Universidad Complutense at Alcalá, asked rhetorically ‘Who has changed our emperor so much that we scarcely recognize him?’, adding: ‘Who has turned his hair white before its time? Who caused all those premature wrinkles and made his lively eyes sad? Who removed the flesh from around his teeth and paralyzed his legs and hands with gout?’ Fray Cipriano had no doubt: the emperor’s exhaustion stemmed from ‘the desire to free God’s flock in Germany, using steel and fire as well as the balm of God’s word’.[11]

While Charles anxiously awaited the birth of his English grandchild, after which Philip could cross the Channel and join him, he occasionally rode around the royal park on a mule (he could no longer manage a horse) and inspected the exotic animals in the adjacent zoo, as he had done as a boy. He rarely talked to anyone except for Perrenot, his sisters Marie and Eleanor, and his household servants. Nevertheless, two thorny problems were resolved that spring. In Spain his mother Queen Joanna died in April 1555 at the age of seventy-five. Although Charles vowed to wear mourning in her memory for the rest of his life, now at last he became sole ruler of Spain and Sicily, and Philip would not have to share his title as envisaged in the emperor’s last will.[12] In Germany, the death of Maurice of Saxony from wounds reduced the political temperature and facilitated a settlement of outstanding religious divisions. Charles, however, wanted no part in this process. In 1552 he had reluctantly approved toleration for Lutherans until

the next meeting of the imperial Diet; now he informed Ferdinand that although ‘God knows that the zeal and affection I bear towards the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, as well as the care I take to support you and uphold our house of Austria . . . make me want to find the remedy for the troubles of Germany and get involved myself’, nevertheless he had many ‘scruples regarding the religious settlement’. He therefore empowered his brother to convene another imperial Diet in Augsburg ‘as if I were in Spain, not invoking my name or my specific authority’; and on hearing that the Diet planned to make toleration for Lutherans permanent, Charles cited ‘my ongoing reluctance to become more involved in this religious question’ and delegated a final decision ‘to you and your ministers who are on the spot’. On 25 September 1555, Ferdinand signed the Religious Peace of Augsburg, which recognized the right of individual German rulers to practise either Catholicism or Lutheranism legally, and to impose it on their vassals (the principle later known as ‘*cuius regio, eius religio*’); to renounce the use of force to gain their goals in matters of faith; and to permit free transit to any subjects who wished to emigrate on religious grounds.[13]

By then it had become clear that, despite her protestations to the contrary, Mary Tudor was not pregnant. Philip now left England and returned to Brussels on 8 September, riding straight to the imperial cottage where his father ‘embraced and kissed him so affectionately that the tears came to his eyes’. They had not seen each other for four years. Charles ‘instructed all his ministers to inform [Philip] of all public affairs transacted since he left Augsburg [in 1551] down to the present’; and thereafter the two monarchs spent every ‘morning and afternoon together, two hours at a time’, sometimes sitting at a table ‘with a tray of documents before them’ as they took care of business. Two weeks later, Charles signed a proclamation announcing that he would cede all his territories in the Netherlands to Philip, and ordering the representative assemblies of each province to choose ‘a good number of deputies’ to gather in Brussels and witness the transfer of power.[14]

Ominously for the future, the emperor had to delay the ceremony because two provinces refused to send deputies, on the grounds that a valid transfer of sovereignty could only take place within their borders, while two more simply failed to send anyone; but eventually about 1,000 members of

the Habsburg Netherlands elite gathered in Brussels to participate in the largest and most diverse gathering of the States-General to that date. Before addressing the assembly, Charles convened the Knights of the Golden Fleece for the last time, informing them of his intention to cede to his son not only his possessions but also his position as Chief and Sovereign of the Order. He invited the knights to transfer their obedience to Philip, and enjoined his son always to consult them and follow their counsel.[15]

On Friday 25 October 1555, at 2.30 p.m., Charles mounted his mule and rode from his cottage to the Brussels palace. An hour later he walked slowly into the great hall for the last time, supported by a cane on one side and by Prince William of Orange on the other, followed by Marie, Philip and the Knights of the Golden Fleece. He wore ‘a doublet of simple black cloth, the biretta worn by lawyers, and the double insignia of the Golden Fleece’. As a sign of respect, ‘the deputies all rose to their feet as the royal party entered’ and then a councillor explained why the emperor had decided to abdicate and retire to Spain. After one of the delegates had made a gracious reply, Charles stood up unsteadily, ‘and after collecting his thoughts’, he ‘put on his glasses and looked at a piece of paper that he held in his hand, on which he had written seven pages’.[16] He then addressed his subjects. With a fine sense of history, he began by observing that ‘several of you will remember how, forty years ago on the eve of the Epiphany, it pleased the emperor [Maximilian] my grandfather to emancipate me, when I was only fifteen, and that it happened in the same place and almost at the same time as I am speaking to you now’. Next he provided a chronology of all his travels since then:

> Nine voyages to Germany, six to Spain, seven to Italy, ten to the Netherlands, four to France (in peace as well as in war), two to England and two to Africa, which make forty in all . . . To do this, I was compelled to cross the Mediterranean eight times and the Atlantic three times, not counting the journey that I plan to make next, with God’s blessing, which would make four.

Next Charles listed his campaigns ‘for the defence of these states and of my other realms’, as well as ‘for the preservation of the Empire and the benefit of religion’. But now, ‘not feeling in himself the vigour which the

government of so many states required, and knowing that his son was capable of supporting weighty duties, he wished to give the remainder of his own life to the service of God, and to cede these states, as he had done and would do with the rest, to his son.' At this point 'his heart seemed overwhelmed by grief, and his sobs prevented him from speaking, while tears poured down his cheeks' – perhaps, Mason thought, 'provoked by seing the hole company to doo the lyke before [him], being in myne opynion not one man in the hole assemblee' that during 'his oration poured not owte habondantly teares'. Eventually, 'having recovered his breath somewhat, he put on his glasses again and, looking at the notes in his hand he said: "My sight and my memory are no longer what they used to be, and increasingly I feel too weak and feeble to undertake the tasks required to protect you and this country. That is the main reason why I have decided to return to Spain – not so that I can live longer, because that is in God's hands."' Charles concluded by urging everyone present to uphold the Catholic faith as the sole religion – 'what inconvenience might rise by swarving [deviating] therin, he referred them to learne at their neighbours handes' (that is, from the religious strife in Germany) – and to obey his son 'as theire naturall seigneur'.[17]

Standing up to speak for over half an hour had left the emperor exhausted, and as he collapsed into his seat Philip rose and (in Spanish) begged his father to stay and govern a little longer so that he might 'learne of him by experience soch qualetyes as to soch a gouvernment are most necessary'. Then he too sat down, and turning to the assembly spoke the only words of French he is known to have uttered: 'Gentlemen, although I can understand French adequately, I am not yet fluent enough to speak it to you. You will hear from the bishop of Arras [Perrenot] what I want to say.'[18] Philip's failure to learn the languages of his subjects – and his decision to sit while addressing them, instead of standing as Burgundian protocol demanded – caused needless disappointment, which Perrenot did his best to dispel, stressing at length that the king had not wanted his father to abdicate and assuring the audience that Philip would remain in northern Europe as long as required to secure peace and prosperity. Thereafter, like his father, he would return whenever needed (a wise promise that the king would not keep). The ceremony ended with the reading of Charles's formal

proclamation transferring all his authority in the Netherlands to his son, ending: ‘We thus override, with our plenary and absolute power, all laws, constitutions, and customs that might contradict or impede it, because such is our pleasure.’ The emperor then ordered that his personal seals be broken, just as those of Margaret and Maximilian had been broken during his emancipation in that same room forty years before; and with that, ‘between six and seven o’clock this important ceremony ended, and the emperor went immediately through the park to his cottage’ (Pl. 32).[19]

Despite all the pomp and emotion, this ceremony transferred only the emperor’s territories and titles in the Low Countries. He intended to travel back to Spain before ceding his rights over Castile and Aragon and their overseas dependencies (the Americas, Sardinia and Sicily), but in November ‘the emperor had such an increase of gout’ that ‘he was unable to feed himself with his own hands’ and ‘keeps his bed from fever’. The following month, although all the transfer documents had been prepared, Charles could not sign them, ‘the emperor’s hand being bandaged’.[20] At last, on New Year’s Day 1556, Charles rallied. He confessed and took communion, and two weeks later he summoned his son and a small group of courtiers to his cottage, where he ‘spoke for nearly an hour’:

> Saying first that he thanked God that he at last found himself in a condition to fulfil his obligations, to him and to his vassals, to make his renunciations . . . [H]e knew there had been much murmuring in many quarters because there had been so long a delay in carrying his intentions into effect; but that still, in executing his determination, he would rather be blamed for slowness than for doing anything with inconsiderate haste . . . Then, as when he abdicated the sovereignty of these provinces, he recounted in the same order and one by one all the expeditions and enterprises which he had undertaken in the course of his life, showing how all of them had been prompted rather by necessity than by inclination, and recommended to the king his faithful and valiant vassals, exhorting him to do them justice and to honour them according to their deserts.[21]

He also gave his son a box containing ‘many testaments in both Latin and Castilian and many instructions’ and then he signed deeds of abdication for Castile and its overseas possessions, next for the Crown of Aragon, and finally for Sicily. Charles also signed a renunciation of his imperial title, but at Ferdinand’s request he did not make it public. Instead he appointed Philip imperial vicar-general in Italy.[22]

Charles’s spirits continued to revive. Three days after this abdication ceremony, Ambassador Federico Badoer of Venice reported that he ‘seemed more cheerful than for a long while, saying several times that he thanked God, who, after the renunciation of all his states, caused him to experience the mental repose which he had indeed hoped for’ and ‘he said several jocose things to his chamberlains, asking how they would address him for the future’, concluding that once he had ceased to be emperor ‘he was content to be called Don Carlos de Austria’. He likewise assured his nephew (and son-in-law) Maximilian that ‘I feel much better and very happy now that I have now renounced’ all his titles.[23] In March 1556, Badoer found the emperor ‘in very good bodily health, and more cheerful in his eyes and movements than I had ever seen him before’. He was also more loquacious. Charles told him:

> ‘As to my renunciation of power, I made that of my own free will, and in pursuance of a long-cherished desire, and I am well pleased with it; for I am enfeebled both by age and illness, and it was time that my son should no longer postpone the cares of government. I was never at any time solicitous to bear these burdens, and to this step I have been long looking forward. Men may now see how far that has been true which has been said by many, that I wished to make myself monarch of the world. Such a thought, I assure you, never came into my mind, nor would it, had the thing been attainable even by words instead of deeds.’ He then held up his hands crippled by gout, and, after a pause, proceeded: ‘Now I have no thought but how to pass my remnant of life as free from care and pain as I can; and I desire to retire to some place where I may finish it in the service of God.’[24]

A French delegation led by Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, sent to ratify the truce recently concluded between the belligerent monarchs, also left a vivid pen-portrait of Charles at this time. Initially, their mission did not go well because both sides deliberately insulted the other. Coligny's entourage tactlessly included the sons of the late Cesare Fregoso (chapter 11), while Philip decorated the great hall of the Brussels palace where he received them with Bernard van Orley's tapestries celebrating the defeat of the French at Pavia, 'the most monumental panoramic landscape conceived in the sixteenth century' (and thus impossible to ignore), which 'showed the story of the capture of the late, great King Francis' (see Pl. 14). The French delegates probably felt relief when they entered Charles's cottage, where the emperor received them seated, because of his gout, dressed simply 'in the short knee-length tunic worn by citizens, made of Florence serge, a black German-style doublet, wearing a hat' (Pl. 33). Admiral Coligny began by delivering a personal letter from Henry II, but since it was 'sealed more tightly than normal letters', Charles's arthritic fingers could not open it and he reluctantly handed it to Perrenot. He then looked up, and 'with a gracious smile' said to Coligny, 'What would you say about me, my Lord Admiral? Do I seem like a bold knight ready to joust and break a lance when I can scarcely open a letter?' But then the insults resumed. Charles commented that 'I have heard that your king has already begun to go grey', adding that 'it seems only a few days since he was in Spain as a young prince, a boy without a trace of a beard' – a tactless and unnecessary reference to Henry's incarceration in Pedraza de la Sierra. Next, catching sight of the famous French jester, Brusquet, Charles asked 'Do you remember the Battle of the Spurs?' (the rout of a French army at Guinegate in 1514) – but this time he miscalculated. 'Why yes, sire,' Brusquet shot back, 'I remember it well: that was the time you acquired those beautiful rubies and carbuncles that you have hidden in your fingers' – a reference to Charles's crippled hands. At this 'everyone else present burst out laughing, and then the emperor said: "I shall be sure to remember a lesson I have learned from you: never make fun of anyone who appears to be a Fool."'[25]

Perhaps this sparring match improved Charles's spirits, because just afterwards the Florentine ambassador reported that 'everyone who sees His Majesty says that he looks better than he has for the past four years, with

very lively eyes and a great sense of humour'. In June 1556, Mason wrote that 'Th'emperour rydith upon a mulle so lustely as thies 7 yeres he shewid not so great a cheare'.[26] Charles nevertheless continued to postpone his travel plans: first, he claimed that he lacked the money to pay the salary arrears of the members of his household who would remain in the Netherlands; next he claimed that the weather in the Channel and North Sea would be too dangerous; then rumours arrived that Pope Paul planned to declare both Charles and his brother deposed because in the recent Diet the latter 'had agreed that Germany could live according to the [Lutheran] Augsburg Confession, and the emperor had approved'. On hearing this, Charles 'gave vent to the most violent rage' and 'every day, without awaiting the hour assigned for the meeting' summoned the council of state to assemble 'in his presence, his whole discourse being about papal matters, always in a very angry tone', telling his ministers that '"Such and such must be done" [*bisogna far così e così*], always adding an illustration derived from what has happened to himself with former popes and how he had conducted himself with them' – ominous comparisons, since his troops had sacked Rome.[27]

Ferdinand and Maximilian also managed to delay Charles's departure. In November 1555 he had written that it 'would be a great consolation for me' to see them both in Brussels 'and discuss business before I set out on my voyage to Spain'. Ferdinand declined outright – the brothers would never meet again – and although Maximilian and María accepted the invitation, lack of money delayed their journey and they did not reach Brussels until 18 July 1556.[28] Over the next few days they met with Charles several times to discuss his abdication as emperor, persuading him to permit Ferdinand to choose the best time and place to convene the Electors in order to recognize his succession. Until then, Charles would continue to reign, though not to rule, as emperor. The next day he left Brussels and 'was seen to weep, turning round several times as he went, to look back on the familiar walls which he was leaving behind for ever'.[29]

Charles did not travel alone. Although he had reduced his household from over 750 to only 150, paying off many and transferring others to the service of his son or his brother, his two sisters had decided to accompany him. Eleanor wanted above all things to meet her daughter, María, whom

she had not seen since she left Portugal over thirty years before: she therefore wished to return to Spain (‘which, according to her, she likes better than the Netherlands’). Marie of Hungary had grown close to her older sister during the decade they had spent together in the Netherlands, and she feared that when Eleanor and Charles left ‘I would find myself alone in a land that I would have to get to know afresh, living in a very different style to the one to which I am accustomed’. Although she had never been to Spain, Marie therefore sought and received permission to accompany her brother and sister.[30] In August all three went to Ghent where Charles took his leave of Philip and his Netherlands ministers, and granted a final audience to selected foreign diplomats, starting with the Florentine envoy. Although the emperor ‘spoke with great difficulty, so that he could scarcely articulate the words’, he declared: ‘Ambassador: my departure is unavoidable. You can be certain that if the king my son cannot solve the problems of the world, I would not be able to do so if I stayed here.’ He attributed all these ‘problems’ to the ‘hypocrisy and wickedness of the pope’, adding smugly (but wrongly) that ‘since the pope is old, he cannot live much longer’.[31]

The imperial entourage travelled from Ghent by litter and barge to Flushing in Zealand, where a fleet of over fifty vessels awaited them. The emperor emerged from his barge ‘supported under both arms’, and some spectators averred that ‘you never saw a prince with a face so pale, so thin and weak, his hands crippled, his voice weak and broken: it seemed that only his spirit remained.’ Just as on his first journey to Spain four decades earlier, Charles toured Walcheren (this time in a small cart) as he waited for a favourable wind. He boarded his flagship on 13 September, entering a special cabin seventeen feet square, followed by twenty courtiers each of whom had their own cabin (among them Guillaume van Male, ‘who reads a variety of things to him’, and Janello Torriani, ‘with the clocks he made for him’); but another storm soon forced them back. This news led Philip to ride to Zealand, where he managed to ‘talk for an hour and a half’ with his father before ‘a skiff took him back to Flushing’. On 17 September the imperial fleet made sail again, and this time the wind carried it into the North Sea. Charles would never see his son, or his homeland, again.[32]

According to the pope, Charles's decision to retire to the Jeronimite monastery of Yuste in Spain's Gredos mountains was 'the strangest thing that has ever been seen'; and the emperor himself provided three distinct narratives of when and how he made up his mind on the subject. During a visit to Yuste by his former courtier, Francisco de Borja, the emperor asked him:

> 'Do you remember what I told you at Monzón in 1542, that I would retire and do exactly what I have done?'
> 'I remember very well, Sire,' Father Francisco replied.
> 'Well you can be sure,' said the emperor, 'that I have told no one else except you and so-and-so', naming a prominent gentleman.

Fray José de Sigüenza, historian of the Jeronimite Order, repeated this story, adding that Charles not only took the decision to retire in 1542 but also determined the location, sending some 'learned and prudent men to survey the buildings, location, aspect and layout of the Jeronimite monastery at Yuste, and they brought him a detailed account of everything'.[33]

In September 1554, in a confidential message to his son, Charles offered some alternative facts. He confirmed that 'I decided to retire and withdraw several years ago, and was only waiting until you had increased in age and in experience of public affairs . . . and I thought I could do so this year, as soon as you had arrived [in northern Europe] and got married, and for that reason I ordered the construction of an apartment at the monastery of Yuste.' Then the outbreak of war with France caused a postponement, but now 'I recognize that I cannot do what my conscience tells me, and what my subjects and vassals require of me', and so had resolved to abdicate. Eighteen months later, just before leaving Brussels, 'placing his hand on his breast', Charles provided a few more details in an audience for the Venetian ambassador: 'Ever since my victories over the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse [in 1547] I have been thinking of making this renunciation.' He claimed that he had started to draw up the necessary documents, and always carried them round with him, but did nothing

further until 1554, when ‘I was in the field at Renty and had determined to give battle to the king of France’. He realized then that:

> If the battle had taken place, and I had by evil fortune lost it, as might well have happened seeing the inferiority of my forces to those of the king, I would have been either slain or made prisoner, there being no hope of escape from one or other of these chances. [T]hen, had I been slain, my son would have succeeded as heir to all my states; and, if I had remained in my enemies’ hands, I was anxious that [Philip] should not be put to the expense of ransoming me as a sovereign, but merely as a private gentleman.[34]

Early in 1558, Charles gave a Portuguese ambassador who visited Yuste yet another account of his decision to retire to a monastery. He repeated that he gave it serious thought ‘after the end of the German war’ in 1547, ‘admitting that he should have done it then because he would not have lost reputation thereby, unlike the present time because of subsequent events’; but he claimed that he had first considered abdicating after his victorious Tunis campaign in 1535, although he did nothing then because his son was too young.[35]

Each of these three narratives is plausible – indeed, given Charles’s familiarity with *The resolute knight*, who also planned to retire to a monastery, and given his grandfather Maximilian’s desire to abdicate, the emperor may have decided even earlier to lay down his burden: one contemporary document claimed that ‘he had planned to do this since his childhood’.[36] Whatever his previous thoughts and intentions, however, he did nothing until June 1553, when he signed a warrant to pay the General of the Jeronimite Order 3,000 ducats ‘to be distributed on certain things that we have commanded’. A holograph note to his son explained that this payment was specifically ‘for the construction of a house next to the monastery of Yuste suitable for me to live there as a private person [*persona particular*] with only essential servants and officials’.[37] The emperor also ordered his son to inspect the monastery in person. Philip complied in May 1554 and gave his approval; and immediately afterwards ‘materials began to arrive for the apartments that His Majesty ordered at Yuste’. The imperial architect Luis de Vega visited the site and drew up plans that showed how

‘there is a large room inside the monastery that serves as a dormitory for the novices. If it is divided up in the manner shown, we could create a sitting room and bedroom, and from the bed one would see the principal altar’ in the church. The emperor approved.[38]

Charles also assembled the items he planned to take with him. In 1551 he summoned Titian to join him in Augsburg, where he commissioned an enormous painting entitled *The Trinity* (later known as *The Last Judgement*), which, according to the painter, Charles ‘always intended to hang behind the altar of a monastery where he would spend his last days’. In the inventory of the paintings selected for his last journey, *The Trinity* headed the list (Pl. 34).[39] Charles commissioned other paintings, and copies of paintings, from Netherlands artists: in 1555 he paid Jan Vermeyen to paint a ‘*Man of sorrows* just like the one done by Titian’, duly delivered to his chamberlain, where it joined twenty-four other religious paintings, and portraits of his favourite relatives – the empress and Philip (painted by Titian), his daughter-in-law Mary Tudor (painted by Antonio Moro: or, as the imperial inventory improbably claimed ‘*By Thomas More*’), the children of María and Maximilian – and several portraits of himself at various ages.[40]

The inventory of ‘silver and gilded items, and other goods’ that would accompany Charles on his journey began with the contents of his private chapel: a chalice and other essentials for celebrating Mass, vestments for the priests, frontals for the altar, missals and service books, crosses and crucifixes (including ‘a gilded cross with a crucifix, with Our Lady and St John on each side, and in the middle of the foot of the crucifix the arms of His Majesty’). Next came household items, ranging from ‘two small silver vases for His Majesty’s chamber, used for flowers’ to ‘a silver urinal [*ung pispot d’argent*]’; other gold and silverware used by his barbers, his apothecaries, his cooks, and those who served his meals; and a list of the clocks Charles wished to take with him, including the ‘Microcosm’ designed by Torriani, two other large clocks (one of them showing all twenty-four hours), and ‘three small round portable clocks’.[41]

As in 1517, when he first travelled to Spain, Charles selected some volumes from his library to accompany him on the journey, but this time they were mostly printed, not manuscript: French and Spanish editions of

The resolute knight; the *Commentaries* by both Julius Caesar and Luis de Ávila (perhaps to help him as he revised his *Memoirs*); Peter Apian's enormous *Astronomicum Caesareum*; various large maps and city views (often of places he had visited) to hang on the walls; and missals, psalters and Bibles (perhaps including one in French), and books of devotion and consolation, mostly about preparing for death. He took with him few illuminated manuscripts besides the 'Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece', illustrated by Simon Bening and others between 1531 and 1547, which showed the armorial bearings of 214 knights, past and present. In all he took with him fifty volumes, packed in a single box.[42]

Charles also spent many hours in spiritual preparation. In January 1556 he informed his nephew Maximilian that the renunciation of all his titles left him 'free to search and purge my conscience'; and according to a monk at Yuste, 'for about a year before he left the Netherlands and came to Spain, he gathered together five learned theologians and lawyers with whom he shared all his affairs, and all his remaining doubts and scruples'. Charles himself confirmed this. Not long after he arrived in Spain, Fray Juan Reglá, the Jeronimite whom he had chosen as his confessor, protested '"Sire, I do not feel adequate, nor do I have the necessary gifts required to serve you" . . . To this His Majesty replied: "Look, Friar Juan, you have nothing to fear. I spent a whole year with five learned men in the Netherlands so my conscience is clear: all that remains now is matters that arise each day." On hearing this, Fray Juan dropped his reservations.'[43]

In 1556, as in 1517, Charles's arrival took many in Spain by surprise. When the news reached Yuste, the General of the Jeronimites 'was delighted, because it refuted many doubters who considered Your Majesty's coming too good to be true'. The central government had apparently believed the doubters, because despite letters from Philip on 23 July and 11 August confirming that the emperor would embark 'with the first good weather', when he landed at Laredo on 28 September he found nothing ready and virtually no one to receive him. 'His Majesty is very annoyed by the oversight, since so many necessary items are not available,' wrote his secretary, Martín de Gaztelú: no 'cleric to say Mass for him', no doctors, and 'no official of the postal service'. Above all, 'no one has written him a letter, or sent to see how he is doing', all of which made Charles 'say some

very opprobrious words'.[44] To make matters worse, it rained continually. When Luis Quijada, who would head the emperor's household, reached Laredo on 5 October he found everyone 'fed up and disillusioned, not knowing what would become of them'. Given the 'bad roads and worse quarters', and the difficulty of finding provisions through lands that seldom produced surpluses, Quijada divided the royal entourage so that 'I alone travelled beside His Majesty' in his litter, with only 'a magistrate and five guards'. They travelled one day's journey ahead of the rest, and (he grumbled) 'I am ashamed to see how few we are', adding that 'when I see how many law officers accompany us, it looks as if he and I are travelling while under arrest'.[45] Eventually on 21 October the emperor entered Valladolid, where he met for the first time his grandson and namesake Don Carlos, now aged eleven.

Charles's last voyage to Spain resembled his first in another way: critical events occurred elsewhere while he was on the move. In July 1556, before the emperor left Brussels, the pope arrested the imperial postmaster in Rome, tortured him and seized his mail. Two months later, as Charles sailed through the English Channel, Paul IV delivered a tirade about the perfidy of the House of Austria and its supporters, recalling how the military assistance provided by his predecessor Paul III had 'rendered the emperor master of Germany' and how, 'to reward the pope, he had his son assassinated, and robbed him of a city' (Piacenza). Going back further (because Paul IV had a very long memory for slights), he denounced 'the resolve formed by the imperial council when the Lutheran sect first sprang up, that it should be encouraged because it would render the emperor master of Rome'. A month later, just before Charles entered Valladolid, the pope denounced him publicly to the Venetian ambassadors as 'diabolical (*indiavolato*), soulless (*senza anima*), thirsting for the blood of Christians, a schismatic born to destroy the world'. Having thus warmed up, Paul described how Charles had ruined all the states he ruled – the Netherlands, Milan, Spain and especially Naples – before predicting that 'when we are devoured, you Venetians will be a side salad (*una insalata a costoro*) . . . Do not deceive yourselves: these imperialists seek . . . to make themselves masters of Italy', and ultimately the world. Shortly afterwards the pope opened legal proceedings against the emperor and his son for rebellion.[46]

Charles could not have cared less. When Quijada joined his master at Laredo he reported with astonishment that the emperor ‘is so anxious to withdraw from public affairs that he will not speak, listen or act about any business item’; and although, in Valladolid, Charles discussed some affairs of state with his daughter Joanna, the regent, and with Juan Vázquez de Molina (nephew and successor of Los Cobos as secretary of state), on 4 November he took his leave of them, as well as of his sisters and his grandson, forbidding anyone except an entourage of about 100 to accompany him any further. After passing by Simancas and spending the night in Medina del Campo, he left the post road (which meant that government couriers would find it harder to locate him) and exclaimed: ‘Thanks be to God that from now on we will not have any visitors, or formal receptions!’ He flatly refused to discuss domestic affairs: ‘Concerning the affairs that you say you would like to discuss with me,’ he informed one minister brusquely, ‘when we left our realms we also left them behind.’ His letters now referred to things that had happened ‘in my time’ – meaning that he considered his rule at an end.[47]

RETIREMENT AT LAST

Charles could not ignore the cold, however. As winter approached ‘he began to feel the cold at night, and since the places where we spent the night had no chimneys, we hand-carried a fine iron stove, sending the boy who looked after it ahead to our lodgings to heat up his bedroom’.[48] Charles also suffered in other ways. According to Quijada, the road into the Gredos mountains was ‘the worst that I have ever travelled’, so that ‘the mules could not carry the imperial litter without the risk of it plunging down’ precipitous slopes. For three leagues local men therefore ‘carried His Majesty on their shoulders’ until he reached the castle of the counts of Oropesa at Jarandilla, only fourteen kilometres from Yuste. There he had to stay because his apartments at the convent were not ready.[49]

After only one night at Jarandilla, Charles complained about his apartments and insisted on moving to others ‘with a corridor adjacent to his bedroom where the sun shines all day, and there is a nice view of the orchards and greenery’ – not that he saw much of the sun, because ‘the mist never lifted’ (indeed ‘you could not see a man twenty paces away’).

Quijada complained that ‘it is really cold here and very humid’ after which it rained continuously for twenty-seven days and, he opined, ‘more rain falls here in an hour than in Valladolid in a day’. In addition, food was scarce and expensive so that ‘His Majesty is fine but the rest of us really hate it here’.[50]

Throughout their four months at Jarandilla, Gaztelú and Quijada complained ceaselessly about the rain, the boredom and their master’s demands for ‘comfort foods’ produced in other parts of Spain – partridges, oysters, sausages, olives, pomegranates and anchovies – and the deleterious consequences of his overindulgence. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell exaggerated only slightly in *The cloister life of the emperor Charles V* when he wrote that:

> [Quijada] never acknowledged the receipt of the good things from Valladolid without adding some dismal forebodings of consequent mischief; and along with an order he sometimes conveyed a hint that it would be much better if no means were found of executing it. If the emperor made a hearty meal without being the worse for it, the mayor-domo noted the fact with exultation . . . and he interposed between his master and an eel-pie as, in other days, he would have thrown himself between the imperial person and the point of a Moorish lance.[51]

At Christmas 1556 the emperor suffered a serious attack of gout and spent two weeks in bed – his right hand now ‘is only good for cleaning his teeth’ – but two months later, having paid off the rest of his servants and given them leave to return home, Charles travelled in his litter to Yuste accompanied by fifty-one servants and eight mules.[52] After attending a service in the chapel, he met the thirty-eight monks in residence and toured the monastery. Then he entered his own apartments built on the sunny south side of the convent, where he planned to spend the rest of his life.

The fact that the emperor died only nineteen months after his arrival in February 1557 has distorted our understanding of Yuste. Charles Clifford, an English traveller who spent ‘two days and nights in that solitary and desolated spot’ in 1858, and took the first photographs of the monastery, declared that it was ‘the last resting-place of that great monarch, who here

shut out from the distracting cares of active government, in strict monastic seclusion, sought to prepare himself for the end which his declining health but too plainly indicated must soon terminate his long and brilliant career'. This is a classic case of hindsight bias. As the art historian Antonio Perla noted: 'Charles wanted a palace where he could retire, not where he would die; a place of recreation surrounded by plants, artificial lakes and various animals.'[53]

Work to enlarge and improve the palace began soon after the emperor's arrival, and under his personal direction. Although no plans have survived, and although the site fell into ruin in the nineteenth century, the major changes can be reconstructed from the surviving accounts combined with a detailed sketch made in 1567, when the new edifice remained intact (Pl. 35). The builders added two entire wings: the lower floor of the east wing contained the imperial kitchens (a fire had seriously damaged the old ones), with new quarters for Quijada above; the lower floor of the south wing contained the emperor's pharmacy and pantry, with accommodation for his doctors and others above. Outside, Charles ordered the construction of a 'small hermitage named Bethlehem', where he occasionally went to relax, about 100 metres from his palace; and of a ramp so that he could be carried in a litter between his living quarters on the upper floor and his gardens and fishponds below. These too received a face-lift:

> There are two ponds to the south of the [imperial] apartments, with a fountain between them that flows into a pool with blue tiles, which His Majesty has stocked with tench. Windows surround the whole building, which is one of its most agreeable and beautiful features, and through them comes the fragrance of the lemon, apple and orange trees . . . To the east of his apartment there is a large patio with a fountain in the middle.

'His Majesty,' wrote Quijada, 'spends much time overseeing the creation of a garden with working fountains.'[54]

Before the onset of his first winter at Yuste, Charles also oversaw the workmen who installed in the imperial apartments a large metal sauna specially brought from Germany. It was an impressive structure – the building accounts mention 'twelve iron crosses to hold the glass that goes in

the windows of the sauna', 'a table made of walnut on which to place His Majesty's books inside the sauna', and 'a little desk' – and, as he had done in Augsburg a few years before, Charles spent most winter days within.[55]

Quijada ensured that the palace pharmacy always stocked the herbs, balsams, ointments and objects thought to have curative powers (such as a unicorn's horn and 'two bracelets containing bones that they say are good for haemorrhoids'); while the barber's shop boasted many perfumes (to counteract the smells from the kitchen and the toilets) as well as the instruments (mostly of gold and silver) required to clean the imperial teeth, ears and tongue, and to cut the imperial finger- and toenails. Charles surrounded himself with furniture and ornaments that were simple but elegant. He summoned Quijada with a little silver bell decorated with the device 'Plus Ultra'; he used a golden quill 'to write down in a small book the things he wanted to remember'; and his apartments boasted twenty-five tapestry panels and seven rugs. Unaware that his end was near, Charles continued to add items – on 4 July 1558 'three consignments of clothes, together with the books of His Majesty' arrived at Yuste – and when his personal goods were sold at auction after his death, their transport required more than sixty mules and their combined value approached 20,000 ducats.[56]

Fray Hernando del Corral, an eyewitness who composed a *Brief and summary history of how Emperor Charles V, our lord, decided to come to shelter in the monastery of San Jerónimo de Yuste*, devoted an entire chapter to 'How His Majesty divided his days and what he did in them'. Every morning, Corral wrote, 'as soon as his apartments were opened, Janello [Torriani] entered at once to see and wind up the planetary clock [the 'Microcosm'] that the emperor kept by him on top of a buffet'; and after he left 'Fray Juan Reglá, his confessor, entered to pray with him'. Fray José de Sigüenza provided a somewhat different account in his *History of the Jeronimite Order*, written two generations later. Now Reglá, not Torriani, 'entered each morning as soon as the imperial apartment opened' and after prayers together he 'explained the mysteries that were shown in the Book of Hours, so that the lofty thoughts that filled his soul in the morning might last the whole day'. If the Book of Hours was the magnificent French illuminated manuscript from Charles's collection,

acquired with other booty when the tent of Francis I was captured at Pavia (now in Spain's National Library), its use might have triggered less lofty thoughts: the emperor would surely have taken special pleasure in contemplating images prepared for his defeated rival.[57]

After his daily prayers, according to Corral, the emperor's barbers and surgeons entered his apartments:

> Together with Dr Mathys, and they did whatever was necessary according to His Majesty's current ailments. Meanwhile his officials carried out their tasks so that everything was ready by 10 a.m., when everyone scheduled to attend His Majesty at table, including the gentleman who was in charge, ate their meal. His Majesty dressed at this time, and when that was done, the officials ended their meal and went with His Majesty to hear Mass, and then those who had dressed him went to eat. While His Majesty heard Mass, the officials on duty laid the table and got everything ready so that His Majesty could eat as soon as he had heard Mass.

Charles often had company while he ate. Instead of the jesters who had entertained him at mealtimes in Augsburg a decade earlier:

> While His Majesty was eating Dr Mathys and Guillaume van Male debated certain issues, because they were both wise and well read: sometimes history, at other times war . . . And at other times His Majesty summoned Friar Juan Reglá while he ate, and told him to bring a work by St Bernard [of Clairvaux] or some other edifying work, and after the meal the friar would read a little until His Majesty got sleepy, if it was time to sleep, or else until it was time for a sermon or a lesson.

Corral's next chapter described 'How the emperor spent each day'. At 3 p.m. on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays he heard sermons, and on the other days a 'reading from the Bible (normally from Paul's Epistle to the Romans)' surrounded by 'the monks wearing their robes, in great solemnity'. In addition 'every day, at His Majesty's command, four Masses were said in this monastery': one each for his mother and father; one 'at 8

a.m. for the empress'; and the other for him, 'which His Majesty heard every day, although sometimes rather late if His Majesty had not slept well'. Other Masses were said for his son Philip, as well as 'for Knights of the Golden Fleece who died while His Majesty lived at Yuste'; and every Thursday began with 'a sung Mass with much music' – although 'since His Majesty found it hard to get up so early' he normally sent a chamberlain to represent him and listened in his bedroom.[58]

The prior of Yuste later remembered that Charles loved to hear choral devotions so much that he sometimes interfered. One day 'a contralto from Plasencia who was very good' came to sing for him, but the emperor disapproved and sent a message telling 'the prior that the singer should be dismissed from the choir'. At other times, when listening to the choir, 'if anyone made a mistake he muttered to himself "Son of a bitch! That man erred."'[59] Sandoval repeated this story and (as in some other cases) added details from his own experience. A chorister from Seville Cathedral 'called Guerrero, *whom I knew*' – namely Francisco Guerrero, later a celebrated composer – came to Yuste and:

> Presented the emperor with a volume of motets that he had composed, and of Masses. His Majesty ordered the choir to sing one of the Masses for him, and after the Mass he summoned his confessor and said to him 'Son of a bitch [*hideputa*], that Guerrero is a crafty thief! This passage comes from so-and-so [*fulano*] and this passage from someone else.' At this, all the singers stood amazed, because they had not spotted any of this until they looked again.[60]

Charles also spent time at Yuste polishing his record for posterity. From time to time he and van Male worked on his *Memoirs*, and in April 1557 he granted Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's request for an interview, so that the historian could clarify some details in his biography of the emperor. According to Sepúlveda, the emperor promised that 'if you want to know anything from me, just ask and I will not refuse you an answer'. During his visit, Luis de Ávila showed Sepúlveda a copy of the *Commentaries on the state of religion and public affairs under Emperor Charles V*, recently published in Strasbourg by Johannes Sleidan, official historian of the

Schmalkaldic League, and afterwards sent Sepúlveda a copy ‘assuring me that it would come in useful for revising what I had written on events in Germany’. Two months before his death, Charles insisted that should either Sepúlveda or the chronicler Florián de Ocampo ‘die before their work is printed (because both of them are old) care should be taken that it should be published and not lost’.[61]

A GRUMPY OLD MAN

Charles also endeavoured to control the present as well as the past. Corral asserted that at Yuste ‘His Majesty would always attend the sermons and lessons, except when he received important letters from his son King Philip or his daughter Princess Joanna: at these times he sent word that we should not wait for him because he was busy.’ Gaztelú likewise told a colleague that ‘His Majesty was delighted’ on hearing the latest news on foreign affairs, ‘and when couriers arrived he asks them what else they know, in order to get information by all possible means’. Almost 250 letters from Charles on state business signed at Yuste survive – more than one for every two days of his residence.[62]

All this might give the impression that, in the words of María José Rodríguez-Salgado, the emperor ‘continued to influence, even to dictate his son’s policies’; but she proceeded to demonstrate that this ‘is simply not the case’, listing numerous initiatives in which Charles tried to shape events but failed.[63] He attempted to resolve the rival claims to Navarre, as he had promised to do in the treaty of Noyon at the beginning of his reign and often since, but Joanna and her regency government in Valladolid thwarted him. He also endeavoured to attract his niece María of Portugal, Eleanor’s daughter, to Castile but King John III refused; and when John died, leaving Joanna’s infant son Sebastian as his successor, Charles strove to have Joanna named regent of Portugal, but his own sister Catalina (John’s widow) outmanoeuvred him and became regent herself. Each of these (and several other) initiatives involved the exchange of numerous letters and the visit of envoys and ambassadors to Yuste – but they achieved nothing.

The emperor also lost his influence with Philip. Admittedly, soon after he moved to Yuste, his son asked him to take charge of Spain once more:

> Begging Your Majesty with all humility and insistence to agree to act, helping and assisting me not only with your advice and council, which is the greatest asset I could have, but with your own presence and authority, leaving your monastery and going to whatever place would be best for your health and for dealing with public affairs . . . because the fate of everything depends on your decisions.

In addition, he asked 'Your Majesty to send me your opinion concerning the war, and about where and how I can best undertake and participate in this campaign in order to achieve the greatest results'.[64] Charles duly bombarded his son with the requested advice, but Philip soon ceased to pay attention. In November 1557 a report that French troops were returning home from the Italian peninsula alarmed the emperor. 'If the enemy finds that you have demobilized,' he warned Philip, 'he may decide to concentrate his forces and make an attempt this winter to recapture some of the places he has lost – or to gain some new ones.' His son should maintain a large force in arms over the winter, so that 'you can use those troops to challenge the enemy with greater assurance and prevent him from achieving any of his goals'. But Philip never saw the letter: bored by his father's verbose and often self-centred missives, he read only the summaries prepared by Eraso. This time, the secretary of state endorsed the letter 'Nothing to respond to here' and omitted Charles's insight from 'the points and items that the emperor raises with Your Majesty in his letters of 8 August, 17 and 22 September, and 15 November'.[65] When in January 1558 the French troops withdrawn from Italy attacked the English enclave of Calais, Philip looked on helplessly as they conquered everything within three weeks.

Many of his former ministers also ignored Charles. In April and May 1557 he tried to squeeze a loan to pay his son's army in the Netherlands from Fernando de Valdés, the former president of the council of Castile whom he had secretly denigrated as 'not the sort of man that such a council needs' (chapter 11). Charles had subsequently nominated Valdés to the see of Seville, one of the wealthiest in Spain, yet the archbishop refused outright to provide the war loan, 'which astonished us not a little, since we promoted you, and you have enjoyed the profits of that diocese for so long'. Unless the archbishop paid up at once, the emperor huffed, 'the king will

not hesitate to make an example of you, and I will support him' – but Valdés continued to stall.[66] On hearing that a senior minister had spent much time 'with the emperor in Yuste' in the autumn of 1557, one of his colleagues opined that 'to negotiate with him is to negotiate with a dead man'. A few months later, according to one of the regent's advisers, when orders arrived from Yuste 'we explain to the emperor our rationale for doing the things that he wants, but we do not actually do anything' – a classic example of the maxim followed by Habsburg officials everywhere: 'I obey but do not execute [*obedezco pero no cumplo*]'.[67]

As time passed, Charles became increasingly outspoken about public affairs. He did not disguise his disappointment that Philip had not been present at the spectacular defeat of the French at St Quentin ('He is upset that his son was not in the battle'), or his disapproval of the generous terms granted to Pope Paul IV ('the peace sent him into a rage, because he considers it a disgrace').[68] He told Joanna that if Oran were lost, 'I would not want to be in Spain or America, but in some place where I would not hear the news'; and he complained to Philip that the loss of Calais 'is something that has caused me more sorrow and anxiety than anything else could do'.[69] News that officials of the House of Trade in Seville had failed to follow his express orders to confiscate and send to the Netherlands all the specie landed by the latest fleet from America provoked a particularly ferocious outburst. Charles railed that 'if I had the health for it, I would go to Seville myself and find out whence this wickedness comes. I would sequester every official of the House of Trade and treat them in such a way that I would get to the bottom of this business.' Then, 'after arresting them, I would throw them in prison and take them in chains to [the fortress of] Simancas in daylight, to shame them, and I would not put them in a cell or a tower there, but in the dungeon'.[70]

No one paid heed. One of the regent's advisers coolly observed to a colleague that 'we are bombarded from Yuste with commandments', containing 'things to cry over and things to laugh about'. 'One of the things that made me laugh,' he continued, was the demand that 'the council should hang the officials of the House of Trade' because 'in this kingdom no man would take responsibility for doing that'. In this and other matters, because

no one ‘wants to have on his conscience the extreme measures demanded by Our Lord the emperor’, his former ministers simply ignored him.[71]

The discovery of Lutheran cells in Valladolid, Seville and elsewhere in Spain unleashed another volley of furious commandments from Yuste. Charles urged Joanna to abandon the normal procedure by which heretics who admitted their error ‘are forgiven their first offence provided they showed some remorse’, and instead ‘proceed against them as you would against traitors, rioters and disturbers of the peace, showing them no mercy’. Then, ‘once you have ascertained the truth, burn the recalcitrants alive and cut off the heads of those who admit their fault’. He ended his letter: ‘Believe me, daughter, if this is not punished and remedied at the outset, to put a stop to such a great evil without excepting anyone, I do not think the king or anyone else will be able to do it later.’ He sent a copy of this outspoken message to Philip, adding a similarly dire warning in a holograph postscript: ‘This evil business that has developed here leaves me as shocked as you can imagine. Take a look at what I have written to your sister on the subject. You need to write to her, and you must tackle the whole issue with rigour and with brutal punishments.’[72]

Such intemperate outbursts from a man who had allegedly entered a monastery to find tranquillity may seem puzzling. Rodríguez-Salgado has compared Charles at Yuste with Shakespeare’s King Lear – a monarch who had relinquished his power and could no longer force his children to obey him – and she noted perceptively that each outburst tended to be triggered by the memory of something that had either thwarted him or made him look impotent.[73] Thus the failure to exploit St Quentin and the defiance of the pope recalled his own failure to exploit Pavia and the sack of Rome; the risk of losing Oran reminded him of the disastrous Algiers campaign; discovering that officials in Seville had ignored his order to sequester treasure angered him ‘because *when I was in similar straits, with water up to my nose*, the officials there did what they liked; and when a large shipment of money arrived *they never told me about it*.’ Finally, finding Lutheran cells in Spain infuriated him in part because ‘*it is happening in my presence*’ and ‘now that *I have come here* to retire and relax’, but also because it reminded him that ‘*I have endured and suffered* so many setbacks

and expenses in Germany, and *sacrificed part of my health*' in a vain attempt to extirpate Lutheranism.[74]

'My health': Charles made these outbursts while in almost constant pain. Almost every letter written by members of his entourage at Yuste mentioned some ailment that made the emperor's life miserable. Sometimes he became fatalistic, telling Quijada on one occasion: 'Do you know how I feel? I would regret *not* having an attack of gout, because if that does not cause me pain, something else surely will. Since I might get asthma or some other illness that would give me more trouble, I would not regret an attack of gout.' Four months later he told one of his doctors that 'of his many painful illnesses, he normally prefers the ones that he tolerates the best'.[75]

The visits of old friends could temporarily lift his spirits. His entourage noted the pleasure he took in conversing with Francisco de Borja (who came twice) and Luis de Ávila ('who, since he resided in Plasencia, often came to kiss His Majesty's hands'), as well as the company of his sisters Eleanor and Marie. Another pleasure was meeting for the first time his son by Barbara Blomberg, still known as Gerónimo. Charles had entrusted the boy to Quijada and his wife, Magdalena de Ulloa, who carefully supervised his education at their secluded castle near Valladolid until July 1558, when at Charles's request Quijada brought his wife 'and the rest [*y lo demás*]' (meaning Gerónimo) to reside close to Yuste. Later that month Magdalena 'brought the boy' to the palace, no doubt disguised as a page because the emperor continued to insist that his son's existence 'should remain secret until the arrival' of Philip.[76] Since Charles had expressly invited Magdalena 'and the rest' to live nearby, he no doubt anticipated more visits. He certainly gave orders that his younger son 'should be taught and learn the things that are appropriate to his age and condition' so that he would be ready to participate in court life once Philip returned to Spain; but death put paid to these plans. The next time the boy entered the convent, he would stand beside Quijada while the monks conducted a solemn funeral for his late father.[77]

LAST DAYS

'Three canopies of fine silk in three sacks, to be placed beneath the curtains against the mosquitoes.'[78] This entry in the inventory of the late emperor's

possessions at Yuste, made one week after his death, is the only contemporary reference to the true cause of his demise: *Plasmodium falciparum*, the most severe strain of malaria that infects humans, transmitted through the bite of an infected *Anopheles* mosquito. Although the senior members of Charles's retinue – Quijada and Gaztelú, Mathys and Baersdorp – were all obsessed by his health, most of the time they concentrated on either his gout or 'his normal ailment', chronic haemorrhoids, and the possible remedies (over the winter of 1556–7 the search for a herbal cure for the latter involved experts from Italy and the Netherlands as well as from Spain). They also monitored his condition by recording exactly what he ate and drank each day, how much he slept and how long he stayed awake each night, and the quantity and appearance of the substances excreted by each imperial orifice.[79]

Charles already seemed weaker in February 1558, when Ávila reported that 'I found the emperor in bed and extremely feeble, with very poor complexion and no desire to eat'; and two months later one of his doctors lamented that 'he rarely takes more than fifteen or twenty steps in the course of the whole day', causing his feet to become 'somewhat numb, with sores'.[80] The situation deteriorated further when the heat of August led the emperor to 'sleep with the windows and doors open'. Quijada complained that one of his servants had died, with 'thirteen or fourteen more ill, including me: I have had fever a couple of times' – presumably due to bites from the mosquitoes that evaded the canopies of fine silk and flew in through the open windows and doors.[81]

Corral thought Charles had a sudden premonition of his own death on 31 August 1558, because 'today His Majesty wanted to get out of the room in his apartment that faces west', but:

> While he was sitting there in a chair he ordered the portrait of the empress to be brought out. After gazing at it for a while, he also ordered *The prayer in the garden* to be brought out, and he spent a long time looking at it and thinking. Finally he asked for *The Last Judgement*, and while he was looking at it he turned to Dr Mathys with his whole body shaking and said: 'Doctor: I feel ill.'[82]

The following day, Charles ‘felt a deep chill that spread from his back to his sides and his head’, until after three hours ‘he began to feel hot, with great pain in his head’. According to Dr Mathys, ‘we could tell that His Majesty felt fearful with this new fever, because immediately he wanted to revise his will’; but before he could do so, Charles went ‘out of his mind, so that he could not remember anything that happened that day’. When he recovered he developed a raging thirst and although his courtiers tried to limit his liquid intake, ‘he constantly demands that we give him water’. Moreover, Quijada added, ‘I have never seen him without some sort of doublet until today, when he wore just his shirt and was naked except for a sheet up to his chest.’ He noted that ‘His Majesty’s whole body looks somewhat yellow.’[83]

On 9 September, Charles ‘ordered the copy of his will that we have here to be read to him, to see if anything needed to be added or deleted. He then made a codicil.’ It began with an injunction to his son to extirpate heresy, summarized in a sidebar that read: ‘Lutherans to be punished harshly’. Charles then directed that his corpse should be buried in the church of the monastery (although he empowered Philip to decide his final resting place – provided his body lay beside that of the empress). If he remained at Yuste, he wanted his son to provide a ‘retablo of alabaster or marble’ with figures of him and his family ‘as they appear in the painting by Titian called *The Last Judgement*’. He also instructed Philip to pay another schedule of ‘grants and pensions’, this time to those who had served him at Yuste. He then took up his pen for the last time and wrote ‘Carlos’ with almost as much difficulty as he had done with his first signature, fifty years before (see Pl. 2).[84]

The emperor’s physical condition now worsened rapidly, leaving him ‘weak and very tired’. Quijada cautiously suggested that ‘it might be appropriate to see what we should do, in case God should wish that this illness progresses so far that his life could be in danger’. His prudence proved well-founded. Over the next two weeks the emperor suffered a debilitating sequence of chills, convulsions, fevers, headaches, vomiting and diarrhoea; he did not eat and he constantly complained about the pain. On 19 September ‘we could not get His Majesty to speak for more than 22 hours’, and he ‘said later that he could not remember anything that happened yesterday’.[85]

Charles revived somewhat on 20 September, and his thoughts turned to Barbara Blomberg. Although they had apparently not met since their affair a decade before, Charles now summoned Quijada and ordered him to give a special messenger ‘600 gold crowns from his privy purse, and use them to buy an annuity worth 200 florins a year for the person whom he will name’. In explaining this mysterious gift to Philip, Quijada made clear that the emperor referred to ‘the mother of the person known to Your Majesty’, namely Gerónimo.[86] The gift was apparently the emperor’s last act. Later that day Bartolomé Carranza, whom Philip had nominated as archbishop of Toledo and sent back to Spain to deliver some confidential papers to his father, arrived at Yuste.

DID THE EMPEROR DIE A LUTHERAN?

Despite the extreme rhetoric at the end of his life about unleashing the Spanish Inquisition against Lutherans, Charles had sometimes shown them favour. Until the publication of *The Babylonian captivity of the Church*, like some members of his entourage (including his confessor Jean Glapion), he seems to have felt some sympathy for Luther’s critique; and even in 1525 he speculated that ‘perhaps at some point it will turn out that Martin Luther is the one doing the right thing’ (chapter 7). In 1530, Charles solemnly presided over the imperial Diet as a Lutheran spokesman read out the Augsburg confession, and he later approved temporary toleration for German Lutheran rulers. Although he attacked them in 1546, shortly afterwards he appointed as his chaplains and court preachers two men who would later be condemned for heresy (Constantino Ponce de la Fuente and Agustín Cazalla) and nominated another, Juan Gil (normally known as Dr Egidio), as bishop of Tortosa. The small imperial library at Yuste included works by several authors later condemned for heresy (not only tracts by Constantino but also by Fray Luis de Granada and Erasmus: after the emperor’s death the book by Constantino was immediately delivered to the Inquisition and the one by Granada was burnt on the spot). In addition, Charles probably possessed a vernacular Bible, like his sisters Marie and Eleanor, and also like Dr Mathys. In May 1558, Mathys declared that ‘with His Majesty’s permission he had brought a French Bible with me from the Netherlands’, and ‘asked if I could keep and read it’. The Inquisitors

refused, and so the following month ‘in the presence of His Majesty’s confessor, I burned it’. Since no French Bible appeared in the inventory post-mortem of Charles’s goods, if Charles also possessed one, Mathys probably burned it along with his own. In any case, as José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero wryly observed: ‘Heresy arrived at Yuste in the emperor’s own baggage.’[87]

Charles may have had another close encounter with heresy on his deathbed. As part of his campaign to prove that Archbishop Carranza had Lutheran leanings, Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés collected sworn depositions by twenty individuals who had witnessed the emperor’s final hours, making them the best documented of his entire life.

Some found Charles’s reception of Carranza somewhat cool, perhaps because of rumours that some suspected him of heresy. Certainly, his first words were reproachful – ‘You are late, archbishop’ – but then he perked up and ‘asked: “How is my son doing?”’ The archbishop replied, ‘Doing well, and at Your Majesty’s service.’ Next the emperor asked ‘What is being done about the heretics in Valladolid?’, to which Carranza answered: ‘The only thing that matters at the moment is Your Majesty’s health.’ At this ‘the emperor closed his eyes and lay back on his pillow’.[88]

Carranza now withdrew, but a few hours later Charles’s entourage recalled him because their master seemed close to death. The emperor asked ‘for the portrait of Christ crucified which he had kept in readiness for this moment, ever since his wife died, and as he gazed at Jesus – apparently as a means of resisting the temptations of Satan – he begged forgiveness for all his sins’.[89] Carranza now read Psalm 129, ‘Out of the depths’, and when Charles asked him to stop the archbishop assured him that ‘Your Majesty must place all your hope in the passion of Christ, our Redeemer, because nothing else matters [*todo lo demás es burla*]’.[90] This statement seemed to several of those gathered around the emperor’s bed like Lutheranism – they would testify to that effect when the Inquisition proceeded against Carranza for heresy – but if Charles noticed, he showed no sign. Instead, his pulse stabilized and he rested until the middle of the night, when he suffered new paroxysms.

Carranza hurried back and offered him the crucifix that the empress had held when she died. Their hands touched as the archbishop warned him:

‘Do not let the devil disturb Your Majesty with the memory of your sins, which often happens at moments like these, but place your hope in Him who has already redeemed them. Since Your Majesty has done all that a Catholic Christian should do, receiving the sacraments of the Church, no harm will come to you.’ ‘Judging by his feeble gestures’ at this point, ‘some thought these words comforted His Majesty’, but Carranza wanted more. When a nobleman sat next to him ‘at the foot of His Majesty’s bed’ and said ‘“I am astonished by the serenity of a dying man who has done so many things”, the archbishop replied “Such confidence does not please me at all”’. Nevertheless Carranza gave him final absolution (without securing a further confession: another irregularity duly noted by others and later used against him) and at 2 a.m. on 21 September, Charles whispered: ‘Help me, I’m dying.’ With Carranza’s assistance he grasped a candle in one hand and his wife’s crucifix in the other, ‘holding it up until it reached his lips’. After five paroxysms ‘he gave a deep breath and said “Now it’s time”’ and ‘after two or three more breaths, he rendered his soul to God’.[91]

OF DEATH AND DIGITS

The rhythm and intensity of Charles’s paroxysms had led his doctors to conclude – correctly – that he suffered from ‘a very powerful double tertian fever’ and they therefore intensified their regime of blood-letting and purges, further weakening their patient; but they could not identify the cause of his ailment, let alone devise an effective treatment. This is hardly surprising: the *Plasmodium* parasite that causes malaria was not discovered until 1880; and although the anti-malarial properties of cinchona bark were known in 1558, that knowledge remained confined to the emperor’s Quechua subjects in faraway Peru. Certainty concerning the cause of his failing health and death only emerged in 2004, when a medical team conducted clinical tests on a detached phalanx from one of Charles’s fingers that revealed ‘malaria parasites in large quantities’. The team considered that their photographs taken via a microscope could serve as ‘a textbook example of tropical medicine or the history of medicine: fossil parasites were clearly visible’, revealing ‘two generations of parasites’. This proved that the emperor had suffered a double dose of *Plasmodium falciparum* malaria.[92]

Almost certainly, Charles contracted the fatal disease only after he reached Yuste, a region that remained ‘one of the most malarious areas of Spain until recent times’. Dr Julián de Zulueta, the specialist on the disease who oversaw the clinical tests, thought that Charles might not have become infected until August 1558:

> In a study of the receptivity of malaria in the area, a high density of *Anopheles atroparvus*, the main vector of the disease in Spain, was found in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Yuste . . . The time of year of the emperor’s illness at Yuste, the end of the summer and the beginning of autumn, corresponds to the time when *P. falciparum* was most prevalent in Spain.[93]

Charles’s decision to build fishponds and a fountain adjacent to his apartments created the perfect breeding ground for mosquitoes, and therefore the perfect incubator for the disease that killed him at the age of fifty-eight.

— SEVENTEEN —

THE EMPEROR IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

> For a long time I went to bed early. Sometimes, when I had just put out my candle, my eyes closed so quickly that I did not even have time to say 'I'm going to sleep'. Half an hour later the thought that it was time to go to sleep would awaken me . . . While asleep I had been thinking constantly about what I had just been reading, but my thoughts had run into a channel of their own, until I myself seemed actually to have become the subject of my book: a church, a quartet, the rivalry between Francis I and Charles V.
>
> Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris, 1913), 1[1]

HIS LATE SACRED MAJESTY

A few hours after Charles died, Luis Quijada (who had served him for thirty-seven years) wrote that 'The greatest man who has ever lived, or will ever live, just died in Christ's arms.' He added: 'I cannot believe he is dead.' He was not alone in his denial. Like Quijada, Luis de Ávila and Martín de Gaztelú 'gave shouts and cries, hit themselves in the face and beat their heads against the walls; they seemed to have taken leave of their senses, as indeed they had, with the pain they felt at seeing their master dead.' Six months later, in the Netherlands, Charles's librarian Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg included 'saintliness' in the title of his sycophantic biography: *On the public affairs, life, customs, deeds, reputation, religion and saintliness of the emperor Charles V*.[2]

The idea was not new. The pageants celebrating Charles's entry into Bruges in 1515 compared him with Christ (chapter 3 and Pl. 7); he patronized sculptures that portrayed him as one of the Wise Men; he also became the subject of prophecies – a particularly striking one, also from 1515, foretold that the young prince would conquer the English and the Italians; that he would destroy Rome with fire; that he would capture Jerusalem. 'No one would be able to resist him', the prediction continued, 'because God's arm would be with him, and he would . . . gain the universal dominion of the earth.'[3] In 1532, Charles confronted two people who claimed to be the Messiah. One of them, Sultan Suleiman, who now began to wear a special tiara with four crowns, symbolizing the rule of the last world emperor, used the title *Sahib-kiran* ('World Conqueror') and encouraged histories and prophecies that compared him with both his namesake Solomon and Alexander the Great, or hailed him as *mujaddid* ('renewer'), the eschatological figure who appears in each age to 'renew' the Islamic community. Meanwhile, as he prepared for battle against the sultan, Charles granted an audience to Solomon Molcho (a Portuguese convert to Christianity who had returned to Judaism and circumcised himself), who arrived with 'a Hebrew banner together with a shield and sword consecrated in the name of the Hebrew God' that he proposed to use when he led 'all the Jews to make war on the Turks'. According to Nuncio Aleandro (who also met Molcho and took an instant dislike to him), 'His Majesty listened to him most attentively for two hours and asked him about many things', apparently impressed by his visitor's charisma; but the following day Charles had second thoughts and had him arrested. Molcho was sent to Italy, where he was burnt at the stake.[4]

Soon afterwards, 'our great king Charles V' achieved semi-divine status in parts of Mexico because he 'was the first to grant lordship and patrimony' to many indigenous communities, and their municipal charters included thanks to him as well as to the Trinity for their foundation.[5] In Spain, when the monks of San Lorenzo de El Escorial opened Charles's coffin in 1654, just before moving it to the new Pantheon of the Kings, they noticed that the emperor's body 'was still intact, ninety-six years after his death' and concluded that 'such a prodigy must be the work of a higher power, and since it occurred naturally it was one of those rarities that

transgress the limits of the natural world' – in other words, a minor miracle. A century later, a visitor to Charles's tomb in the Pantheon reported that 'the friars here consider him a saint'.[6]

COMMEMORATING THE EMPEROR

As news of Charles's death spread, lavish exequies celebrated his life and achievements. Gregorio Leti claimed that more than 2,400 churches organized a procession and erected a catafalque in honour of the late emperor – 527 in Spain, 382 in Naples, 292 in the Papal States, and so on – and in many places 'the crush of people was so great that it seemed as if the whole world had gathered together'.[7] Special pamphlets described commemorations in Valladolid (where his grandson Don Carlos was the principal mourner) and in Brussels (where his son Philip resided), both in December 1558, and in Augsburg (where his brother Ferdinand presided at a 'great commemoration of the dead' on 24 February 1559, Charles's birthday).[8] Partly because they drew on different funerary traditions, these events differed significantly. Juan Calvete de Estrella designed an elaborate catafalque for the funeral ceremony in Valladolid that depicted the humiliation of the German Lutherans in 1547; Charles's conquests in America and Africa; the capture of Thérouanne and Hesdin from France; scenes from *The resolute knight*; and, beneath the motto ANIMO INVICTO ('unvanquished spirit'), a picture of 'Ingolstadt with two encampments facing each other. In one of them, the emperor appeared at the entrance of his tent, fully armed, surrounded by the many cannonballs fired by the enemy's artillery that fell close to his feet and his tent. His face was strong and manly, showing no trace of fear but rather animating and encouraging his men.'[9] These were surely the achievements that Charles himself would have selected (Pl. 37).

By contrast the book published to commemorate the Brussels ceremony contained only a short text (which facilitated translations in five languages) to accompany thirty-four lavish spreads (hand-coloured in some copies) that showed Philip and the Knights of the Golden Fleece processing through the streets of Brussels from the Coudenberg palace to the cathedral of St Gudule, where four decades before Charles had been acclaimed king of Castile, Aragon, Naples and Sicily (Pl. 36). According to the vivid account

of Richard Clough, an English eyewitness, the ritual followed precedent precisely:

> There went a nobellman unto the herse (so far as I coulde understand, it was the prince of Orange) who, standing before the herse, strucke with his hand uppon the chest and sayd, 'He is ded.' Then standing styll awhyle, he sayd 'He shall remayne ded.' And then, resting awhile, he strucke again and sayd, 'He is ded, and there is another rysen up in his place greater than ever he was.'

One of the knights then stepped forward and in a dramatic gesture his colleagues threw back his hood to reveal Philip, who led the procession back through the streets of Brussels to the palace. 'It was sure a sight worth to go 100 myles to see,' wrote Clough in awe: 'The lyke of thys I think hath not been sene.'[10]

Although Gregorio Leti probably exaggerated the number of exequies for Charles in Europe, he omitted those staged in America. In Lima, on hearing in July 1559 'that His Majesty is dead', the viceroy of Peru immediately started to make preparations based on the catafalques he had seen in Spain for deceased members of the royal family. On 11 and 12 November 1559 a procession of perhaps 250 people went to pay their respects at the simple catafalque made of wood, decorated with flags and shields representing the late emperor's possessions. Although the official record of the exequies remained in manuscript, because Lima still lacked a printing press, they provided a powerful symbol of the integration of the city and the viceroyalty into the Spanish Monarchy after a generation of conquest, chaos and civil war.[11]

Far grander exequies took place in Mexico on 30 November 1559 (the feast of St Andrew: the day on which Charles had normally hosted a banquet for Knights of the Golden Fleece). Before a crowd estimated at 40,000, the viceroy led a procession to a catafalque filled with tributes in Latin and Spanish to the late monarch's deeds, notably those in America. The choir sang the motet *Circumdederunt me* by Cristóbal de Morales, who had met Charles in 1536 – a striking example of the transatlantic culture that thrived under the emperor – and nine of the twenty-two painted scenes on the catafalque contained direct references to the conquest. One picture

showed ‘Ferdinand of Castile’ (*sic*: for Ferdinand of Aragon) kneeling before the pope ‘receiving a New World with both hands’; another revealed Montezuma and Atahualpa, ‘emperors of this New World’, kneeling before Charles ‘with cheerful faces, showing that they were happy to have been vanquished’; a third celebrated the fact that ‘the emperor had created a university in Mexico to instruct and educate the native population’. The structure was painted to look like *tezontle*, the native stone used to rebuild Mexico City, and other local references included a drawing of the catafalque that included a skeleton (in Mexica tradition a skeleton accompanied each dead ruler to the Underworld). The combination of elements from both colonial and pre-colonial traditions revealed that although Spaniards designed and described the catafalque, Mexica students from the College of Santa Cruz of Tlatelolco did the paintings.[12]

In Spain, the emperor’s executors arranged the 30,000 Masses he had requested for his soul, and began to distribute the 30,000 ducats in gold that he had placed in a locked chest in the fortress of Simancas to pay legacies to prisoners of war, poor virgins and deserving paupers (chapter 15). It is possible to monitor the payments made in each category because many monasteries in Castile sent certificates detailing the number and frequency of the Masses they had arranged; the officials sent to north Africa to ransom prisoners kept full records; and several bishops sent lists of those they deemed deserving and poor enough to receive the imperial largesse.[13] Paying Charles’s other bequests proved far harder. In July 1559, Philip made 80,000 ducats available to his father’s executors, but it soon emerged that Charles owed far more – and not only to his own servants but also to the creditors of his parents and grandparents, ‘because he had fought major wars and spent heavily ever since he was sworn king of Castile and Aragon’ and therefore lacked the funds to honour their bequests. The executors reminded Philip that ‘sixteen months have passed since His Imperial Majesty died, yet not a penny has been spent to discharge the obligations set out in his will’; but they wrote in vain. In 1579, when they again requested more money to pay off the emperor’s creditors, the king replied dismissively: ‘I would certainly like to be able to deal with this at once, but there are so many other commitments and so little money for them.’ Instead, he suggested, ‘it would be good to find out if any of His Majesty’s

assets remain from which his debts could be paid'.[14] The executors and their successors would continue their efforts to pay all the emperor's debts well into the seventeenth century.

THE EMPEROR'S LONG SHADOW

Philip's rescript epitomized his ambiguous feelings about his father. Publicly, he always showed deep respect. In 1572 he approved a plan for a funeral group of seven figures (his parents and their two sons who had died as infants, as well as his aunts Eleanor and Marie and his sister María), which resulted in the larger-than-life gilded bronze statues cast by Pompeo Leoni and his atelier that now kneel beside the main altar at El Escorial as if they had joined the monks in perpetual prayer. They constitute (as Rosemarie Mulcahy observed) 'the most impressive royal funerary sculptures in European art'.[15] Two years later, Philip spent 318 ducats on moving Charles's cadaver from Yuste to the Escorial, and he devoted several hours to deciding what should be inscribed on the emperor's coffin. When the king authorized a restoration programme at the royal Alcázar of Seville in 1577, he included a set of magnificent tiles (*azulejos*) to commemorate the wedding of his parents there fifty-one years before; and on 20 and 21 September 1584 a minister noted that Philip had neglected his paperwork 'because yesterday he attended vespers and today he participated in services for the anniversary of his father's death'.[16] In private, the king showed less enthusiasm. He never displayed the magnificent life-size bronze statue of Charles V as a Roman emperor, commissioned from Leone Leoni in 1549 (Pl. 29) – instead it remained in the Madrid workshop where it had been designed and cast – and he left Titian's great canvas *Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg* (Pl. 25) in the storeroom of the Madrid Alcázar.

Philip was less ambiguous when it came to the art of government. In 1574, when he thought he would have to leave Spain, he searched for Charles's instructions 'from when I started to govern, in 1543' because he expected to find useful guidance 'in the advice that the emperor wrote out for me then in his own hand'.[17] The king evidently learned other political habits from his father, including how to write passive-aggressive letters to the pope. When in 1569, Pius V seemed to ignore his wishes, Philip instructed the Spanish ambassador in Rome: 'When you are alone you will

lodge a protest on my behalf that any damage caused by this, and by His Holiness's refusal to believe me and to act, *will be on his conscience and not on mine*' – a turn of phrase that would have doubtless pleased the emperor.[18] More dangerously, Philip also inherited his father's comprehensive messianic vision. Both rulers believed that God had charged them to achieve His purpose for the world and that He had granted them special protection expressly so that they could achieve these goals (although the process might not be swift, obvious or easy). Both rulers also believed that God would bridge with a miracle any gap between ways and means whenever necessary, a certitude that led them to take foolish risks. Thirty years after Charles's disastrous decision to persevere with his attack on Algiers, against the advice of his experts, Philip in 1571 authorized a complex amphibious attack on England, against the advice of his experts, because 'I am so attached to it in my heart, and I am so convinced that God our Saviour must embrace it as His own cause, that I cannot be dissuaded'; and thirty-five years after the emperor's equally disastrous decision to besiege Metz, Philip in 1587 ordered the Armada to sail against England even though 'We are fully aware of the risk that is incurred by sending a major fleet in winter through the Channel without a safe harbour.' He assured his commanders that 'since it is all for His cause, God will send good weather'.[19] Finally, father and son both found it hard to swallow their pride and admit defeat if doing so might imperil their 'reputation'. Charles decided to persist with the siege of Metz because 'if we abandon this enterprise I will have to disband my army, having spent so much money without achieving anything. I have therefore decided to spend even more, and await what God pleases to give us, rather than to quit without seeing what Fortune brings.' His son deployed the same logic in his struggle to suppress the Dutch Revolt: 'I have no doubt that, if the cost of the war [in the Netherlands] continues at its present level, we will not be able to sustain it; but it would be a great shame if, having spent so much, we lost any chance that spending a little more might recover everything.'[20]

Charles's vision continued to shape strategic thinking long afterwards. At least twenty-eight manuscript copies of the Political Testament of 1548 survive, and the Spanish ambassador in Savoy evidently had one in front of him in 1600 when he reminded his sovereign, Philip III, 'of what His

Majesty the emperor said in the instructions that he gave the late king our lord [Philip II] about the schemes of the French and the distrust that one should have about any peace made with them'. He insisted that this advice, based on providential principles, still held good. Six years later Prudencio de Sandoval printed in full Charles's paper of advice in his best-selling *History of the life and deeds of the Emperor Charles V.* Henceforth everyone could read, admire and imitate it.[21]

The emperor cropped up posthumously in many different places. Lope de Aguirre, the 'cruel tyrant' who attracted much support in Peru when he rebelled in 1561, addressed a formal challenge to 'King Philip, Spaniard by birth, son of Charles the invincible'. A few years later, alarmed by the rapid spread of Protestantism in the Netherlands, the fire-eating Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio warned Philip that 'The holy bones of the Emperor your father are complaining and his spirit will demand God's punishment against you if you allow the loss of those provinces, without which Spain cannot live in safety.' More positively, in the 1560s, Jerónimo Sempere and Luis Zapata de Chaves both extolled Charles's deeds in lengthy epic poems (*La Carolea*, 1560, and *Carlos famoso*, 1566); and Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga added to the marble bust of the emperor in the 'Charles V room' of his palace in Plasencia the triumphalist inscription:

> Charles V
> That's enough because
> The whole world knows the rest.[22]

In 1568 the count of Olivares, who had accompanied Charles on the Tunis campaign and now wanted to build up his picture collection in Seville, asked Duke Octavio of Parma 'to procure for me a painting of when the emperor, wearing full armour, crossed the River Elbe because it is not fair that those who served him should lack a copy of such a fine portrait. I believe Titian has the master copy of this, and since he lives close to Your Excellency, please order him to make a copy for me.' His postscript asserted that 'The whole world has a duty to remember the deeds of such a valorous prince and fortunate emperor.' When in 1570, Philip composed a paper of advice to his brother, Don John, on how to crush the rebellious Moriscos of Granada, he concluded 'I tell you this as someone who loves

you and wants you to succeed in everything because you are our father's son.' In 1588 several ships of the Spanish Armada sank off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland carrying heavy artillery pieces cast by Gregor Löffler of Augsburg and confiscated after the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League, each one resplendent with Charles's imperial insignia (Pl. 38). The following year, Alonso de Ercilla, who had spent time in the emperor's entourage as a boy, included fifteen references to 'Charles the Great' and 'the great emperor, Charles the Invincible' in his epic poem about the conquest of what is now Chile: *La Araucana*.[23]

Even after the death of those who had known him personally – Barbara Blomberg in 1597; Philip II in 1598; his daughter María in 1603 – the emperor continued to attract favourable comments. In 1604, in his history of the evangelization of Mexico, Gerónimo de Mendieta praised 'the most pious emperor Charles V, of immortal memory'. Two years later, when Prudencio de Sandoval narrated Charles's funeral at Yuste in his *History*, noting that those who knew him had 'shed many tears when they buried him', he added 'as well they might because I, who only know of his life by reading about him, shed tears too'. In 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias's entry on 'Carlos' in his *Spanish Dictionary* read: 'We have had five emperors of this name, and the fifth was Charles, monarch of the world.' Shortly afterwards, the emperor made two appearances in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (as the 'most invincible Charles V' for his capture of the fortress of La Goletta outside Tunis in 1535, and as the 'great emperor Charles V' during his visit to Rome the following year). In 1638 the count-duke of Olivares, chief minister of Philip IV, drew to his master's attention the dilapidated state of the 'royal apartments' at Yuste and requested appointment as guardian of the 'Imperial palace' there in order to superintend a programme of restoration to create a worthy monument to its first and only occupant. Olivares would reproduce many of its features in the palace and monastery complex that he constructed on his estate at Loeches.[24] The emperor's popular reputation also remained high in the Low Countries, thanks to such works as *The heroic and amusing deeds of Emperor Charles V*, first published in both French and Dutch in 1675, which presented him as 'the worthiest hero you could ever imitate'. In 1999

a census of legends, anecdotes, fairy tales and riddles in Dutch included some 160 items about ‘Good Old Charles’.[25]

Public monuments in honour of the emperor continued to appear long after his death – such as the life-size statue erected in Palermo in 1631 (Pl. 21) – and in his treatise on the greatness of the Spanish Monarchy the Dominican Tommaso Campanella proposed that a statue of Charles be erected at the South Pole as a sign that his rule had encompassed the entire world: *Plus ultra*, indeed.[26] Equally striking, from the 1590s (if not earlier) manuscript copies circulated in Italian, German and English of a document entitled ‘The last instructions which the Emperor Charles the Fifth gave to his son Philip before his death’, until by 1750 at least fifty manuscript and two printed copies of the text existed. All of them were either forgeries or based on forgeries – the emperor composed no such document – but the combination of his achievements and the wide circulation of his genuine instructions evidently conferred an almost mythical authority that made it worth attaching his name to a document written by someone else.[27]

The same apparently remained true in the twentieth century. The Fascist regime of General Francisco Franco encouraged Spanish historians to see Charles as a great unifier and an epitome of Spanish values: in 1942 the university of Valladolid established a ‘Seminar on the history of the empire’ dedicated to publishing relevant documents from the archives of Simancas; and in 1958 a Centenary Committee arranged commemorative conferences, oversaw the repair of the palaces of Charles V at both Yuste and Granada, and staged exequies at the Escorial on 21 September attended by Franco himself. One eminent alumnus of the ‘Seminar on the history of the empire’, Manuel Fernández Álvarez, became an enthusiastic promoter of the ‘European vision of Charles V’, presenting the emperor as ‘the great precursor of the political unity of Christian Europe’.[28] In this he was not alone. The French president Charles de Gaulle gave a speech in 1962 that included the emperor in the list of those who had ‘dreamed of European unity’; and three years later Viscount Charles Terlinden published *Carolus Quintus: Charles V, emperor of two worlds*, lavishly illustrated. It would appear in nineteen editions and seven languages, claiming that the emperor had pioneered the idea of a united Europe. Such arguments evidently convinced the governments of Belgium and Spain, both of which issued écu

coins in the 1980s (when it seemed likely that the écu, rather than the euro, would become the common currency of Europe) that depicted Charles as Titian had shown him: on horseback at Mühlberg as his Spanish troops routed the German Lutherans – a curiously divisive image to choose for the European Union. In 1994, Enrique Barón Crespo, past president of the European Parliament, delivered a lecture entitled 'The Europe of Charles V and the Europe of Maastricht', which argued that Charles 'created a Europe that in essence coincided with the European Community today, *except for France*' – an exception so substantial that it made nonsense of the parallel.[29]

THE EMPEROR AND HIS CRITICS

De Gaulle, Terlinden and Barón Crespo all ignored the warning of Peter Rassow in 1958: '*Who would want to turn such a failed personality into an ideal leader?* The historical Charles cannot serve as the figurehead of the ship of European unity.' They also ignored the contemporary critics of His Late Sacred Majesty. In Italy a 'farce' composed in Calabrian dialect lampooned the emperor's progress in 1536 through the town of Cava de' Tirreni (between Salerno and Naples). In 'The reception of the emperor in Cava', whose inhabitants were often portrayed on stage as ignorant and argumentative bumpkins, the emperor appeared as the *tedeschino* (the little German chap), with an inscription on his brow that read 'You can do anything with money' and a notable disregard for his subjects. He offended the citizens by refusing to stop either to eat the local delicacies (a sausage and a glass of wine) or to revere the numerous local relics (said to include half an ear from Balaam's ass and a sneeze from the nose of Christ himself, preserved in a vial).[30] Some French writers went further, portraying Charles as an existential threat. The chronicler Claude Haton, writing just after the emperor's death, claimed that 'France could rightly call him her Attila, in other words her great enemy and persecutor'. Most Protestants felt the same. John Knox recalled with pride in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* that, while a refugee in Germany in 1554, he had called the emperor 'no less enemy unto Christ than ever was Nero' because he 'do maintain and advance idolatry'.[31]

The emperor also had critics in Spain. *The history of Charles V* by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, completed in the 1560s, claimed that Charles had fought too many wars ('some of them undertaken because they were necessary for defence but others, although for just cause, less necessary') and that their cost had impoverished his subjects. Sepúlveda also criticized the emperor for obstinacy ('once he had taken a decision, it was very difficult to make him abandon it'); for selling exemptions to his laws to raise money; for consulting too few ministers in his later years; and for refusing 'after he turned fifty' to transact affairs of state promptly 'because he was afflicted by melancholy'. Not surprisingly, Philip II refused to print Sepúlveda's text.[32] In 1611, Antonio Daza, a Franciscan based in Valladolid, published a history of his Order that included several dreams by his colleagues, including one by Friar Gonzalo Méndez while preaching in Guatemala, who reported a vision of the soul of the late emperor ascending into Paradise 'four years after his death', that is in 1562. In Daza's opinion, God had left Charles to languish in Purgatory 'because he did not punish Luther when he could have taken him' at the Diet of Worms – although apparently Caesar's luck prevailed even in the realm of imagination: some of those who dreamed about Charlemagne soon after his death had pictured him in Hell with 'an animal tearing at his genitals'.[33]

Predictably, most later Protestant writers showed hostility towards the emperor. When the Scottish philosopher and historian David Hume learned that his colleague William Robertson proposed to write a biography of Charles, he protested that 'your hero, who is the sole connexion, is not very interesting'. Furthermore, 'though some parts of the story may be entertaining, there would be many dry and barren; and the whole seems not to have any great charms.' Robertson nonetheless persevered and prospered: his three-volume *History of the reign of the Emperor Charles V*, published in 1769, soon became the standard work, with translations into German (1770–1), French (1771), Russian (1775–8), Italian (1836), Arabic (1842) and finally Spanish (1846). The author secured an advance of £3,500 for his book– an unprecedented sum – and its publication 'sealed his reputation as the leading historian in Europe'. Robertson praised the 'careful and deliberate attention' that Charles had devoted to 'every subject that demanded his consideration', but discerned numerous 'defects in his

political character'. Specifically, his 'ambition was insatiable'; he engaged in 'continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior police and the improvement of his kingdoms'; above all, he 'engaged in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that, feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes engaged on such deviations from integrity as were dishonourable in a great prince'. Robertson's negative sentiments even peppered his index: the entry for 'Charles V' contained references to the emperor's 'cruel', 'unjust' and 'haughty' behaviour, his 'dissimulation' (three entries), the 'intoxicating influence of success on his mind', and of course 'his intolerant bigotry'.[34]

Public archives were closed to scholars when Robertson wrote, but access to manuscript collections at first did little to improve the emperor's image. The German pioneers of archive-based history, Leopold von Ranke and Hermann Baumgarten (both descended from Lutheran pastors), saw Charles primarily as an anachronism whose efforts to build a supra-national state and halt the spread of Protestantism were doomed to failure. Their Scottish contemporary Sir William Stirling-Maxwell resorted to multiple mixed metaphors to condemn Charles as:

> One of the most tiresome writers who ever drove the quill of political or diplomatic correspondence . . . Even in argument, his vivacity is cramped and crippled by the fence of caution and reserve which ever hedges his path. Very rarely does it happen that any spark of human feeling or passion illumines his weary records of the daily toils of power . . . of selfish intrigues and ignoble rivalries; and of all the dusty plans of an ambition which never soared above the family tree of Hapsburg.[35]

French historians likewise found much to deprecate in the emperor: compared with Francis I, wrote Jules Michelet in his influential *History of France*, Charles 'was a pale bookworm, learned and eloquent but a bad writer and a self-serving graceless speaker'. Most Italian historians were equally critical, harping on the way the emperor had 'snuffed out the liberty of Florence and Siena, conquered Milan, marginalized Venice, yoked Genoa

to his wagon, sacked Rome and lent a hand to the popes' efforts to extinguish every voice opposed to the established order'. As Giuseppe Galasso observed in 2001, this did not leave much to like.[36]

Many Spanish historians also saw their first Habsburg ruler as 'a foreign-born monarch, proud and implacable, the epitome of an absolute king'. They tended to focus (if they focused on the period at all) on his contemporaries – his mother Queen Joanna, Cardinal Cisneros, the conquistadors, the leading Comuneros – leaving Charles 'a second-rank figure'. Of the 265 articles dealing with the sixteenth century published in the *Bulletin* of Spain's Royal Academy of History between 1877 and 1901, not one dealt directly with Charles V. Most eloquent of all, when the photographer Charles Clifford visited Yuste in the 1850s, after travelling by mule from the village of Cuacos 'through large oak forests and scrambling mountain paths, only known to and visited by the peasants of the neighbourhood', he found 'grim decay and crumbling walls': 'All is damp, ruin and decay', with 'an utter disregard and neglect of all repairs'. Clifford declined 'the offer of having our bed littered down in the emperor's chamber, being unwilling to dispute the tenancy with the present occupants, the bats and night-birds that streamed . . . into the desolate, roofless church'.[37]

Little had changed one century later, when Manuel Fernández Álvarez retraced Clifford's route from Cuacos to Yuste, and the sight of 'the monastery and the imperial apartments all in ruins' produced in him 'a feeling of great sadness for a lost world – sometimes glorious, sometimes confused – that could scarcely be glimpsed amid the desolation'. But by then, the recovery of that lost world was well under way. Above all, after three decades of research on the emperor, between 1937 and 1941 Karl Brandi published a pioneering two-volume biography 'based almost exclusively on a new and thorough examination of the best and most immediate contemporary evidence'. Admittedly, Brandi harboured some reservations about his subject, opening with the lapidary verdict: 'There are in history certain men whose productive energy is more than human. They create out of their own elemental strength, and lay down the laws of thought and action for centuries to come. The Emperor Charles V was not one of these.' Nevertheless, Brandi continued:

> Many as are the seeming contradictions in the life of Charles V, it had an inner unity. His career was dominated by the dynastic principle, which found more vital and effective expression in him than in any other ruler in the history of the world. Both as a man and as a sovereign, he was subjected to the moral pressure of this principle, which beset his path with perilous temptations.[38]

Brandi's 'agent versus structure' formulation has been applied to many statesmen, sometimes in the guise of the 'fox and the hedgehog' metaphor made famous by Desiderius Erasmus, Charles's sometime councillor, in the year of the future emperor's birth: 'The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing.' This adage implied that hedgehogs have a focused worldview and strong convictions, which they apply to all situations, whereas foxes are more pragmatic, adjusting their views in response to events – in short, hedgehogs are belief-driven whereas foxes are evidence-driven – and for Brandi, Charles was the quintessential hedgehog. But what about the more basic question: could anyone, whether fox or hedgehog, have ruled his inheritance with greater success than Charles? What was the balance of his reign?[39]

— EPILOGUE —

THE BALANCE OF THE REIGN

> History can never be reduced to a single entry in a ledger . . . The history of Charles V must be the sum of all possible explanations of his life, his achievements, and his times. It is essential that nothing be omitted from the book-keeping, whether money, actions, intentions, certainties, or luck.
>
> Fernand Braudel (1958)[1]

CAESAR'S LUCK RECONSIDERED

Late in 1550 the veteran French diplomat Charles de Marillac tried to explain to his master 'the causes of the grandeur' of the emperor, then at its apogee. He focused first on the negative: 'The first and principal cause' of Charles's success, Marillac argued, 'was that those with whom he had to deal committed errors'; and he started with his own compatriots. Although he did not offer specifics – writing only that 'we withdrew when we should have advanced, and acted too fast when we should have waited' – examples are easy to find: had Francis not behaved so rashly during the siege of Pavia in 1525, it is hard to see how the imperial army in Lombardy could have long survived as a fighting force; had he offered military assistance to the Schmalkaldic League in 1546, it is hard to see how Charles could have defeated the German Lutherans; and so on. 'The second cause of his grandeur,' Marillac continued, was Charles's ability to 'create dissension among allies by winning over those favourable to him' and 'sow doubts about loyalty among his enemies, so they became less willing to attack him' (he cited the duke of Bourbon, Andrea Doria, 'and a thousand others' in the

case of France). Third, Marillac asserted, Charles had also triumphed by ‘making the world believe that he was a pious, just and honourable prince, so that one might more easily trust him’, with the result that ‘if it happens that one of his actions is seen as wrong, the blame falls on his ministers without suspecting that it could proceed from a pious prince like him’. But, the ambassador continued angrily, ‘This is true hypocrisy’, and he offered numerous examples: condoning the sack of Rome; retaining Navarre, Milan, Piacenza and Utrecht; suppressing the Florentine republic; erecting citadels in Siena and Cambrai; abandoning to their fate his own relatives, such as Christian of Denmark and Katherine of Aragon.[2]

The ambassador oversimplified: although these negative factors certainly contributed to imperial success, Charles also benefited from positive influences, notably luck. Marillac’s Florentine colleague, writing an evaluation of the emperor at almost exactly the same time, highlighted this: ‘Such is Caesar’s luck that it allows him to defeat any difficulty and overcome the hostility and snares of his rivals, and also vanquish any feeling of depression when his affairs appear to be in a bad, even desperate, state.’[3] No doubt the ambassador had in mind the numerous political and military situations in which Fortune seemed to favour Charles, starting with Pavia and culminating in a series of errors by his enemies that brought him victory over the superior Lutheran forces ranged against him (chapter 12); but there was much more. Biologically, a sequence of marriages, births and deaths between 1488 and 1509 (culminating in the death of Ferdinand of Aragon’s only child with Germaine de Foix) conspired to leave the young duke of Luxemburg as sole heir to four previously separate states: had any of the outcomes been different, Charles would have ruled far fewer territories. In 1545 the death of the duke of Orléans saved him from surrendering either Milan or the Netherlands, as the treaty of Crépy obliged him to do. In addition, good luck saved Charles’s life on several occasions. During the summit at Nice in 1538 he led his courtiers across a bridge from the shore to the galley on which his sister Eleanor had just arrived ‘and while they were embracing’ the bridge gave way and they fell into the water: both monarchs ‘got soaking wet but were soon rescued’; the following year, when visiting Amboise in France, the emperor rode his horse into a primitive elevator that linked the floors of the castle,

illuminated by torches and candles: the machine burst into flames but Charles emerged unscathed.[4]

Charles's lifestyle choices regularly placed him in harm's way, but he survived almost unscathed. Just after the capture of Tunis in 1535 he twice fell under a horse that kicked him, injuring both his legs (chapter 9); and two years later, when he rode at top speed from Barcelona to join his family at Tordesillas, an ambassador reported that 'he had some falls from his horse, as is usual with those who ride post-haste'. He was less fortunate in 1532, when his horse threw him while hunting: he landed feet-first on a rock so hard that it damaged his leg and made him somewhat lame for the rest of his life – but, even so, he escaped the fate of his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, and his son-in-law, Prince John of Portugal, both of whom died as a result of falling from their horse.[5] Charles was also lucky to survive repeated participation in war, despite exposing himself to enemy fire at Tunis, Algiers, Düren, Ingolstadt and elsewhere. Among monarchs, his great-grandfather Charles of Burgundy and his brother-in-law Louis of Hungary died in battle, and another brother-in-law (Christian of Denmark) became a prisoner of war and died in confinement. Among his generals, Bourbon died in action while both Philibert and René of Orange died of wounds – the latter struck by a cannonball 'while sitting in the seat where the emperor normally sat'.[6] Charles likewise survived his many tournaments and at least one assassination plot: in 1546 'three Italians promised the king of France that within four months they would kill the emperor'. The following year he confronted mutinous troops who, with their firearms loaded and primed, demanded from him 'either money or blood', and a drunken soldier fired his arquebus at Charles; but on both occasions he survived unscathed.[7] Others were less fortunate: a group of Protestants ambushed and murdered his Secretary of State Alonso de Idiáquez in 1547 as he rode through Saxony; and a jousting accident killed his arch-rival Henry II of France in 1559.

Of course, luck could have helped Charles even more. If King Francis had been killed at Pavia, as almost happened, leaving a successor who was only six; if Grand Chancellor Gattinara had lived a few months longer, to oversee mediation between Catholics and Lutherans at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530; if Popes Leo or Clement had convened a general council to reform

Church abuses and clarify doctrine, as the council of Trent would later do; if Charles had disembarked his forces at Algiers a few days earlier and conquered the town before the storms decimated his troops and his fleet; if Mary Tudor had lived as long as her sister Elizabeth, and died in 1587 (or even as long as her mother Katherine and died in 1567), instead of in 1558, and thus allowed time to re-catholicize England thoroughly – all of these alternative outcomes would have enabled Charles to achieve even more.

HOW TO MAKE THINGS WORSE

Charles could also have achieved more by avoiding some self-inflicted wounds. In 1551, Count William of Nassau, brother and heir of Charles's Favourite ('mon Henry'), complained to a friend that 'those who wish to serve the emperor must now be Spanish: he only calls on people of our nation [Germans] in case of need and to advance his agenda.'[8] It would be easy to dismiss this charge as biased – after all, the count had recently forfeited imperial favour by supporting the Schmalkaldic League – but Charles's own actions confirmed it. After Jean Glapion left his service in 1522, Charles chose only Spaniards as his confessors; whereas in 1522–3 he entrusted his three illegitimate daughters to Netherlanders, in 1550 he entrusted his illegitimate son, the future Don John, to a Spaniard; and he made sure that his heir, Philip, grew up as a 'true prince of Castile'.[9] The same turn towards Spain occurred in public affairs. In 1523 English diplomats noted that Charles now consulted 'the great lords off Spayne' every day, whereas 'before this tym they war nevyr callyd to no counseyll'. A decade later, the majority of Charles's inner circle of advisers came from the peninsula. So did the majority of his funds: in 1540 he confided to his brother that, having exhausted the resources of the Netherlands, 'I cannot raise any more money' there to fund his projects, now 'I cannot be sustained except by my kingdoms of Spain'. This imbalance increased over time: in the 1550s the emperor borrowed four times as much money in Castile as in the Netherlands to pay for his wars.[10]

William of Nassau was also correct about Charles's lack of German advisers. Although some of his relatives married prominent German princes – his nieces married the Elector Palatine and the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria – the emperor failed to build up a network of rulers committed to

advancing his political and religious agenda in Germany. He also failed to build a cadre of competent ministers. Therefore, as he strove to resolve the religious divisions of Germany late in 1541, when his German Secretary Obernberger fell ill he found ‘no one here to translate my instructions into German’ and was therefore reduced to sending his chief negotiator ‘a signed blank sheet, so that the said instructions can be entered later’. The cost of this neglect soon became apparent. In May 1542, Ferdinand complained that Charles had signed documents granting toleration to Lutherans even in the lands of Catholic rulers. When Charles demanded an explanation for this unprecedented concession, Obernberger protested that ‘the documents had reached him ready to be signed, approved by those members of the council who were then dealing with them. Therefore,’ Charles explained to his brother, ‘trusting that they were as they should be, and because they were in German, I signed without reading them first.’ Unfortunately, he continued, ‘I cannot revoke these concessions because I do not have a copy of them’ – and in any case he still lacked ‘a secretary with me able to write in either Latin or German’. Small wonder that so many of Charles’s policies in the Holy Roman Empire miscarried.[11]

Charles periodically encountered other shortcomings among his ministers. In 1520 his ambassadors in England, one a Spaniard and the other a Netherlander, apologized for writing confidential messages to him in clear text: ‘Although we received your orders that all important matters should be cyphered, at present we do not know how to do this, and our secretary cannot read French.’ Eight years later, Charles suspended Secretary of State Jean Lallemand from office on suspicion of treason and corruption, but dispatches continued to arrive from officials abroad in codes that only Lallemand knew, so that the emperor could ‘only reply to the passages that we can understand’. He sent an urgent message to Lallemand ‘asking him to send me a copy of the cypher key’; but even after it arrived, Charles managed to forget the names of his representatives in Rome and therefore dictated a message ‘to Tweedledum and Tweedledee, my ambassadors’.[12]

These were all oversights and omissions, but Charles also made matters worse for himself by acts of commission. The refusal to forgive and forget wrongs, noted by his confessor Jean Glapion in 1521, created many

problems. The following year Gattinara informed a colleague that their master '*wants vengeance* for the harm and wrongs done to him' by the French; and thirty years later, as he travelled across Germany with a huge imperial army, the nuncio realized that Charles could now 'not only defend himself but also attack his enemies and *get revenge*'.[13] Horst Pietschmann has suggested that 'the confrontation with Luther and the rupture of religious unity, together with the Comunero revolt' underlay Charles's determination to make rebels pay, even if his severity created a host of implacable enemies: the double defiance by subjects in 1520–1 'had such an impact on the young emperor that they led him to react violently when confronted with the real or presumed liberties of towns, and with religious heterodoxy, not only in Germany but also in Spain and America'. Charles would have agreed with Pietschmann. In 1522 he declared his intention of punishing the Comunero leaders 'in an exemplary fashion that will be remembered for ever', and even thirty years later he still penalized the 'sons and grandsons' of former rebels. In 1531, on learning about riots and looting in Brussels, he ordered his sister Marie 'to punish the vile mutineers in such a way that others will take note'. When she protested against his severity, he replied: 'You may think that I am taking vengeance without due cause, but I make no apologies.' Suspects therefore continued to be arrested, tried and executed, often after torture, for another four years.[14] Charles could also impose severe punishments on those who were not his subjects, including the young French princes left by King Francis as hostages for the execution of the treaty of Madrid: in 1529 he ordered that they could not go hunting or receive any visitors from France, and he left them wearing shabby clothes, provoking his aunt Margaret to observe reproachfully that 'Young princes like them, who have done nothing wrong, must not be made to pay for the hostile behaviour of their father.' A few years later, Charles condoned the judicial murder of a rebel leader with the chilling phrase: 'Dead men don't wage war.'[15]

Charles also created problems for himself by selfishness – or what others perceived as selfishness. Just before he left the Netherlands for the last time, an ambassador observed that 'His Imperial Majesty preferred taking to giving', echoing similar comments by many others earlier in the reign. In 1539 the English ambassador at Charles's court considered the

emperor both ‘wise and wily’, always prone to ‘keep his shins whole for himself than break them for another man’s pleasure, except he might have thereby right great assured honour and also very much profit’. Five years later a French minister asked rhetorically: ‘If th’empereur might lyve alwayes, what is his freendeship? He careth not if freend, father and all togedre shuld sinke so [long as] as his insatiable desyre to reign might be satisfied . . . He is a covetous man.’ In 1547, more concisely, Paul III asserted at an audience that ‘Your Majesty is an ingrate who only remembers his friends when he needs them.’[16]

Above all, Charles created serious problems for himself by telling lies – a charge he would doubtless have denied, since he once assured his brother Ferdinand that ‘I have always taken singular care to keep my word, even when I forfeited excellent opportunities for personal profit by doing so.’[17] Nevertheless, evidence abounds that he lied repeatedly when it suited him, even to his closest relatives (for example, by creating a fictional world around his mother). In 1541 he solemnly swore, ‘on the soul of the empress, that he knew nothing about the whereabouts of Rincón and Fregoso’, even though he had taken steps to shield the officials who had murdered both diplomats from any legal consequences. A decade later, despite promising not to condemn Philip of Hesse to life imprisonment, Charles secretly extended his sentence by another fifteen years – which, since the landgrave was already forty-six, meant that he would probably die in prison. In 1547 he denied prior knowledge of the capture of Piacenza from Pope Paul III’s son, Pier Luigi Farnese, orchestrated by his lieutenant Ferrante Gonzaga, but nevertheless refused to return it to Farnese’s heir, Octavio. Such lies had consequences. Francis used the assassination of his ambassadors to justify a declaration of war against Charles; keeping the landgrave in prison helped to propel his son-in-law, Maurice of Saxony, into revolt; Paul refused to reconvene the council of Trent until Charles returned Piacenza to Octavio. Some of these lies also had a long afterlife. In his novel *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, first published in 1552, François Rabelais denounced Charles’s imprisonment of Philip of Hesse as an act of treachery. In 1576, Jean Bodin flagged ‘the base and filthy murder of Fregoso and Rincón’ as an infamous breach of international law in his *Six books of the Republic*; and many writers on international law would repeat his criticisms. When two of its

diplomats were murdered in Austria on their way to a peace conference in 1799, the French government portrayed the crime as a ‘frightening extension of the series of atrocities with which the House of Habsburg has stunned Europe, ever since Charles V provided the precedent of placing himself above the laws by ordering the assassination of the ambassadors that the king of France had sent to Venice and Constantinople’.[18]

THE THREE REVOLUTIONS OF THE EARLIER SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Although these self-inflicted wounds weakened Charles, their impact paled before the challenges presented by three revolutions in the earlier sixteenth century: military, religious and administrative.

The development of the artillery fortress, an interlocking system of star-shaped bastions and outposts beyond reinforced walls, known as *alla moderna* and *à la manière moderne*, revolutionized the art of land warfare in Europe because they normally only surrendered after a complete blockade by armies of unprecedented size. Steven Gunn has estimated that in the 1550s ‘forces of 40,000 or more operated in a region which had in the 1520s supported armies only a quarter of the size’. Securing the surrender of an artillery fortress by blockade normally took weeks if not months, and sieges became the hinge on which campaigns turned.[19]

Charles first encountered this truth in 1529. A few years before, anticipating a siege, the republic of Florence had reconfigured existing towers and gateways into angular bastions, adding thick revetments of earth to reinforce the medieval walls, and creating forts beyond the walls to cover weak points. The military stalemate created by these initiatives infuriated Charles’s commander at the siege of Florence, Prince Philibert of Orange, whose holograph letters complained repeatedly that the lack of artillery, men and money jeopardized the outcome of the siege. In October 1529, describing himself as ‘the most desperate man in the world’, the prince warned Charles that ‘if you really want the town you can have it, but not with the few troops I have here because – please believe me – it would take me years to conclude the matter. If you want victory now, you must send immediately 10,000 or 12,000 men to complete the siege-works on the other side of the river, together with a good artillery crew.’[20] He did not exaggerate: Florence held out for eleven months. Artillery fortresses would

again derail Charles's campaign in 1544 (St Dizier halted his invasion of France for over a month) and sabotage his strategy in 1551, with the unsuccessful siege of Parma, and in 1552, with the unsuccessful siege of Metz.

Supporting the large armies required to subdue an artillery fortress created another problem: organized indiscipline. As the prince of Orange complained during the siege of Florence: 'Your whole army is ready to mutiny through lack of money . . . If God does not work a miracle, as He usually does, and you do not provide a remedy, I hold a general mutiny to be certain.' Others shared the prince's concerns. The insubordinate behaviour by the imperial troops in Italy led the duke of Ferrara to inform the emperor that 'we do not dare to accept just now the command of such a disobedient and unbridled [*exfrenato*] army'. Ferrara was wise: the Spanish troops in Lombardy had mutinied briefly before their victory at Pavia, and thousands of their successors would mutiny again in Italy in 1537–8 (after the failed Provence campaign), in Germany in 1547 (after defeating the Schmalkaldic League) and in the Netherlands in 1553 (after the siege of Metz).[21]

Artillery also transformed naval warfare during Charles's reign. In the Mediterranean, oared galleys now deployed huge centreline guns either against targets ashore (as at La Goletta in 1535) or against each other (as at Preveza in 1538). At the same time, the operational range of galley fleets increased dramatically. The viceroy of Sicily observed wistfully in 1557 that:

> Things are different today from what they were thirty or forty years ago. Back then we talked about the Turks as if were talking about the Antipodes, but now they come so close and they are so familiar with the affairs of Christendom that what happens in Sicily is known as quickly in Constantinople as in Spain; and it is normal for their fleet to sail by this island every year.[22]

In the Atlantic, too, naval warfare became more complex as sailing warships began to deploy heavy artillery on their lower decks (thanks to the invention of the gun port). In 1545 the galleons of Francis and Henry VIII engaged in an artillery duel when a French expeditionary force attempted to

land on the Isle of Wight; and in 1558 bombardment from Spanish galleons offshore helped to defeat the French troops trapped on the sands near Gravelines.

These developments greatly increased the cost of naval operations. Unlike infantry or cavalry regiments, warships – whether galleons or galleys – could not be mobilized at the beginning of a campaign and demobilized at its end. Rulers needed either to maintain a standing navy or else find and fund someone else to do so. In 1522 the emperor managed to sail through the Atlantic to Spain only because Henry VIII loaned him ships from the Royal Navy; and in 1529, 1535, 1541 and 1543 he managed to cross the Mediterranean only because the galley fleet maintained by Andrea Doria escorted him.

James Tracy has calculated that these innovations in land and sea warfare increased the cost of Charles's campaigns from an annual average of 430,000 ducats in the 1530s to 900,000 ducats in the 1540s – more than double – with further increases in the 1550s. Moreover, whereas windfalls (above all the French ransom and the spoils of the Aztec and Inca empires) covered almost half the emperor's military expenditure in the 1530s, they produced less than one-fifth in the 1540s and even less in the 1550s, leading him to secure loans from bankers and to sequester his subjects' private property, creating a sovereign debt that could not be repaid. A few months after his accession, Philip II's financial advisers calculated that he owed over ten million ducats in his various dominions, and that he had committed all his revenues for the next four years to their repayment; shortly afterwards, for the first time in Spanish history, the treasury defaulted on its obligations and forcibly converted outstanding high-interest loans into low-interest bonds.[23] Charles's wars also involved an important opportunity cost: when the emperor campaigned in person, as he did for at least 600 days between 1532 and 1554, he found time for little else. According to a disgruntled diplomat travelling with Charles during his last campaign, 'In wartime His Majesty does not attend to other business.'[24]

The religious revolution unleashed by Martin Luther also periodically absorbed Charles's attention. The published *Acta* of each imperial Diet give some idea of the hours taken up by religious debates: according to a simple page count, 'Discussions with and about Luther' at Worms constituted more

than a quarter of the total business. The discussion of religious concessions at Regensburg in 1532 absorbed almost as much time, and crafting a religious formula acceptable to both the Lutherans and Catholics at the Diet of Augsburg in 1547–8 represented one-eighth of the total business.[25] Sometimes the emperor intervened in person (as he did at Worms in 1521); at other times he sat through the debates (as he did at Augsburg in 1530 while the Lutheran Confession was slowly read out); and, behind the scenes, he spent many hours feasting and hunting with the leading German princes in an effort to win their support for his religious programme. He also devoted precious time at summits with the pope and at audiences with his envoys, as well as in writing holograph letters, in order to win Rome's support for his religious initiatives.

Charles's efforts to silence Luther and his supporters failed in large part because Ottoman advances up the Danube repeatedly obliged him to authorize religious concessions in return for military assistance from Lutheran rulers. The Lutheran leaders fully realized their advantage: as Philip of Hesse informed Luther in 1529, since he and his colleagues 'are the greatest and chief source of help' to the Habsburgs in resisting the Turks, 'we thought we should all agree not to provide or give any help unless His Majesty first promised to leave us in peace and not to disturb us on account of the Gospel'.[26] This policy produced a series of concessions from Charles that allowed Lutheranism not only to prosper in the states where it already existed but also to expand. Only the conclusion of a five-year truce with the sultan in 1547 allowed the emperor to attempt the forcible reconciliation of Germany's religious divisions.

Charles also faced unprecedented administrative challenges in ruling his empire. In his remarkable study of supreme power and its pitfalls in the United States, *The impossible presidency*, Jeremi Suri suggested that sometimes large states become too complex for any one individual to handle. Specifically, Suri argued that Franklin Roosevelt, who 'built the postwar presidency' in America, was also 'the last to master it':

> The problem for Roosevelt's successors was too much power, too much responsibility, and too much temptation. Roosevelt was the last great president because the office was still small enough for him to control it, just barely. After him, the continued increase in

> presidential power exceeded executive capacity . . . [until] by the start of the 21st century, the inhuman demands of the office made it impossible to succeed as president . . . The pressure to react quickly and globally left little space for thought and creativity about policy.

It had become, in short, 'the impossible presidency'.[27] The surviving sources suggest a parallel between Charles and Roosevelt: the primary architect of the Habsburg Empire was also 'the last to master it'. He ruled, in effect, an impossible empire.

Although Charles's ceremonial entry as count of Flanders at Bruges in 1515 included pageantry that alluded to the various lands that he might inherit, nothing prepared him or the rest of Europe for the spate of territories that fell under his sceptre during the next few years. In 1516, Erasmus noted that 'Prince Charles is being sent for to take over several kingdoms (nine or ten they say)' in Spain and Italy; and, he added presciently (though in vain), 'I pray it may turn out well for our country and not only for the prince.'[28] Charles soon added both the Holy Roman Empire and the Aztec lands, creating a transatlantic state of unprecedented size, to which his lieutenants would annex the duchy of Milan, several provinces in the Netherlands and many more lands in the Americas, including the Inca Empire. Moreover, the population of all his European dominions grew throughout his reign – that of the kingdom of Naples doubled. These developments prevented Charles from turning to the recent past for inspiration – not even Charlemagne seven centuries before had controlled such extensive territories – and the absence of precedents helps to explain the apparently haphazard nature of his decision-making. Charles had no choice but to learn by trial (and sometimes by error).

In this he was not alone. In his pioneering book of 1953, Geoffrey Elton called the explosion of central government activity in England during the reign of Henry VIII the 'Tudor revolution in government', centred on the administrative innovations of Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, who served successively as Henry's chief minister. Four centuries earlier, the phenomenon had attracted the attention of Steven Vaughan, an English merchant and diplomat in the Netherlands. In 1534, Vaughan compared Cromwell's workload with that of Jean Carondolet, 'the emperor's chief counsillor in these parts' and predicted that 'the excellent mynds and wytts'

of both ministers would be ‘dulled with the contynued travayle’ caused by the rising tide of public affairs. This would leave them ‘lesse able and disposed to endure a long travayle in the prince’s causes and other matters’, and increase the risk that they would ‘hasteth [their] dethe byfore [their] tyme’.[29]

Gattinara would have strongly agreed with Vaughan – though he would no doubt have grumbled that Charles’s administrative habits unnecessarily increased the ‘travayle’ of his ministers. In a bitter memorandum in 1523 the Grand Chancellor complained that ‘ever since I entered your service, I have toiled to introduce proper order into your affairs, submitting to you several papers of advice on the subject’, but ‘it was never possible to make you deal with them [*ne fut jamays possible de vous reduisre a y entendre*]’. Evidently, the emperor neglected this paper, too, because shortly afterwards Gattinara composed another one, even more outspoken. ‘My heart is full of regret that it takes so long to decide most of the important matters that occur daily that either the situation has changed or the opportunity is lost,’ he began. ‘I cannot imagine where this failing originates, unless Your Majesty wants to follow the methods of the late Emperor Maximilian who also took too long to make up his mind, using the excuse that he lacked the money required. But Your Majesty cannot use the same excuse because of all the money at your disposal.’ Charles’s dangerous procrastination, Gattinara asserted, stemmed not from a lack of resources but from a failure to deploy effectively the ample resources at his disposal.[30]

MESSIANIC IMPERIALISM AND THE LIMITS OF THE POSSIBLE

Gattinara’s memoranda linked his master’s slothful decision-making with his Messianic Imperialism. According to the chancellor, the emperor chose to leave ‘everything unresolved in the expectation that God will always perform miracles in your affairs, as He has done until now; but this is very dangerous, because by leaving everything up to God one may well anger Him.’ Once again, Charles paid no attention. During the Tunis campaign of 1535 he claimed more than once that he served merely as God’s lieutenant and relied on the Creator to arrange a successful outcome; in autumn 1541 he persevered with his attack on Algiers, against the advice of his experts, ‘because weather lies in God’s hands’; and in autumn 1552 he likewise

decided to besiege Metz because ‘God will hold everything in His hand and guide me, and bring about a successful outcome’. Charles periodically turned to his confessors (and occasionally to a special committee of theologians) for reassurance that his actions and aspirations enjoyed divine favour, and they rarely disappointed him. His confessor Loaysa once promised him that ‘More than ever, I believe that Your Majesty will overcome all the present difficulties and that God will place all your enemies at your feet. Moreover, because it is God’s will that your victories come only after surmounting obstacles, Your Majesty must be patient and proceed with a joyous heart.’ On another occasion, after suggesting an alternative course of action, Loaysa backtracked and assured Charles that ‘if Your Majesty persists in following contrary advice (which I would regret, because I cannot see any advantage), I would be consoled by my belief that Your Majesty is guided by God in what you want, and the rest of us do not know what we are talking about’. Such reinforcement helps to explain why miracles formed an integral part of the strategic culture of Habsburg Spain.[31]

Charles’s Messianic vision had several consequences. At a basic level, the evidence of divine favour encouraged self-righteousness and inflexibility; it could also lead to imprudence and over-confidence. Antoine Perrenot once boasted that ‘in desperate situations, just when one least expects it, something happens that rescues His Majesty’; but this created a dangerous feed-back loop, in which the perceived miracles of the past strengthened the expectation that, despite the obstacles, more would follow.[32] In addition it discouraged making contingency plans: if God fought for the emperor, any attempt to plan for potential failure might be seen as evidence of a lack of faith. It also discouraged a willingness to abandon or even to adapt confession-based policies when they ran into difficulties, allowing his enemies time to coordinate their resources in order to thwart Charles’s strategic goals.

Despite his confidence in miracles, and his reliance on those who reinforced it, for most of his reign Charles heeded the advice of Erasmus in 1517: ‘A prince called on to reign over so many kingdoms ought to despise no man’s counsel zealously offered, and should then choose out of it all what he judges most worthy to be followed.’ Three decades later, Count

William of Nassau acknowledged that the emperor had indeed chosen his ministers ‘with no attention to family or wealth or estates, but only to experience and past achievements’; and he could have cited by way of illustration the careers of Adrian of Utrecht, Francisco de Los Cobos, Pedro de La Gasca, and many others whose merits lifted them from relative obscurity to prominence in imperial service.[33] Charles also wisely delegated many critical decisions to his lieutenants on the periphery of his empire, a practice that started early: in August 1516, puzzled by conflicting accounts of the situation in Castile, Charles sent two sets of instructions from Brussels to Cardinal Cisneros, his governor there, ‘so that you can use them according to your discretion and prudence’. The decision, Charles repeated, ‘rests with you’. In 1531 he likewise waived the restrictions on the powers delegated to his brother as his lieutenant in Germany: Ferdinand might disregard them ‘in matters of great importance’ whenever ‘time and circumstance’ did not allow him to consult the emperor first.[34]

Charles usually succeeded when he recognized the limits of the possible. In April 1532 he decided that ‘our plan for the year is to see to the defence of Christendom and to resist the Turks, recognizing that it will be impossible to take the offensive so soon’. The following year, when his sister Marie protested that she could not cope with all the challenges that faced her, Charles responded soothingly that ‘I have also had all these [negative] thoughts, as well as some others, but after chasing them away I have often found that I had the means to be able to do better, and cope with the tasks that faced me.’ He added: ‘Sometimes you just have to persevere and do what is possible, because no one is obliged to do the impossible. God does not want people to work themselves to death.’ As was his wont, Charles made the same point again later in the same document: ‘I can give you good advice on this, because I have experience. I don’t want to say that I do everything that I should – and I believe that few do so, or can do so – but we should do the best that our natural strength can stand. God does not require us to do more than is possible.’[35] On the last day of his meeting with the French royal family at Aigues Mortes in 1538, Charles said to the dauphin: ‘Sir: you and my son must not be as stupid as your father and I have been’; and the following year he reluctantly delayed the Mediterranean campaign he had planned with Venice and the papacy

because ‘Even though I am emperor, I can only do what is humanly possible, because I am only a man.’ In 1542 he informed Ferdinand that ‘the urgency of some public affairs means that I must do what is possible, not what I want’.[36]

The emperor meant what he said. In 1535 he abandoned other ventures in order to devote all his resources and his attention to the Tunis campaign because ‘we must adapt ourselves to the current situation and concentrate on the most pressing matters’. In 1552, realizing that he lacked the funds to maintain a garrison at Mahdia in north Africa, captured amid great fanfare two years before, he ordered its fortifications to be razed and abandoned; and three years later, when the Florentine ambassador doubted his declaration that he planned to retire to Spain, ‘His Majesty replied: “Yes, it’s true: that is still my intention. But with great plans, things can arise from one hour to the next that force you to give up what you had resolved to do.”’[37] Charles showed the same realism concerning words as he did towards deeds. When Marie complained that the Netherlands nobles levelled wounding criticisms at her, Charles replied that ‘I am so familiar with reproaches like these that I pay no attention to them.’ Likewise, when the English ambassador complained at an audience about the hostile sermons against his master delivered by Spanish clerics, Charles reminded him: ‘Prechers woll speke agaynst my sellff, when ever there is cause. That can not be let [stopped].’ When the ambassador persisted with his protest, Charles replied: ‘Kynges be not kinges of tonges, and if men gyve cause to be spoken off, thei woll be spoken off: there is no remedy.’[38] Charles ignored unwelcome praise as well as criticisms. During the coronation festivities in Bologna in 1530, Paolo Giovio, historian and the pope’s master of ceremonies, ‘told him in a loud voice, “Today, invincible king, you are called to the crown of Constantinople”’ – but, Giovio reported with regret, ‘At this His Majesty just smiled.’ Five years later, after the conquest of Tunis, Charles again ignored calls to sail against Constantinople and declared that he would proceed ‘in conformity with the season and the limits of the possible’.[39]

Henry Kissinger, the US National Security Advisor and Secretary of State in the 1970s, has claimed that 'In retrospect, all successful policies seem preordained. Leaders like to claim prescience for what has worked, ascribing to planning what usually starts as a series of improvisations.' Historians Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper agreed. Their impressive study, *Empires in world history*, noted that 'empires were not all alike; they created, adopted, and transmitted various repertoires of rule'. Moreover, 'an imperial repertoire was neither a bag of tricks dipped into at random nor a pre-set formula for rule. Faced with challenges day by day, empires improvised.'[40]

The diffuse nature of Charles's empire increased the need to improvise because, as Helmut G. Koenigsberger observed in 1958 (the fourth centenary of the emperor's death), Charles 'was no Alexander or Napoleon who had conquered his empire, but the hereditary and legitimate ruler of each of his states whose laws and customs he had sworn to maintain'. This meant that the emperor was often reactive, not proactive – and above all reactive to the priorities of the dominion where he resided.[41] Between 1522 and 1529, while confined to Spain, the sub-imperial agenda of the peninsula normally prevailed, whereas between 1543 and 1556, when he shuttled between Germany and the Netherlands, Charles often privileged issues important to his proconsuls and subjects there. Competition between various sub-imperial agendas could place the emperor under intense pressure. The 'Alternative' in 1544–5 offered one example of this, with the governing elites of Milan, the Netherlands and Spain providing incompatible advice on which part of his empire Charles should surrender to France (chapter 12); and the oscillations in his policy on the enslavement of native Americans, in response to the distinct agenda of the friars and the colonists, offer another (chapter 13). Nevertheless, despite the need to improvise, innovate and compromise, Charles's imperial repertoire included a pre-set formula consisting of four core elements: dynasty, chivalry, reputation and faith.

The emperor's dynastic commitment is easily demonstrated: he constantly sought ways to recover lands that had once belonged to his ancestors, especially to the dukes of Burgundy. He had demanded restitution of the whole inheritance at the treaty of Madrid in 1526, and

although he renounced most of his claims three years later in the treaty of Cambrai, in 1534 he assured his sister Eleanor, queen of France, that he 'would persevere in recovering the duchy of Burgundy, which is part of our ancient inheritance, and more important to us than Milan'. In 1539 an English diplomat deduced from Charles's conversations about grand strategy that 'he myndith more Geldre in his hert then he dothe Millan or all Italy'; and the following year, the emperor dangled before France 'the renunciation of all our rights and claims to the duchy of Burgundy, albeit they are well and justly founded in law', as if they were still worth something.[42]

Charles's fidelity to Burgundy included loyalty to its chivalric values. He believed that political problems could be solved by duels; that it was worth jousting to win a lady's smile; and that he might lead a crusade to recover Constantinople for Christendom. As Loaysa noted in 1532, 'you love honour a thousand times more than life and wealth'; and when eight years later Henry VIII demanded the immediate surrender of an Englishman in imperial service, whom the king regarded as a traitor, Charles angrily responded that even if he were himself a prisoner 'in the Towre of London, I wold not consent so to charge myn honour and my consciens' by sacrificing a faithful servant. Shortly afterwards, he told his confessor that 'the day that a man loses his honour, he should die – because he is now useless'.[43] Lastly, he always venerated the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece: his *Memoirs* included details on every Chapter over which he presided, and an illustrated manuscript of its statutes was one of the few works that he took with him to Yuste.[44]

Charles also loved reputation 'more than life and wealth'. His self-evaluation of 1525 obsessed about 'maintaining my reputation' and worried that 'since time is passing, and we are all going to die, I do not want to disappear from the world without leaving something memorable behind' (chapter 6). After he left Spain in 1529, although he paid lip service to the difficulties that faced his regent, the empress ('I am well aware of the problems that exist in those kingdoms . . .'), he always regarded the difficulties that he himself faced as superior because 'my honour and my life are at stake', so that failure to send him the troops and treasure that he demanded 'will place at great hazard and danger my person, my dominions,

and my reputation' – an unsubtle attempt to make the empress (and her advisers) feel personally responsible for any harm that befell him.[45] In 1543 he assured his son and heir that everything 'I have done has been necessary to guard my honour' and revealed that he planned to attack his enemies 'for the sake of my honour and my reputation, which is why I leave on such an uncertain venture' (chapter 11). The following year, as he prepared to invade France, Charles warned his ministers in Spain that if they did not immediately send him money, 'it will hazard not only the great sums already spent thus far but also our reputation, which is what we would resent most'. In 1551 he declared that 'we are so involved' in the siege of Parma 'that we could not abandon it without great loss of reputation'. The following year he insisted that Lutheran theologians must be allowed to speak at the council of Trent because to do otherwise 'would obviously imperil my reputation, which is the same as the service of God'; and he entered the trenches around Metz in person because 'things were not going well there, so that my reputation has become involved'.[46]

Finally, it is easy to document the emperor's solid faith and its impact on his political choices. Throughout his life he performed daily devotions and he retired to a monastery each Easter and also after his abdication. He made good on the promise he made on the day after he confronted Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521: 'I am entirely determined to dedicate my kingdoms and lordships, my friends, my body, my blood, my life and my soul' to combat heresy, because to permit 'heresy or a diminution of the Christian religion to rest in the hearts of men through our own negligence would bring permanent dishonour on us and our successors'. In 1540, when the English ambassador requested at an audience the release of some English merchants arrested by the Inquisitors of Toledo, Charles flatly refused because 'I cannot lett [prevent] the Inquisition. This is a thing that towchith our faythe', adding, 'I assure yow I woll not altre my inquisition.' ('*My* inquisition'!)[47] The emperor's fear 'that he would go to Hell if he permitted [a given] practice to continue' also led him to reject several policies that would have brought him important political advantages, notably granting permanent toleration to the Lutherans of Germany and granting encomiendas to the American colonists in perpetuity. In 1554, 'for the discharge of our conscience', he instructed his son to examine the

justice of his occupation of both Piacenza and Navarre. The following year he claimed that he had decided to abdicate ‘because I know that I cannot fulfil what I owe to my conscience’.[48]

DO IT YOURSELF

Charles’s policies displayed one more core element throughout his life: confidence that he alone could solve the problems that faced his empire. Admittedly, he occasionally expressed misgivings – not only in his self-analysis of 1525 (‘until now I have done nothing that brings me honour’) and his instructions of 1543 (‘I am going to undertake something so uncertain that I do not know what benefit or effect it will bring’), but also in 1552 as he fled from Innsbruck (‘God may be angry with me’ and might punish him for pride because he had composed his *Memoirs*) – but such doubts were relatively rare.[49] The emperor’s self-confidence manifested itself most clearly in his resort to ‘executive diplomacy’: face-to-face meetings with other monarchs to resolve outstanding disputes. To this end he met Henry VIII four times; Clement VII twice and his successor Paul III three times; and Francis I also three times (although since the latter was his prisoner in Madrid in 1525–6, it hardly counted). Not everyone approved of executive diplomacy – in 1519, Chièvres vetoed an invitation from the French king to a meeting, on the grounds that Duke John of Burgundy had been murdered when responding to a similar invitation a century before; in 1525–6, Gattinara urged his master not to negotiate directly with Francis while in captivity; and in 1543, after a papal summit, Loaysa tutted: ‘Experience has taught us that little advantage or reputation comes from these meetings’ – but the emperor persisted. Although monarchs could continue ‘to declare their wishes and intentions to each other by means of their ministers’, he believed that a face-to-face meeting between them ‘was the true and best means’ to settle outstanding issues.[50]

Although Charles eventually abandoned summit diplomacy, he continued to travel: indeed between 1529 and 1550 he was almost constantly on the move, covering thousands of kilometres (see Map 1). María José Rodríguez-Salgado has speculated that Charles enjoyed his travels because they allowed him to appear:

> . . . ever the knight in shining armour to his hard-pressed regents and governors. As one chronicler put it, his presence was looked for with as much desire as parched land longs for rain. Charles was sustained by the universal belief that his presence or his time alone would solve the most excruciating problems. The responsibility was great but so was the sense of achievement and worth. Fired with adrenalin he would rush from internal political crisis to war and back again.

This judgement seems too harsh. As Horst Rabe and Peter Marzahl have noted: ‘Rule was as yet no abstract concept’ in Charles’s day. ‘It was not a body of rights and duties that could be delegated easily.’ Rather, ‘Rule meant the concrete and personal demonstration of power and authority. Therefore a ruler’s absence potentially enfeebled or even endangered his authority’, whereas ‘the actual presence of the ruler remained a political fact of the utmost importance. Substitute arrangements were far too often uncertain and remained insufficient.’[51]

Charles himself never doubted that his physical presence made the critical difference between success and failure in his ventures. In February 1529 he informed his Spanish subjects that he must leave Spain for Italy because ‘my ministers there advise me that only my presence can remedy the situation’ and ensure that ‘Christendom and what God has given me will not be lost in my time’. In letters written shortly afterwards ‘from the royal galley’ in Barcelona harbour, he repeated that it would be impossible ‘to end the wars in progress and the problems that face Christendom without our presence’ in Italy. Two years later, he informed the empress that unless he remained in northern Europe (instead of returning to Spain as she asked), ‘all the evil that happens would be my fault, and I would believe that it happened because I did not do enough’.[52]

Paradoxically, rushing ‘from internal political crisis to war and back again’ brought other benefits. Successful leaders must carve out time from their schedules for reflection and creativity, and travelling allowed Charles to fulfil this need. His secret instructions to his son in 1543 provide a rare insight into this process. The emperor embarked on his galley fleet in Barcelona on 1 May, but the following day bad weather forced him to take refuge in the small port of Palamos, and between then and 6 May, isolated

from the normal press of business, he composed and revised 48 sheets of detailed advice for Philip, written entirely in his own hand and alone. Charles's frequent hunting expeditions brought similar benefits: apart from keeping him fit (at an audience in 1547, the nuncio told him that his two weeks of 'hunting and the country air have done us good, and helped us recover our colour and strength'), it gave him time to reflect on the problems he faced and how best to solve them. Although the administrative benefits derived from his leisure activities are hard to document, it cannot be coincidence that Charles often took a series of decisions just after he returned from hunting.[53] Moreover, since he never travelled or hunted alone, the emperor's outdoor activities provided opportunities to bond with members of his entourage and dazzle them.

CREATING CHARISMA

In his path-breaking study of the role of ideology in sustaining the Roman Empire – a subject that intrigued Charles and his ministers – Clifford Ando argued that the power wielded by Augustus and his successors rested to a remarkable degree on personal charisma: the emperors manipulated messages and media to achieve a consensus among members of the elite, encouraging the perception that they were participants in the imperial venture rather than mere subjects.[54] Charles, too, used his personal charisma to create consensus across his empire, and like Augustus he began with his extended family, favouring not only his siblings, nieces and nephews, but also members of his household. In the Netherlands, he granted pensions to his first wet-nurse, Barbe Servels, and to the mothers of two of his illegitimate children, Jeanne van der Gheynst and Barbara Blomberg, as well as providing jobs for members of their families. In Spain, he publicly honoured his first preceptors: in 1519 he granted Juan de Anchieta an annual salary for life, even though he was then 'too old' to serve at court, 'because of the many excellent services the said Juan has performed for us'; and in 1523, Charles appointed Luis Cabeza de Vaca bishop of the Canaries, promoting him in 1530 to Salamanca and making much of him on his visit to the city four years later.[55]

Such gracious acts could create lifelong devotion among recipients. The ingenious inventor from Cremona, Janello Torriani, 'told the emperor one

day that he owed more to him than to his natural parents, because the latter had merely given him a short life whereas the emperor would make him immortal'. In 1548 the count of Buren, commander of the Netherlands contingent that had crossed the Rhine to reach Charles at Ingolstadt two years before, learned that he only had a few hours to live and immediately sent for his closest colleagues in the imperial entourage, as well as his finest clothes and his insignia of the Golden Fleece. He then called for a 'fine goblet' (perhaps the one presented to him by Charles that depicted the Rhine crossing), drank his master's health, made a speech thanking him for all his favours, and 'wrote with his own hand two entire sheets to the emperor' before he died. In 1550, Fray Domingo de Soto, back in Spain after serving eighteen months as Charles's confessor, assured Secretary of State Francisco de Eraso 'that I have never in my life felt such deep love [*tan entrañable amor*] as I do' for the emperor and that 'the modesty and sweetness of his conversation gives me an infinite desire to see him again and serve him'. Two years later, Soto assured Eraso that news of the emperor's flight from Germany 'has truly awakened a great desire in me to go and die with him, if only my journey would do some good'.[56] Some held up Charles's behaviour as an example for others. In January 1552, Perrenot rejected the request of a Spanish bishop to leave the council of Trent and go home on the grounds that he was semi-paralyzed with gout, because 'His Majesty himself suffers from several maladies, especially gout, and he believes that if someone is ill he can find a cure wherever he may be.' The following October, during the siege of Metz, Marie rejected a request from William of Orange to leave his unit on the French frontier 'because of the bad weather'; instead he should 'follow the example of His Majesty, and of so many excellent nobles with him, who remain in the field despite the contrary weather'.[57]

Charles's efforts to project an imperial charisma drew strength from the fact that many of his subjects shared both his values and his outlook. In the Americas, the chronicles written by the Spanish conquistadors invoked God, on average, three times in every thousand words: God gave them strength, courage, consolation, inspiration, aid, support, victory and health; He delivered, preserved, rewarded, foresaw and forgave; He led, saved, wished and directed. The only words used more frequently in the chronicles

of conquest were ‘war’, ‘gold’ and, above all, ‘the king’ or its equivalents (‘His Majesty’, ‘emperor’ and ‘royal’), which appeared eight times in every thousand words. In Europe, Gattinara constantly urged his master to place God first, and his own conduct provided a striking practical example: in August 1517, just before Charles left the Netherlands for Spain, his future chancellor entered the Carthusian convent of Scheut, a ducal foundation just outside the walls of Brussels, and spent seven months secluded there to fulfil a vow. Even hard-nosed merchant bankers began their business letters with ‘Jesus’ and the sign of the cross, peppered the contents with ‘God willing’, and ended ‘Christ be with you’. The *Memoirs* of Fery de Guyon, a professional soldier from Burgundy, described the multinational armies in which he served as ‘the emperor’s men’, never happier than when fighting ‘the infidel’. Guyon devoted several pages to ‘one of the best tournaments ever seen’ (staged by the marquis del Vasto in Milan) and included details on the pilgrimage he undertook with three companions from the imperial court to Santiago de Compostela, ‘witnessing many fine devout acts along the way’.[58]

Many contemporaries also lionized Charles. In Spain, the Cortes of Castile assured him in 1523 that ‘what comes from the mouth of Your Majesty comes from the mouth of God, who placed you here in His place’; three years later, after hearing of the Ottoman victory at Mohács, some of his Castilian subjects affirmed that ‘Your Imperial Majesty is not only lord of the Christian religion but of the whole world’; and in 1528 one of his Spanish vassals begged the Creator to protect and prosper Charles’s cause ‘for ever, making you lord of the world’, while an obsequious diplomat in Rome claimed that some people ‘no longer believe in God, but rather in Your Majesty’.[59] In Italy, Ludovico Ariosto included in his most famous poem, *Orlando furioso* (*Angry Roland*), set in the time of Charlemagne, a prophecy that Charles, ‘the wisest and the most just emperor that there had been or ever would be since Augustus’, would one day ‘rule the world’, because God ‘wants there to be only one flock and one shepherd’. In the Netherlands, the chamber of Rhetoric at Leiden might have won the international sycophancy stakes with their entry for a competition to identify ‘Who has won the most noble and powerful victories?’ They answered ‘Charles V’ and their verse play included the figures of Jupiter

with his eagle, Hercules with his columns and Jason with the Golden Fleece – but Charles surpassed them all.[60]

Many shared other core beliefs of their master, including the conviction that only Charles's presence could save them from catastrophe. In 1548 the Cortes of Castile declared that 'the presence here of our king and natural lord is of such importance that all other resources are of less weight'; six years later, a lawyer from Arras opined that the appearance of his sovereign, mounted and at the head of his army, 'encouraged everyone' who saw him and 'contributed to the retreat of the French'.[61] Some shared Charles's ability to recall ancient injustices and injuries and seek revenge: when the French garrison of Hesdin surrendered in 1553, the same lawyer from Arras noted with satisfaction that the prisoners included the grandson 'of Mr. Robert de la Marck, whose defiance of the emperor started the war in the year 1521'.[62] Others detected and denounced the menace of heresy everywhere. The Spanish bishop of Venezuela warned in 1535 that 'Your Majesty should not permit any Germans to come over here', especially not 'those of low degree, because we have found that some of those in this province have followed the opinions of the heretic Martin Luther': although he only provided one name, the bishop had identified a development likely to grab the emperor's attention.[63] Others still pleaded their conscience as a reason for making difficult policy choices: in 1537, Charles's lieutenant in Lombardy begged him to moderate his tax demands on the duchy 'to satisfy my conscience', and a decade later the last testament of his successor pleaded for repayment of the loans contracted in the emperor's name 'for the unburdening of the testator's soul'.[64] When Charles deployed similar rhetoric, therefore, many members of his audience were already programmed to receive.

A GAME OF GLOBAL CHESS

In an essay about Charles first published in 1966, Fernand Braudel called on modern historians to imagine the emperor engaged in 'a long and difficult game of global chess, so let us try to put ourselves in the player's seat'. It was, Braudel stressed, 'a chess game that did not follow the normal rules', because Charles's opponents, foreign and domestic, determined many of his moves and forced him to choose where he should go, what he

should spend, and how he should attack. By the time of the emperor's abdication, Braudel deemed, he had largely failed in the Mediterranean; neither won nor lost against France; clearly won in Italy and the Americas, and apparently also in England and the Low Countries; and ensured, for better or worse, that his son would not inherit his German problems. Nevertheless, Braudel cautioned, 'Politics is like Penelope's weaving: it never ends': two months after Charles's death, Philip ceased to be king of England, but six months later France concluded a humiliating peace and soon lapsed into civil war.[65]

In 2000, Michèle Escamilla, one of the few historians since Braudel to draw up a balance sheet of the reign, also suggested that 'since a full global assessment apparently remains so difficult to establish, we should attempt a series of assessments by region'. Let us take up her invitation, starting in the Netherlands where Charles's reign began and ended. The emperor's constant fiscal demands, and the devastation caused by his wars, drained resources and sparked some rebellions; but his piecemeal acquisition of provinces to the east of those he had inherited brought political unity and improved defensive capacity. Without Habsburg resources to defend them, the Burgundian Netherlands would surely have succumbed to French aggression and lost their independence. Instead, all three modern Benelux countries can claim Charles as their founder.[66]

The state of Germany changed dramatically between Charles's election as king of the Romans and his abdication, largely (as Friedrich Edelmayer has observed) because of 'the religious problem. All the other problems that faced the Empire during these thirty-six years either stemmed from the Lutheran Reformation or were related to it' – with one exception: the emperor's decision in 1530–1 to support the election of his brother Ferdinand rather than his own son Philip as king of the Romans, and therefore his successor as emperor. This presaged the division of his dominions, and after acrimonious discussions about the succession in 1550–1, Ferdinand succeeded in turning Germany into a pluri-confessional state with a fragile balance between the rival blocks: the first of its kind anywhere in the world.[67]

Italy likewise changed dramatically in the course of Charles's reign. The peace treaties negotiated by Gattinara in 1529 ended the internecine wars

that had racked the north of the peninsula for decades, and also effectively terminated French claims to Naples. Six years later the emperor annexed the contentious duchy of Milan, on the extinction of its native dynasty, and eventually decreed that it would pass, together with Spain and the rest of Spanish Italy, to his son Philip. Taken together, these successes guaranteed Spanish control of the Italian peninsula for a century, and of southern Italy for even longer.

Charles also transformed Spain, and especially Castile. He became the first monarch since Visigothic times to rule all of Spain, and thus played a crucial role in furthering the process of unification begun by his Trastámara predecessors; and he also declared uncompromisingly that Castile 'is the chief among our kingdoms'. In economic terms, the consequences proved disastrous. Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora has calculated that the taxes paid by Castile tripled during Charles's reign, producing in all eleven million ducats, almost all of which 'ended up with the bankers of Augsburg, Genoa and the Netherlands, who used it to raise the loans with which Charles funded policies that were often contrary to the interests of those who paid the bills'. Moreover, the emperor left huge debts that would force his son to declare a state bankruptcy just after his accession.[68]

The emperor's call for extreme measures against all those accused of heresy (chapter 16) also transformed Spain. Two weeks before his death, his regent signed a proclamation that forbade 'printing or owning any book prohibited by the Holy Office', as well as 'printing any book without a licence', and 'circulating any book in manuscript'. The following year, Inquisitor-General Valdés issued a Catalogue of prohibited books that listed almost 700 titles, almost half of them in vernacular languages, including works by Jean Glapion, Bartolomé Carranza and Francisco de Borja – all members of Charles's inner circle – as well as 'any and all sermons, letters, treatises, prayers and any manuscripts that quote or discuss the Holy Scripture or the sacraments'.[69] The climate of fear and uncertainty created in Castile by these and other measures caused the flight of several authors whose works appeared on the Index – including Borja, who had recently consoled Queen Joanna at Tordesillas as well as Charles at Yuste. The future saint fled to Portugal in 1559 and then, when summoned to Rome two years later, traversed Spain incognito, fearful that he might follow

Carranza into prison.[70] The spate of arrests and accusations in 1558–9 meant that (in the words of one of Philip II's confidants): 'Before long we will no longer know who to call Christian and who to call heretic.' Henceforth, he opined, 'it is better to keep quiet'.[71] Although these harsh measures prevented the spread of Protestantism in Spain – there would be little circulation of heretical books; and although the Inquisition continued its vigorous persecution of Protestants in both Aragon and Castile, almost all were foreigners – they also prevented much intellectual innovation.

In Spanish America, finally, although Charles bears some responsibility for the dramatic decline of the native population in the decades after first contact, he ruthlessly disciplined the men who had carved out an empire for him, including Hernán Cortés and the Pizarro brothers: once they had triumphed, Charles either marginalized or eliminated them, gaining for himself permanent access to the resources of the continent to be used to fund his dynastic goals in Europe. He also enacted legislation that offered some protection to the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas against those seeking to colonize them, and funded schools to provide them with free education.

THE POISONED CHALICE

Charles's greatest failure lay elsewhere. According to Sir Thomas Wyatt in 1538, the emperor realized that his dominions 'lie farr off one from another', but nevertheless hoped that 'as he hath hitherto with labor and trauaile gouerned them, so to continew them and that his sonn (or thei that he shall leaue them to) shall if thei will kepe them, learne to be industrious and to think that thei haue them of God, that in such case will woorke His pleasour' – in other words he hoped that, with diligence and divine favour, his empire would survive intact after his death.[72]

Charles's ambitious goal overlooked two factors. First, as the emperors of Rome had discovered, 'charismatic authority possesses the inherent flaw that its holder cannot have a true heir precisely because of his own exceptional nature', and Charles's heir proved a disappointment. Prince Philip alienated many of his father's allies and subjects on his Grand Tour in 1548–9, and for some months he and Charles were not on speaking terms (chapter 14). The same thing happened again after Philip became king of

England (chapter 15). The emperor himself was partly to blame for this disappointment, because his relentless micro-management fostered in the prince an obsessive (or, as Freud would have said, an ‘anal’) personality, ill-suited to ruling a global empire. In the 1560s, Philip’s inflexibility would provoke major rebellions by important groups of his subjects in both Spain and the Netherlands, and for much of the 1570s he fought major wars on two fronts.[73]

A second endemic weakness stemmed from Charles’s tenacious policy of matrimonial imperialism. The emperor acquired most of his European dominions as the result of endogamy: intermarriage over several generations among a very few dynasties. Although the practice enabled his son to unite Spain and Portugal, it also produced long-term disadvantages. Intermarriage had already reduced the dynastic gene pool before Charles’s birth: Mary of Burgundy had only six great-grandparents instead of eight, and her son Philip married his third cousin Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, themselves descended from numerous intermarriages among the branches of the House of Trastámara. Even taken together, however, this created an ‘inbreeding coefficient’ for Charles of only 0.037; but his marriage to his double-cousin, repeated by his son Philip, led to a dramatic increase. With only six great-grandparents, instead of the normal sixteen, Philip’s son and heir Don Carlos boasted an inbreeding coefficient of 0.211, almost the same as the offspring of a brother and sister, or a parent and child (0.25).[74]

Historians like Pedro Mexía and Prudencio de Sandoval were justified in seeing the emperor’s ‘lineage’ as his greatest asset, but neither they nor Charles apparently paused to question whether the failure of at least five of Isabella’s pregnancies to produce a healthy child might reflect the impaired fertility that often accompanies the marriage of very close relatives. A crisis in the empress’s own immediate family provided a chilling warning: four of King John III’s children and four of his siblings (including the empress) died between 1537 and 1540, leaving as his heir Prince John who, even at three years old, ‘although he hears and understands well enough, cannot talk yet. They say here that *if he survives* he will soon start to talk’, but ‘he is so weak’ that María Manuela seemed likely to succeed. And how did the Habsburg and Avis dynasties address this crisis? By arranging the marriage

of both María Manuela and Prince John to double cousins: Charles's children, Philip and Joanna. In the event each couple had only one child – Don Carlos and King Sebastian respectively – both of whom died without issue.[75]

The few contemporaries who pointed out the dangers of such inbreeding were ignored. In 1568, Pope Pius V refused to grant the necessary dispensation for Philip II to marry his niece Ana, daughter of his sister María and their cousin Maximilian, informing him pointedly that 'we have seen that bad results always follow from these marriages of the first degree' – an unsubtle reference to Philip's decision to imprison his son Don Carlos earlier that year because of his 'natural defects' – but the king went ahead and married Ana anyway. Only one of their children survived infancy: the future Philip III.[76] Two generations later, during discussion of a possible marriage between Louis XIV of France and his double cousin Maria Theresa of Spain, one diplomat reported that 'the talk turned to hunting dogs, and I said with a smile that our masters were already closely related and that hunters recognized that if you want strong dogs you must mix pedigrees'. Yet again such reservations made no difference: the marriage took place, and only one of the couple's six children survived infancy.[77]

In addition to these high biological costs, matrimonial imperialism created serious political problems. On the one hand, some of the territories acquired through incest lay far from the centre of government and possessed their own enduring strategic rivalries and political agendas; on the other hand, the configuration of Charles's empire posed a passive yet palpable threat to some of his neighbours. The Polish historian Władysław Pochieca has argued that the election of Charles as king of the Romans in 1519 marked 'the point after which maintaining the balance of power in Europe became the defining problem of western politics' because Habsburg hegemony was unacceptable to the international community. The political history of western Europe for the next two centuries therefore revolved around attempts to separate the various territories accumulated by Charles.[78]

Many contemporary observers agreed. Upon hearing about the imperial occupation of Lombardy after the victory at Pavia in 1525, Cardinal Wolsey pointed out that France was now 'envyronned on 3 parts, and scituated, as it

wer, in the mydde of th'emperors countryes', so that whenever Charles or his successors decided to attack, the French would 'be inforced to stond at their defence on the said 3 parts'; and for the next two centuries, French foreign policy aimed to break what it perceived as a Habsburg stranglehold.[79] The papacy also felt encircled by Charles's territories: Sardinia to the west, Naples and Sicily to the south, Milan and other imperial fiefs to the north. Habsburg troops captured the papal capital in 1526 and 1527; Rome normally depended on grain exports from Sicily; and the commerce of the Papal States by sea and land lay at the mercy of the surrounding Habsburg bases. Papal support for Charles's crusades against infidels, whether in the Mediterranean or Hungary, or against heretics in Germany, therefore tended to remain muted because further imperial successes might tighten the dynasty's grip on central Italy.

But what was Charles supposed to do? He could scarcely decline the windfalls produced by the carefully crafted matrimonial policies of his forebears; and the only serious discussion about trading land for peace – the Alternative of 1544 – revealed that neither his subjects nor his advisers could agree on which territories should be traded. That is perhaps why, four years later, the emperor's Political Testament instructed his son never to surrender any of his possessions because 'if you should show weakness in any part, it will open the door to bringing everything back into question . . . It will be better to hold on to everything than to let yourself be forced later to defend the rest, and run the risk of losing it.'[80]

Royall Tyler, one of the emperor's modern biographers, postulated other deleterious consequences of the imperial election. Charles borrowed recklessly to become king of the Romans, and thereafter he deployed immense resources in Germany to fight both the Lutherans and the Turks, only to find that 'the means at his disposal to face the demands upon him always fell short of what he needed to exploit a victory or a diplomatic success'. Tyler then asked rhetorically: 'Debt and heresy, heresy and debt! How could he have avoided them?'[81] But once again, what was Charles supposed to do? Neither of the major problems he would face in Germany – the spread of Protestantism and the advance of the Turks – were evident at the time of his election. No previous ruler of Germany had faced

simultaneously international threats from the Turks and the French as well as a domestic challenge from the Lutherans, as Charles did after 1521.

SUCCESS IS NEVER FINAL

Antoine Perrenot once reminded a foreign ambassador that although his master might ‘occasionally be pinched for money’, because ‘he rules so many realms, including Peru’, he could always overmatch the king of France, ‘who has just one kingdom’.[82] This boast, though true, missed a crucial point: although Charles could indeed overmatch each of his enemies in isolation – the pope in 1526 and 1527; the sultan in 1532 and 1535; France in 1529 and 1544; and the German Protestants in 1547 – sooner or later the vanquished formed a hostile alliance that forced Charles to embark on yet another campaign. The emperor may have expected that victory at Pavia would lead to a favourable peace that would allow him to travel to Germany to extirpate the followers of Martin Luther, and then to Hungary to lead the forces of Christendom against the Turks; but instead, Francis concluded the anti-Habsburg League of Cognac with the pope, England, several Italian states and eventually allied with the Ottoman sultan. Sooner or later a balance of power nullified each of Charles’s victories.

Many years later, the Lutheran magistrate Bartholomew Sastrow interrupted the narrative of his *Memoirs* to highlight ‘Emperor Charles’s good and bad fortune’, a contrast that he attributed to the religious policy imposed at the Armed Diet of 1547–8:

> Let my children bear in mind the great success attained by the emperor, and how at the summit of that prosperity, when everything proceeded according to his desires, he thought he could break his promise to undertake nothing against the Augsburg confession. For love of the pope, His Majesty contemplated storming Luther’s safe stronghold [D. Luthers Veste Burg]. From that moment, the emperor’s great good fortune turned into misfortune and all his enterprises failed.

One day at Yuste, Charles himself mused that he should have abdicated ‘after the end of the German war’ because then he ‘would not have lost

reputation thereby, unlike the present time because of subsequent events'.[83]

For once the Lutheran burgomaster and the Catholic emperor agreed: until 1548, Charles had scored one success after another in both Europe and the Americas. It is easy to overlook the magnitude of this achievement, and the odds against it. In May 1532, as Charles recovered after being thrown by his horse and prepared to do battle with both the German Lutherans and the Turkish army and navy, Loaysa wrote: 'I beg Your Majesty to be cheerful and not oppressed by the scale of the problems surrounding you. Because they are very difficult, and beyond the ability of human force, you may be sure that your good intentions and firm faith will triumph over them gloriously.'[84] Shortly afterwards, the emperor rose from his sickbed and overcame all the immediate challenges. So why did he fail to do the same after 1550?

Some contemporaries considered failure inevitable. In the spring of 1542, in the wake of the emperor's disastrous Algiers expedition, a French minister asked his English colleague a series of rhetorical questions that suggested that Charles ruled a doomed empire:

> England is a kingdom perpetuel, and so is Ffraunce. Our masters, their childern, their succession may royne foreuer; we be undir one clyme and of one complexion, we be at hande one to another. Th'empereur is but one, and whenne he is dead sum Almayn [some German] may be empereur, I wote [know] not who. Truth it is Spayne is a kingdome, but what is that alone? . . . And as for Italy, when th'empereur is dead who shalbe master?[85]

None of these predictions came true. Spain alone sufficed to make Philip II the most powerful ruler of his generation; and although the emperor failed to pass all his dominions on to his son, as he had wished, they all remained under Habsburg rule. Moreover, although the creation of a restricted gene pool and the emergence of an adverse balance of power ultimately thwarted Charles's ambitions, better management could have delayed the fragmentation of his empire – above all had he continued the policy of devolution that underlay his earlier successes. Instead, after 1548 he ignored or rejected advice that he did not like, accepting only opinions and evidence that reinforced his own views. Groupthink eventually permeated

all senior levels of the imperial government. In September 1551, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the imperial ambassador in Rome and normally a man of resolutely independent views, sent the emperor a review of potential threats to the general council at Trent, including the risk that the German Lutherans might use force against it. Mendoza did not rule this out totally – 'certainly it is possible, because everything is possible' – but 'we can assume it is impossible because the authority of Your Majesty is so great in Germany, more than ever before because the Lutherans lack leaders'. This is exactly the message that the emperor and his immediate entourage wanted to hear, and so they accepted it even though (unfortunately for them) it proved mistaken.[86] Groupthink, reinforced by the conviction that either Caesar's luck or a miracle would always make the impossible possible, deprived Charles of his advantage in Germany and fatally undermined the integrity of his empire.

In 1945, Johan Huizinga claimed that 'The entire political career of Charles V amounted to little more than an initial series of unexpected strokes of luck, followed by an almost uninterrupted series of errors, short-sighted acts and failures.' Fifty years later, John Robertson flatly rejected this judgment: 'The Monarchy of Charles V recast the mould of European politics. Modern historians may wish to emphasize the limits upon the effective exercise of his authority', but 'the sheer extent of his inheritance made possible monarchy on a scale not seen since the Roman Empire'.[87] Through a combination of good luck and superior resources, Charles managed to preserve and improve his international position. Of the three 'yonge pwyssante prynces' who in 1515 had seemed likely to wage 'warre infynyte' – Charles, Henry and Francis – Charles alone remained until in 1554, seven years after the death of both his rivals, he led his army on a final successful campaign against France, and his son became king of England. Failure, like success, is relative. Despite his frustrated ambitions, Charles wielded greater power for longer than any other European ruler before or since, and the extent of his dominions on both sides of the Atlantic far exceeded those of any predecessor. By those metrics, the ones by which he himself might have chosen to be judged, his successes far outweighed his failures.

But why should we accept the emperor's preferred metrics? In 1972 Fernand Braudel issued a mischievous warning about the risks that attend the biographers of eminent sixteenth-century figures:

> In writing of him or her, will we not unconsciously write too much about ourselves, about our own times? Erasmus as portrayed by Marcel Bataillon resembles Marcel Bataillon. I myself have spent more than forty years in the company of Philip II. I have tried to be careful to keep my distance from a complex person, but increasingly I find myself attempting to excuse him, no doubt in the hope of understanding him and thus bringing him back to life.[88]

Have I likewise attempted to excuse Charles in the hope of understanding him better and thus bringing him back to life? Have I always kept a proper distance from my subject? Unlike his son Philip, who spent a large part of his life secluded in his study, Charles relished the spotlight. He generated a multitude of sources himself, and others produced even more: an abundance of material therefore exists by which to judge him. Although by twenty-first century standards his personal defects and shortcomings tarnish his image, the emperor's contemporaries were surely correct to deem him an extraordinary man who achieved extraordinary things.

APPENDICES

The validity of two sources on which this book relies has been questioned: the *Memoirs* written by the emperor, and a digit detached from one of his hands. Although both lack a clear chain of provenance that leads back to Charles, the available evidence supports their authenticity. By contrast, I reject as false a third source on the emperor that others have regarded as authentic: a set of ‘Last Instructions’ prepared for his son Philip in 1556. I also conclude that Charles did not sire an illegitimate child during his first visit to Spain in 1517–20, as claimed by Manuel Fernández Álvarez and other historians. My rationale for each choice appears in the following appendices.

APPENDIX I: THE EMPEROR’S *MEMOIRS*

At some point between 1620 and 1791 the French Royal Library in Paris acquired a manuscript entitled ‘Historia do invictissimo emperador Carlos quinto, rey de Hespanha, composta por sua Mag. Cesarea . . . Traduzida da lingoa francesa e do proprio original. Em Madrid. Anno 1620’. It contains sixty-eight folios written in a neat hand, with topic summaries in the margin in another hand, and it covers the years between 1515 and 1548. Written in the third person, like the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar (and like the autobiography of Gattinara and other Renaissance figures), the manuscript was originally given the shelfmark BNF *Fonds français* 10,230, and is now BNF *Ms. Port.* 61. It has been digitized and can be consulted at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10036839z. But is it genuine?

In 1559, Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, Charles's librarian and one of his first biographers, stated categorically that 'like Christ, Socrates and Alexander, our Emperor Charles never himself wrote Commentaries about his deeds'. In his edition of BNF *Ms. Port.* 61, published in 1989, Vicente Cadenas y Vicent opined that 'there are so many doubts that no historian should accept' as authentic 'this translation of a document whose veracity cannot be proved'. Specifically, 'The watermark of the paper does not correspond to anything from Spain or Portugal', and 'the arrival of the volume in Paris is shrouded in mystery, so that no one knows how it reached the Royal Library'.[1]

These objections are all easily refuted. The watermark of the paper used in *Ms. Port.* 61 resembles one from Perpignan, the second city of Catalonia, dated 1595; and the volume probably entered the Royal Library of France in 1668, along with other manuscripts from the collection of Cardinal Mazarin, leading adviser to Charles's great-granddaughter, the regent Anne of Austria. It had certainly entered the collection before 1791, when it became the property of the French Republic, because it bears royal stamps.[2] The eminent bibliographer, Benito Sánchez Alonso, suggested that the manuscript had been prepared in Madrid in 1620 for Manuel de Moura, marquis of Castel Rodrigo, and came to the Royal Library of France together with other items in the Castel Rodrigo collection acquired by Mazarin.[3]

The claim by Snouckaert van Schouwenburg that 'Charles never himself wrote Commentaries about his deeds' is conclusively refuted by a letter written by the emperor's chamberlain Guillaume van Male in July 1550: 'During his free time while sailing up the Rhine' the previous month, 'the emperor undertook to write his travels and campaigns from the year 1515 until now.' Van Male stated that although he had provided his master with some 'texts and suggestions', the emperor wrote largely from memory and that, still assisted by van Male, he revised his autobiography in Augsburg later that year.[4] José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has suggested that this venture formed part of a 'great autobiographical enterprise', perhaps modelled on the projects of self-aggrandisement undertaken by his grandfather Maximilian (p. 28 above), or perhaps intended to guide the professional historians he hoped would write his life.[5]

A note in Spanish inserted at the beginning of BNF *Ms. Port.* 61 states that Charles took his *Memoirs* with him to Innsbruck in 1551 but sent them to his son in Spain the following spring when he feared that a Lutheran army might capture him and his possessions.[6] The emperor may have intended to resume work on his *Memoirs* at Yuste, because his small library there contained several historical works, and his few visitors included two historians, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga; but if so, the sudden onset of his last illness frustrated his plans. The emperor was certainly reunited with his manuscript at Yuste, because van Male complained bitterly that when his master died, 'Luis Quijada took from him, almost by force, the *Memoirs* that he had composed with His Majesty'. The Inventory Post-Mortem of Charles's goods mentioned 'A black velvet folder of papers belonging to Guillaume van Male, containing some important sealed papers, taken by Luis Quijada to be delivered to His Majesty [Philip II]'. Perhaps the *Memoirs* were among them?[7]

The Spanish antiquary Ambrosio de Morales, who worked closely with Philip II, mentioned the *Memoirs* in a letter of 1564 that praised the emperor because 'despite the fury of his wars he himself managed to write a most admirable, diligent and continuous History of his deeds' – phrasing that implied that Morales had seen the work. At some point Philip entrusted the *Memoirs* to his secretary Francisco de Eraso, because in 1569 Juan Páez de Castro, a protégé of van Male and a royal chronicler, informed a colleague that 'I begged His Majesty to permit me to see what the emperor wrote about the justification for each of his wars, and especially for the German war [of 1546–7]. He replied that he consented, and told me to speak to Eraso.'[8] Perhaps after Eraso's death the *Memoirs* migrated to El Escorial, because a list of manuscripts related to Charles held by the monastery's library in the early seventeenth century included one entitled 'His history, written in French'; but after this, the original text of Charles's *Memoirs* disappeared from view.[9] It was evidently in Madrid in 1620, when someone commissioned a Portuguese translation; but both versions disappeared from view until 1860, when the Belgian scholar Kervijn de Lettenhove stumbled upon the Portuguese text while on a research visit to Paris, and prepared a French translation, published two years later.

Although marred by numerous errors, Kervijn's text immediately appeared in English, Spanish and German translations.[10]

In 1913, Alfred Morel-Fatio printed in his *Historiographie de Charles-Quint* a transcription of the Portuguese original accompanied by a far better French translation, an erudite introduction, and numerous notes. In 1958, to mark the quatercentenary of Charles's death, Manuel Fernández Álvarez published a Spanish translation of the Portuguese text, together with a helpful introduction (reprinted in *CDCV*, IV, 459–567); and in 1989, Cadenas y Vicent published in *Las supuestas 'Memorias'* a photocopy of each folio of the Portuguese original with a Spanish translation on the facing page, together with an introduction that cast doubt on its authenticity.

Despite Cadenas y Vicent's assertion that BNF *Ms. Port.* 61 'lacks even the slightest guarantee of veracity', it seems that the manuscript is exactly what it claims to be: a translation into Portuguese, made in Madrid in 1620, of the *Memoirs* written in French by Charles, with some assistance from van Male, in the summer and autumn of 1550. I have therefore made use of it extensively in this biography. In 1913, Alfred Morel-Fatio expressed the hope that the original of both the *Memoirs* and Charles's secret instructions to his son of 6 May 1543 would one day be found. His second wish came true a century later, when I identified HSA *Ms*. B 2955 as the original holograph instructions. Perhaps his first wish will also one day be realized, but until then historians of Charles V must rely on BNF *Ms. Port.* 61.[11]

APPENDIX II: THE AFTERLIFE OF CHARLES V'S BODY[12]

Charles V died in the Jeronimite convent at Yuste in Spain's Gredos mountains on 21 September 1558 and was buried in the convent there, as he had requested. Sixteen years later Philip II moved his father's body to a mausoleum for his dynasty created at the new royal monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. In 1654, on the orders of Philip IV, the monks were about to transfer the imperial cadaver reverentially from the 'old coffin' to a 'new one made of seasoned wood' in the newly completed Pantheon of the Kings when they noticed a 'spectacle worthy of Caesar':

> . . . a remarkable thing, worthy of eternal admiration: his body was intact, ninety-six years after his death; and so perfect that, even

> looking closely, the heroic composition of his body seemed flawless: his strong face, whose physiognomy reflected the great intelligence with which heaven had endowed him; a broad brow, capable of accommodating all those laurels; his eyes open; his full beard, which made the enemies of the Church tremble so many times; his chest strong and vigorous, denoting his invincible valour and his valiant heart; his inflexible strong arms, which defended the faith.

Indeed, ‘all his parts were so free of corruption that even the nails on his feet and hands (which in life suffered so much from gout) were entirely intact’. The emperor’s uncorrupted corpse ‘led some to consider him a saint’.[13]

In the twenty-first century, Julián de Zulueta y Cebrián, a specialist in tropical diseases (especially malaria) with a strong interest in history, offered an alternative explanation for the uncorrupted state of the imperial cadaver. He noted that Charles died in late September, exactly the time when in places like ‘Jabugo, the hams are shut away in caves’ where, as in the small crypt at Yuste that contained the imperial sarcophagus, each winter the temperature fell below freezing, in effect ‘curing’ Charles’s corpse like a ham. By 1574, when his son supervised the move to El Escorial, it had turned into a mummy.[14]

In 1654 the coffin remained open for a while so that ‘everyone could view it’; but thereafter (except when invading French troops briefly opened the tomb in 1809), the emperor’s mummy lay in peace until it became a tourist attraction immediately after Spain’s Glorious Revolution of 1868. On 9 December 1870 the Spanish government invited several members of the diplomatic corps, and their families, to travel from Madrid to the Escorial to view the imperial sarcophagus, which now lay open. The British ambassador, Sir Arthur Layard, described what he saw that day:

> The body is wrapped in white linen and red silk. On the head is a skull-cap of white linen embroidered with gold. One or two persons present pretended that they could recognise the features from Titian’s portrait, but this appeared to me an exaggeration. The only feature which bears this resemblance is the chin, which is very

> characteristic (as you will perceive by the photograph), and is thoroughly Austrian. It is covered with a short red beard. The body is well preserved, for a mummy. The hands and feet are small and delicate.

Another observer noted ‘the imperfect healing of a fracture in his leg, with the bones healing laterally’ – almost certainly the consequence of the emperor’s fall in 1532 (p. 225). Layard ordered the Madrid painter Vicente Palmaroli y Rodríguez to make a ‘sketch in oils’ on the occasion of his visit, which was later photographed and distributed as a postcard (Pl. 39).[15]

Eighteen months later the novelist Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y Ariza attended the twentieth ‘public exhibition of the emperor’s body, at the request of the fair ladies of Madrid who spent their summer there’. After descending into the Pantheon of the Kings, ‘we saw for ourselves the open tomb of Charles V, and in front of it, on scaffolding constructed for the purpose, a coffin whose lid had been replaced by a piece of glass’ through which they viewed the emperor’s ‘robust mummy from head to foot, completely naked but perfectly preserved, albeit somewhat wizened’. He noted in particular ‘the high and very full thoracic cavity, his broad and prominent shoulders, his characteristic skull with facial features typical of the House of Austria, including his open mouth and prominent chin, caused by his mandibular prognathism’. He stressed that ‘this was not a skeleton, but flesh covered by dark skin, on which you could still see a few eyelashes and eyebrows as well as his beard and a neat head of hair’.[16]

In the autumn of 1871, when no glass covered the coffin, the painter Martín Rico y Ortega spent several days sketching the imperial cadaver. He, too, left a detailed description of what he saw: ‘I noticed that his full beard, neatly trimmed around his mouth, was still a dark chestnut colour and not grizzled, almost white, as shown in the portraits of him at that time.’ He complained that ‘I have never encountered such difficulties, nor worked with so many obstacles and nuisances as when making this sketch, because apart from the position in which I had to remain – a posture that turned my body into a perfect “C” – the distance between my position and my subject was only 30 centimetres.’ An engraving based on his sketches appeared in the periodical *La ilustración de Madrid* in January 1872.[17]

Rico's uncomfortable efforts to capture an accurate image of the emperor, together with Palmaroli's painting, settled one question about his physiognomy. The art historian Diane Bodart has noted how, as Charles grew older, fewer people mentioned the mandibular prognathism that occasioned widespread comment in his early years, while artists like Titian disguised it, to the point where some doubted whether it was real. Palmaroli's painting settles the matter: the emperor's lower jaw was indeed extremely prominent.[18]

In 1936, Julián de Zulueta, then a Republican exile in Paris, 'saw a photograph taken during the [Spanish] Civil War and published in the international press in which a militiaman appeared to cuddle, half in jest, the mummified emperor. The mummy had its eyes open and seemed as if it were about to speak.'[19] Fifty years later, Zulueta read about a new technique for rehydrating mummies in order to conduct clinical tests on them, and recalled both the photo that showed the emperor's body as a mummy and rumours that Charles died of malaria. Zulueta therefore asked permission of King Juan Carlos to examine the imperial cadaver in the Pantheon of the Kings.

Permission was denied, but in 2005 a member of Spain's Patrimonio Nacional alerted Zulueta to the existence of 'a pinkie of the emperor kept outside the sarcophagus in a box in the sacristy of San Lorenzo de El Escorial', because a visitor to the emperor's sarcophagus after the revolution of 1868 had managed to secure it. This remarkable assertion is supported by an obituary of Martín Rico, which recalled that while he resided at El Escorial, visiting the Pantheon every day, the official who possessed the key tired of his requests to enter, and so 'entrusted it to Rico, who left it in his house when he did not need it. A guide who became aware of this custom came to Rico's house, and in the name of a foreigner' – a foreigner: of course! – 'anxious to view the emperor's mummy asked for and received the key'. While Charles's body lay on a scaffold in front of his tomb in a coffin, unprotected by glass, it seems that the inquisitive visitor took advantage of the lax security to 'offer 20 reales to one of the guards in return for a part of the emperor. The guard put his hand into the coffin and removed the digit from a finger.'[20]

On 14 September 1870 – thus before the visits of Layard, Palmaroli, Alarcón and Rico – the digit somehow came into the possession of the marquis of Miraflores and his sister, the dowager marchioness of Martorell; and on 31 May 1912 they returned it to King Alfonso XIII together with a letter assuring him that the digit 'came into our hands involuntarily, because we never attempted to acquire or keep it'. Alfonso sent it back to the Escorial where, rather than reopen the tomb, the prior placed it in a locked red box in the sacristy.[21]

Inspired by this information, Zulueta asked King Juan Carlos for permission to examine the digit, and this time he received it. In 2005 he returned to El Escorial accompanied by Dr Pedro Alonso, whose laboratory sought a vaccine against malaria at the Hospital Clinic d'Investigacions Biomèdiques August Pi i Sunyer in Barcelona. Zulueta later recalled that the prior of San Lorenzo opened the locked red box 'with the digit wrapped in special paper – not the normal paper that we use for typing. The prior opened the paper and put on white gloves, to touch the object with greater respect.' The mummified digit, which was still in good condition, travelled 'in a hearse, escorted by the Guardia Civil', to Barcelona where tests revealed 'large quantities of malaria parasites – ones that had killed an emperor'. They also revealed severe gout.[22] Afterwards the detached pinkie returned to the locked red box in the sacristy of the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, where it is now Patrimonio Nacional, # 10044506.

But did the detached pinkie in the locked red box really come from an imperial hand? One piece of evidence counts against this attribution. In a letter to the painter Mariano Fortuny in 1871 describing Charles's cadaver, Rico asserted that: 'The three centuries that have elapsed since he was buried have left scarcely any trace on him; and *contrary to what you may have read or heard*, I can assure you that he remains intact and that *he lacks nothing, absolutely nothing*.'[23] Rico evidently sought to refute a story then circulating that some part of the imperial anatomy was missing; and since the marquis of Miraflores claimed that the digit was in his possession by September 1870, presumably Rico referred to rumours about this. Interestingly, although Rico sketched the emperor from many different angles, none of them showed his left hand in full: his portrayal of the left pinkie always stops precisely at the final joint. Could Rico perhaps have

insisted that the cadaver remained intact lest someone suspect that he had connived in removing the digit?

DNA tests would settle the authenticity of the item, but the Hospital Clinic did not receive permission to perform them and so the detached pinkie in the locked red box cannot be definitively linked either with the cadaver in the sarcophagus or with someone who has certified Habsburg genes.[24] Nevertheless, three considerations support the presumption. Although the marquis of Miraflores did not reveal how he had acquired the digit, or how he knew it came from an imperial hand, he was an eminent courtier and his sister was a matron of honour of both the queen and the queen dowager: they would not have offered to return it to the king unless they believed that it belonged to Charles V. Likewise, the prior of San Lorenzo de El Escorial in 1912 evidently accepted this attribution, since he placed the digit in a locked red box wrapped in special paper and put it in the sacristy. Most convincing of all is the evidence collected by the Hospital Clinic in Barcelona from the rehydrated mummified digit: their tests demonstrated that the pinkie belonged to someone who suffered from extreme gout, who suffered a double dose of malaria that almost certainly proved fatal, and whose cadaver was mummified. All three descriptors fit Charles. The same combination may be true of other cadavers, of course, but the chances are slim. I therefore accept the argument of Julián de Zulueta and his colleagues that they examined a digit detached from an imperial hand.

APPENDIX III: THE EMPEROR'S LAST INSTRUCTIONS TO PHILIP II[25]

The advice of Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, to his son Philip the Second upon his resignation of the crown of Spain has been printed in both English (London, 1670) and French (Berlin, 1699). In addition, one German, at least twenty-five Italian, and at least twenty-three English manuscript versions survive. With two exceptions, the manuscripts belong to one of three groups: those that cover forty folios or less, those that cover between forty and eighty folios, and those (including both printed texts) that are far longer, arranged in two parts.[26]

One of the two exceptions is the *Ragionamento de l'imperatore fatto, quando rinontio tutti suoi regni et stati al re, suo figiuolo* in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. The document describes a meeting held in the presence of leading nobles and ministers at 4 p.m. on 16 January 1556 in the emperor's cottage in the royal park in Brussels, at which Charles gave his son a box containing 'many testaments in both Latin and Castilian and many instructions' together with the seal he had used on a document declaring that, should the French take him prisoner while on campaign, Philip should refuse all demands for a ransom.[27] Most of the meeting was taken up by reading out the various formal documents ceding to Philip the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Sicily, after each of which Charles declared 'I consent and confirm', and then he and several of those present affixed their signatures. The anonymous author mentioned that Charles expressed his regret that he had not abdicated six years before when his affairs were in a better state, and opined '"Everyone can do three things: protest . . ." but then he paused for a while and said that he did not remember the other two things.' The document then referred tantalizingly to 'the many other most prudent things' that Charles said, 'which induced wonder and compassion, considering that the most powerful man in the world spoke with such humility' – but provided no details.[28]

Perhaps these 'most prudent things' are summarized in the other outlier: the only known Spanish text relating to final instructions, a single sheet entitled *Points that the Emperor Charles V, of glorious memory, gave to his son King Philip when he departed for Spain: concerning the best way to govern*.[29] The *Points* are so terse that they would make little sense on their own. They may therefore be either notes made by the emperor before he met his son (a technique he had used when meeting Pope Clement in 1529–30 – see Pl. 13 – and when delivering his abdication speech for his Netherlands possessions a few months earlier: p. 465), or minutes taken down by someone when the two monarchs met – perhaps on 16 January 1556.

Although undated, both these documents seem authentic. Those named in the *Ragionamento* are known from other sources to have attended the meeting on 16 January, at which the transfer of the testaments and the signing of the acts of renunciation really took place. Charles may well have

given a speech to mark the solemn occasion, and the *Points* may well refer to what he said on that occasion. We find the 'vos' form that Charles normally used when addressing his son; and most of the *Points* repeated advice already given in earlier instructions. The only exceptions are the suggestion that 'it will be necessary to keep a register containing the names of good officials', to ensure that he rewarded only the deserving; and the command 'Expel the Moors from your kingdoms', something Gattinara had urged him to do more than three decades before.[30] So perhaps Charles did impart a final lesson to his son 'concerning the best way to govern' before they parted in September 1556, but if so he did so orally – and this is the only surviving record.[31]

The same confidence cannot be extended to the other manuscripts that purport to contain the emperor's last instructions. The lack of an original is not significant, because the same is true of other similar documents of undoubted authenticity, such as Charles's Political Testament of 1548, his *Memoirs* and (until 2009) his secret instructions of 1543. The major problem lies in the style, including the salutation 'Most dear son' (whereas Charles invariably used the austere form 'Son [*Hijo*]') and the abundance of Classical references (something seldom found in Charles's other writings). Furthermore, the plausible passages are mostly platitudes found in many early modern 'Letters of Advice from a Father to his Son'; none of the detailed political advice relates to events after 1553; and many of the dates and events are incorrect.[32]

The earliest dated text of the last instructions is 20 August 1592, a generation after the emperor's abdication, in an Italian manuscript presented to King James VI of Scotland by his Italian tutor, Giacomo Castelvetro. James certainly considered them genuine, because he used them as a model six years later when drafting *Basilicon Doron*, a political testament for his own son. So did John Pemberton, who prepared a Spanish edition of *Basilicon Doron* – indeed he specifically linked the two treatises: 'just as the instructions of Charles V to his son Philip were translated into most languages and quite well into English, so may these instructions of Your Majesty in English be turned into Spanish without diminution and I trust without losing their force'.[33] Pemberton's assumption that a Spanish original existed probably stemmed from Lord Henry Howard, courtier of

Queen Elizabeth and minister of King James, who composed several versions of a purported English translation that he presented to the queen. One text claimed that it was 'A Copy of the last instructions which the Emperor Charles the Fifth gave to his son Philip before his death, *translated out of Spanish*'; another that it was 'The Emperor Charles Vth's political instructions to his son Philip II on his resignation of the crown of Spain. *Translated from the Spanish*.'[34]

The claim that the instructions were delivered when Charles abdicated as king of Spain suggests that Howard may have used a genuine original, since it matches the two authentic documents; and so, at first glance, does his claim that 'This briefe treatise first compiled in the Spanish tongue and cominge unto my hand by chance'; but Howard never claimed that he worked from a Spanish original.[35] It seems more likely that he translated an Italian text. Since Howard probably presented his translation to the queen in December 1592, he may have plundered Castelvetro's text: after all, Castelvetro spent time in England on his way to Scotland, and he and Howard moved in the same circles.[36] So either Castelvetro created the original of the numerous short versions of the Italian text of Charles's last instructions, or else he copied a text already in existence (none of the similar surviving Italian texts are dated, so one or more of them might have been written earlier; but none link back to anything written by Charles himself).

Howard suggested that a longer version of the instructions existed: the dedicatory epistle to his English translation informed Queen Elizabeth that 'This treatise seemeth only to have bene an abridgement of a larger worke wherein the rulers of government were more at large delated by this thoroughly experienced emperor'; and he lamented that 'it is not possible by any labour to procure a sight theirof, either because tyme, the grave of worthy monuments, hath overwhelmed it, or the kinge of Spaine (as some affirme) hath reserved it as the Romans did Sybill's oracles to special use'.[37] Perhaps one of the longer surviving Italian texts already existed in 1592, when Howard presented his manuscript to Queen Elizabeth; certainly, some of them existed a century later when Antoine Teissier, councillor and historiographer of Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, published a French translation for the edification of the Elector's son. Teissier stated that he had

used an Italian text that had come into the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden, later purchased at great cost by 'Monsieur *** [sic]', who 'made it available to the translator, who has turned it from Italian into French, because His Serene Highness understands the second language better than the first'.[38] Teissier divided the instructions into a section on how to govern in peacetime followed by a section on how to lead in wartime. Some other versions – such as the German and Italian texts prepared circa 1740 for the children of King Augustus of Saxony and Poland – introduced a formal division into two parts and covered over 100 pages.[39]

Although the rulers of Brandenburg and Saxony, like James VI of Scotland and 'Monsieur ***', believed that the texts they commissioned were genuine, it is hard to dissent from the verdict of E. W. Mayer in 1919: that all of the Italian versions of Charles's 'last instructions' are based on a forgery, which means that all the translations are also based on a forgery. It is also hard to dissent from the opinion of Karl Brandi that the combination of the emperor's status and the wide circulation of copies of his other (genuine) instructions, notably his Political Testament of 1548, gave him an almost mythical authority that made it worthwhile to attach his name to a document written by someone else, and (with the passage of time) worthwhile to add new material. But whoever composed the 'Last Instructions', it was not Charles V.[40]

APPENDIX IV: 'INFANTA ISABEL OF CASTILE, DAUGHTER OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR'[41]

In 1536 the will of Germaine de Foix, widow of Ferdinand the Catholic and wife of Fernando de Aragón, duke of Calabria, included a major legacy: 'Item, we bequeath and leave the string of 133 large pearls, which is the best that we possess, to the Most Serene Infanta Isabel of Castile, daughter of His Majesty the emperor, my son and my lord, on account of the great love that we feel for His Highness.' Germaine died a few days later and Calabria sent a copy of her will to Empress Isabella 'so that Your Majesty can see the bequest of the pearls that she left to the Most Serene Infanta'.[42]

In 1998, in an article entitled 'Sobre una posible hija', Jaime de Salazar drew attention to these two documents, and suggested that Infanta Isabel of Castile was the fruit of a liaison between the emperor and Germaine.

Manuel Fernández Álvarez accepted this identification in both *Felipe II y su tiempo* (pp. 811–12) and *Carlos V: el César* (pp. 98–9), but neither he nor Salazar cited any evidence except Germaine's will and Calabria's covering letter. Admittedly, the night before he died, King Ferdinand wrote a letter begging his grandson 'always to take care to aid and succour Her Serene Majesty, my most dear and much loved wife', but incest with one's step-grandmother seems improbable, even for a Habsburg.

In an article entitled 'Una calumnia gratuita', Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent dismissed Don Manuel's claim as 'mental masturbation' (pp. 626–7) and denied that an Infanta Isabel of Castile had ever existed; but then he changed his mind. In another article shortly afterwards, entitled 'Aclarada la calumnia del académico y catedrático Manuel Fernández Álvarez', Cadenas y Vicent argued that Isabel was a descendant of the last Trastámara kings of Naples and that she died in 1550. He asserted that 'of Castile' was an error, and that 'daughter' was just a courtesy term applied to all female relatives of the emperor. In 2012, Pere María Orts i Bosch offered another identification in an article entitled 'Margarida o Isabel', which argued that Germaine left her pearls to Charles's illegitimate daughter Margarita of Parma, despite the fact that Margarita was never an 'Infanta of Castile' (indeed she never visited Spain). All these assertions are wrong.

In her biography *Germana de Foix*, Rosa Ríos Lloret correctly pointed out that the queen's will proved only that Charles had a daughter named Isabel, who was alive in 1536 (although apparently unmentioned in any other source). It did not identify her mother.[43] Moreover, the fact that Calabria offered to send his late wife's legacy to the empress, rather than to Charles, suggested that the Infanta was not illegitimate – otherwise the duke would surely have written secretly to the emperor. So who was she?

An entry in a genealogy of Charles composed in French offers a clue. The author stated that Charles and his wife 'Isabeau of Portugal' had 'four children, namely Philip, Ferdinand (who died in infancy), Isabeau and Joanna'. Confirmation that the name 'Isabeau' was not an error comes from Francesc Joan, a Valencian chronicler, who recorded in his *Llibre de memòries* the births of all members of the royal family according to the name by which they were known in Valencia. In 1527 he recorded the name of Charles's heir as 'Felipe Juan' (and continued to refer to him thus until

1555), and the following year he noted the birth of a sister, ‘Doña Isabel’.[44] Since Germaine was vicereine of Valencia in 1536, the notary who drew up her will no doubt adopted the Valencian name for the emperor’s elder daughter. Therefore ‘on account of the great love that we feel for His Highness’, Germaine bequeathed her finest necklace to the Most Serene Infanta known as María in Castile and Isabel in Valencia.

This identification is confirmed by the inventory of the precious goods left by Empress Isabella at her death in 1539, and divided between her three surviving children in 1551. The lengthy dossier includes a letter sent by Charles to his daughter María, at the time queen of Bohemia and regent in Spain, with the clause: ‘Item: it is our will that you, queen of Bohemia, should receive the 133 pearls of Queen Germaine.’ This is obviously the item left to the ‘Infanta Isabel of Castile’ in Germaine’s will. Since the inventory valued each pearl at forty-five ducats, the string of 133 large pearls was indeed a magnificent legacy – and it can still be admired today in a portrait of María from circa 1557 that hangs in Schloss Ambras.[45] The emperor did not sire a daughter named Isabel: neither with Queen Germaine nor with anyone else.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On 1 April 1841, William Hickling Prescott settled upon his next historical project: the conquest of Mexico. ‘I propose to write about 1,000 pages of my own composition,’ he confided to his journal, at the rate of ‘four printed pages per diem, i.e. when composing. Allowing two days’ reading for one of writing – it will give me a vol. of 450 printed pages per annum, or 1¼ printed pages per diem, thro’ the year.’ Prescott kept to his gruelling schedule and sent his *History of the conquest of Mexico* to the printer in August 1843. Writing a much shorter life of Charles V has taken me far longer, not only because I lack Prescott’s iron discipline as a writer but also because I succumbed to a temptation that claims many biographers:

> I became utterly absorbed in the forensics of the project: the piecing together of clues in correspondence, for example, that brought to light previously unrecorded events and actions or newly illuminated character and motive. I experienced those transcendent moments, familiar to all historical biographers, when the author seems to touch the hand or face of their subject.[1]

I almost touched the hand or face of Charles as a boy. On meeting the emperor for the first time in 1550, the English Humanist Roger Ascham thought he ‘looked somewhat like the parson of Epurstone [sic]. He had on a gown of black taffety, and a furred night-cap on his head, Dutch-like, having a seam over the crown, like a great cod-piece.’[2] The village of Epperstone lies only a few miles from Nottingham, where I grew up, and on Sunday afternoons my parents and I often walked through the village; but I

did not encounter a codpiece, great or small, or any other trace of the emperor. Instead, I first came upon Charles in 1957 when I spent three weeks in Belgium on a school exchange. My host family came from Binche, and they took me to see the ruins of the great palace where four centuries before the emperor's sister Mary had staged magnificent festivities in his honour. Ten years later I spent three months in Belgium as a doctoral student researching the reasons why Spain failed to suppress the Dutch Revolt, but Charles (although often cited by both sides) remained a peripheral figure. In between those two visits I encountered Helmut G. Koenigsberger. I read his articles on Charles V while an undergraduate – a wise choice because (unknown to me) he would serve as external examiner for my final exams, and on the paper 'Europe since 1494' he set the question: 'Were the resources available to Charles V equal to the needs of his empire' (a puzzle I have been trying to solve ever since). We first met in 1966, and both then and afterwards I learned much in conversations with Helli about Charles V, one of them recorded on tape by Sussex Publications. Listening to it again reminds me of what a perceptive scholar we lost when he died in 2014. How I wish I could present him with a copy of this book.[3]

I did not actually 'touch the hand or face' of the emperor until December 2009: while working on another project in the reading room of the Hispanic Society of America, I realized that HSA Manuscript B 2955 contained Charles's long-lost holograph secret instructions for his son Philip in May 1543. I decided there and then to write his biography. I thank the expert curators who welcomed me to the HSA both then and subsequently – Mitchell Codding, Patrick Lenaghan and John O'Neill – as well as Bethany Aram, Rachael Ball, Richard Kagan and David Lagomarsino, all of whom provided assistance in deciphering and interpreting the instructions. In 2014, Rachael and I published a critical edition of the manuscript, in Spanish and English.[4]

Like all other historians of the emperor, I owe a special debt to Karl Brandi (1868–1946). During a university career that spanned fifty years, he published over eighty books on topics from Charlemagne to World War I, directed or examined 122 doctoral theses, and formed the first research team ever to work on the emperor comprising ten scholars, most of them his former advisees at the university of Göttingen. Between 1930 and 1941 the

‘Göttingen Project’ had identified some 23,000 documents from Charles’s reign, printed several of them, and provided detailed descriptions of the archival collections generated by the imperial government in a series of twenty fascicles entitled *Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V.* Brandi had served as an infantry officer in World War I (winning an Iron Cross both first and second class), and his military experience provided him with important insights into command, logistics and combat that enriched his account of the emperor at war.[5] Brandi and his subject had other things in common. Just as Charles offered to settle his disputes with other rulers through a duel, when publicly slighted by an academic colleague Brandi (then aged sixty-five) ‘asked the speaker if he was prepared to meet me with weapons in hand, to give satisfaction’. Like Francis I, the colleague declined.[6] In 1937, Brandi published the first volume of his biography: *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, which went through seven editions and has been translated into five languages.[7] Four years later he published the second volume, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen und Erörterungen*, which described, discussed and often transcribed the sources cited on each page of the German version of its predecessor. Although reprinted in 1967 it has never been translated.

Brandi’s publications about the emperor were so numerous, and his judgements so sure, that they called to mind another passage from the Journal of W. H. Prescott, written as he composed his *History of the conquest of Peru*. ‘Beware of Robertson’, Prescott reminded himself, referring to William Robertson’s *History of the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, published eighty years before. ‘Never glance at him till after subject moulded in my mind and thrown into language.’[8] By the twenty-first century, Robertson (who conducted no archival research) seemed less of a threat, but while writing about Charles, I learned to ‘Beware of Brandi’: I tried not to consult his biography until after I had drafted each chapter – only to find, in many cases, either material that I had missed or a brilliant analysis that presented familiar documents in a novel way, leading me (with suitable acknowledgement) to amend my text.

After Brandi, I owe my greatest academic debt to Gustave Bergenroth (1813–69), who in the 1860s collected materials for a biography of Charles V based on what he called ‘real State Papers: the despatches and

instructions to the ambassadors, ministers and councillors, etc., and the letters and despatches received from them'.[9] This approach took Bergenroth to numerous European archives and libraries, where up to ten scribes copied the documents he deemed important to his project. He also decoded himself several hundred documents for which he could find no cipher key (which makes his copies superior to the originals). By the time Bergenroth died in 1869 his biography remained incomplete, but his transcripts filled over 20,000 folio pages, most of them arranged in a single chronological order that provides historians with a unique opportunity to measure the administrative pulse of Charles's empire.[10]

Archival research in the 1860s was not for the faint-hearted. An English visitor to Bergenroth reported that 'In Simancas all is as primitive, as native, and as shameless as the days of Adam. None of the decencies of life are to be found there . . . Nothing but the strongest desire to do service to history could reconcile any man to so much hardship, and Mr. B., in speaking of his residence there, does not exaggerate when he calls it the life of a hermit.' It was while living in Simancas that Bergenroth contracted the typhus that killed him.[11] Everything had changed by the time I first worked there in 1966, and according to the archivists (who closely monitor every move made by *los señores investigadores*) since then I have consulted more than 2,000 bundles and volumes of their documents. Without the unique researcher-friendly methods of archive management practised at Simancas, this book could never have been written, and I thank in particular the archivists Ricardo Magdaleno Redondo, Asunción de la Plaza, José Luis and Julia T. Rodríguez de Diego, and Isabel Aguirre Landa; the *bedeles* who delivered those 2,000 bundles and volumes (usually within a few minutes of my request to read them); and the reprographic staff who made countless microfilm, Xerox and latterly digital copies for me.

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Finally, I thank my family for their patience and support. James Atlas has eloquently described the miserable fate of the family of a biographer: a writer obsessed with ‘someone who is not strictly speaking dead but not entirely present either’, a figure who ‘demanded vast amounts of my time, my energy, and my mental attention’, and for this he offered his apologies.[12] The emperor and I therefore bow low and offer our apologies to my partner Alice Conklin, to my children Susie, Ed, Richard and Jamie (all Simancas veterans), and to my grandchildren Cameron, Sienna and Cordelia (as yet too young to decipher Habsburg handwriting but with plenty of time to learn) for any neglect, both perceived and actual, over the past nine years.

Geoffrey Parker
Columbus, 30 November 2018, St Andrew’s Day
A day of special significance for Charles V and for me

CHRONOLOGY

	SPAIN, ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN	THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE AND THE EMPIRE	ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND THE AMERICAS
1494			Treaty of Tordesillas (7 June): Portugal and Castile agree to partition newly discovered lands beyond Europe
1496		Archduke Philip of Austria and Infanta Joanna of Castile and Aragon marry (20 Oct.)	
1497	Juan, heir to the thrones of Aragon and Castile, marries Archduchess Margaret of Austria (3 Apr.), and dies (4 Oct.)		
1498	Infante Miguel, heir to the thrones of Aragon, Castile and Portugal, born (23 Aug.)	Charles's older sister Eleanor born (15 Nov.)	
1499			
1500	Infante Miguel dies (19 July), making Philip and Joanna heirs to the crowns of Castile and Aragon	Charles, duke of Luxembourg, born in Ghent (24 Feb.)	
1501		Charles's sister Isabeau born (18 July); Joanna and Philip sail for Spain (31 Oct.), leaving Charles and his sisters under the care of their great-grandmother Margaret of York.	Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales, marries Charles's aunt Katherine of Aragon (14 Nov.)

1502			Prince Arthur dies (2 Apr.)
1503	Charles's brother Ferdinand born (10 Mar.)	Philip returns to the Netherlands (Oct.); Margaret of York dies (23 Nov.)	
1504	Queen Isabella of Castile dies (26 Nov.), succeeded by Joanna and Philip	Joanna returns to the Netherlands (May) and is confined in her apartments (Nov.); war between Philip and Duke Charles of Guelders begins	
1505	Ferdinand of Aragon marries Germaine de Foix (19 Oct.)	Charles meets his grandfather Maximilian for the first time; Luis Cabeza de Vaca replaces Juan de Anchieta as Charles's preceptor; Charles's sister Marie born (15 Sep.)	
1506	Philip returns to Castile (12 July), is acclaimed as king, then dies (25 Sep.); Queen Joanna confined in Tordesillas	Philip and Joanna leave for Spain (Jan.); States-General of the Netherlands acknowledge Charles as their lord (15 Oct.)	
1507	Catalina, Charles's youngest sister, born (14 Jan.)	Margaret of Austria becomes regent of the Netherlands for Emperor Maximilian, and guardian of Charles and his siblings (Apr.); Charles's first public appearance as ruler of the Netherlands at Philip's exequies (July)	Charles married by proxy to Princess Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII (July)
1508		Charles contracts smallpox (Oct.); Maximilian in the Netherlands (Nov.–Mar. 1509)	
1509	Birth and death of the only child of Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix (May)	Charles made Knight of the Garter (Feb.); Guillaume de Croÿ, lord of Chièvres, becomes Charles's chamberlain; Adrian of Utrecht becomes his tutor	Henry VIII succeeds as king of England (21 Apr.), and marries Katherine of Aragon (11 June)
1510			
1511			
1512		Maximilian in the Netherlands (spring)	
1513	Giovanni de' Medici elected pope (9 Mar. as Leo X);	Maximilian and Henry VIII defeat the French at Guinegate	English rout Scots at Flodden Field (9 Sep.)

	Niccolò Machiavelli completes *The prince*, which circulates in manuscript until published in 1532	(16 Aug.); Charles makes his first state visit and attends Henry's victory jousts (Oct.)	
1514		Marie leaves the Netherlands for Vienna (Apr.); Charles kills a man for the first time in a hunting accident (June)	Mary Tudor repudiates Charles (30 July), and marries Louis XII (13 Aug.)
1515	Francis I victorious at Marignano (13–14 Sep.), occupies Milan and Genoa	Louis XII dies (1 Jan.), succeeded by Francis of Angoulême (Francis I); Charles's emancipation (5 Jan.); Jean le Sauvage appointed Grand Chancellor (17 Jan.); Charles betrothed to Princess Renée of France; Isabeau leaves to marry Christian II of Denmark (June); Marie leaves to be betrothed to Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary (July); Charles sends Adrian to Spain as his ambassador to Ferdinand (Sep.)	
1516	Ferdinand of Aragon dies (23 Jan.); Cardinal Cisneros and the council of Regency acknowledge Charles as king of Castile (3 Apr.)	In Brussels, Charles devises his motto *Plus Ultra* and is proclaimed king of Castile and Aragon (14 Mar.); Erasmus publishes *Education of a Christian prince*, dedicated to Charles (May); Charles signs treaty of Noyon with France (13 Aug.), and presides over a chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece for the first time (Oct.–Nov.); Francisco de Los Cobos becomes royal secretary	Katherine of Aragon gives birth to Princess Mary Tudor (18 Feb.)
1517	Charles's aunt Queen Maria of Portugal dies (7 Mar.); Charles and Eleanor reach Spain (20 Sep.) and visit their mother Joanna and sister Catalina (4 Nov.); Cisneros dies (8 Nov.); Charles and Eleanor meet their brother	Maximilian's last visit to the Netherlands (Jan.–May); Charles forces Eleanor to end her affair with Count Palatine Frederick (Aug.), and sails with her to Spain (7 Sep.); Martin Luther publishes his Ninety-five Theses (31 Oct.)	

	Ferdinand for the first time (19 Nov.)		
1518	Charles meets Cortes of Castile (Mar.), sends Ferdinand to the Netherlands (Apr.), and meets Cortes of Aragon (May); Grand Chancellor Le Sauvage dies (7 June), Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara succeeds (8 Oct.); Eleanor sent to Portugal to marry King Manuel (Oct.)		Non-aggression Treaty of London (Oct.)
1519	Charles loses consciousness during Mass (Jan.); presides over chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Barcelona (Mar.); receives news of his election as king of the Romans (6 July)	Emperor Maximilian dies (12 Jan.); Charles elected king of the Romans (28 June); Habsburg troops occupy Württemberg	Hernán Cortés sails from Cuba to Yucatán and sends Charles a first *muestra* of goods (July); Ferdinand Magellan's expedition leaves Seville for the Moluccas (10 Aug.); Cortés enters Tenochtitlan and meets Aztec Emperor Montezuma (8 Nov.)
1520	Charles receives in Valladolid the *muestra* sent by Hernán Cortés (Mar.), meets Cortes of Castile in Santiago and Corunna (Apr.–May), and sails for England from Corunna, leaving Adrian of Utrecht as regent (20 May); *Comuneros* revolt begins in Castile (May) and *Germanías* revolt in Valencia (July); Suleiman the Magnificent becomes sultan (1 Oct.)	Charles lands at Vlissingen (1 June); Francis I and Henry VIII meet at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (7–24 June); Charles and Henry meet (12–14 July); Luther's books, condemned by Leo X, burned at Leuven (8 Oct.); Charles crowned king of the Romans at Aachen (23 Oct.)	Charles reaches Dover (26 May), meets Henry VIII, and sails to the Low Countries (31 May); Montezuma killed (28/30 June); Cortés and supporters flee Tenochtitlan (*Noche triste*, 30 June/1 July)
1521	*Comuneros* defeated at Villalar (23 Apr.); Leo X, Henry VIII and Charles form an alliance against France (May); Leo X dies (1 Dec.); King Manuel of Portugal dies, leaving Eleanor of Austria a widow, and John III succeeds (13 Dec.)	Leo X excommunicates Luther (3 Jan.); Francis I promises support to enemies of Charles (Feb.); war between Charles and Francis (1 Apr.); Charles confronts Luther at Diet of Worms (17–18 Apr.) and outlaws him (26 May); Ferdinand marries Anne of Hungary (26 May);	Magellan reconnoitres archipelago later known as the Philippines, where he is killed (27 Apr.); Cortés and allies besiege Tenochtitlan (10 May–13 Aug.), and after its fall the Spanish conquerors begin to take over Aztec Empire; secret treaty of

		Chièvres dies (28 May); Suleiman captures Belgrade (29 Aug.); Charles dons a full suit of armour and leads his army on campaign for the first time (2 Sep.)	Bruges between the emperor and England (25 Aug.)
1522	Adrian of Utrecht elected pope (9 Jan. as Adrian VI); French defeat at Bicocca (29 Apr.); Charles lands in Spain again (16 July); Charles's confessor Jean Glapion dies (22 Sep.); Charles issues General Pardon for most *Comuneros* (1 Nov.)	Charles makes his first will (22 May), sails from the Netherlands to England and Spain (26 May), leaving his aunt Margaret as regent; Jeanne van der Gheynst gives birth to Charles's daughter Margarita in or near Oudenaarde (July)	Charles in England (26 May–7 July), agrees with Henry to mount a 'Great Enterprise' against France, and to marry Henry's daughter Mary when she turns twelve; Duke Charles of Bourbon joins Great Enterprise (Aug.); survivors of Magellan's expedition reach Seville (8 Sep.); Charles agrees to fund a House of Spice in Corunna, and names Cortés governor and captain-general of New Spain
1523	Ottomans conquer Rhodes (1 Jan.); Ursulina della Penne gives birth to Charles's daughter Tadea in Bologna (23 Jan.); Fray Garcia de Loaysa becomes Charles's confessor (May); Charles's illegitimate daughter Juana born in Valladolid (June?); Adrian VI dies (14 Sep.); Giulio de' Medici elected pope (19 Nov. as Clement VII); Charles campaigns in Navarre (winter), and appoints Bourbon his lieutenant-general in Italy (Dec.)	Christian II of Denmark deposed (Jan.): he and Isabeau seek Charles's protection	English invasion of France (Aug.–Dec.)
1524	Charles establishes the council of the Indies and reorganizes State and Finance; Bourbon leads unsuccessful imperial invasion of Provence (June–Sep.); Francis invades Milan (Oct.); Clement concludes	Peasant Revolt in Germany begins (summer); Francis names his mother, Louise of Savoy, regent of France, and leaves to campaign in Italy (Oct.)	Charles authorizes two expeditions to the Moluccas: one from Corunna and one from Mexico

	alliance with France and Venice (Dec.)		
1525	Catalina marries King John III of Portugal (10 Feb.); Imperial victory at Pavia, Francis captured (24 Feb.); Francis brought to Madrid a prisoner (Aug.)	Peasants' Revolt crushed (summer)	Charles breaks off his engagement to Henry's daughter Mary (June)
1526	Francis signs the treaty of Madrid (14 Jan.); Charles marries Isabella of Portugal (11 Mar.); Francis returns to France, leaving two sons as hostages in Spain (17 Mar.); Bishop Acuña of Zamora tortured and executed at Simancas (24 Mar.); Charles's troops and Colonna forces capture Rome (Sep.)	Isabeau of Denmark dies (19 Jan.); Francis I returns to France (17 Mar.), reneges on his promises to Charles, and forms the anti-Habsburg League of Cognac with the papacy, Florence and Venice (22 May); King Louis of Hungary defeated and killed at Mohács (26 Aug.); Ferdinand elected king of Bohemia (24 Oct.) and Hungary (17 Dec.)	
1527	Bourbon dies leading Imperial troops who storm Rome (6 May); Rome sacked (6–16 May); Gattinara on leave from Imperial court (May–Oct.); Prince Philip born (21 May); Republic of Florence proclaimed (June)		Anglo-French treaty of Amiens (18 Aug.); Charles creates an Audiencia in Mexico City (Nov.)
1528	On behalf of the League of Cognac, the heralds of France and England declare war on Charles, who arrests all ambassadors of the League (22 Jan.); League of Cognac blockades Naples by land and sea (Feb.–Aug.); Charles challenges Francis to a duel (18 Mar.); Infanta María born (21 June); Andrea Doria enters Charles's service (19 July); League of Cognac troops abandon siege of Naples and surrender at Aversa (27 Aug.); Doria seizes Genoa (12 Sep.); Margaret of Austria forces		Cortés returns to Spain (May) and meets Charles

	duke of Guelders to surrender Utrecht and Overijssel to Charles (3 Oct.)		
1529	Charles signs his second will (3 Mar.); Antonio de Leyva defeats another French army in Lombardy (21 June); Charles signs the treaty of Barcelona with Clement (29 June), sets sail for Italy (27 July), arrives in Genoa (12 Aug.), lays siege to Florence (Sep.), and enters Bologna to meet Clement (5 Nov.); Infante Fernando born (22 Nov.); Charles makes peace with Venice and Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, and creates league for the defence of Italy (29 Dec.)	Peace of Cambrai between Charles, Francis and Henry (5 Aug.); Ottoman siege of Vienna (23 Sep.–14 Oct.)	Cortés created marquis of the Valle de Oaxaca (1 Apr.) and returns to Mexico; Charles cedes all claim to Moluccas to Portugal by treaty of Zaragoza (22 Apr.) and closes House of Spice; Francisco Pizarro authorized to conquer Peru (24 May); peace between Charles and Henry VIII (5 Aug.)
1530	Charles meets his daughter Tadea (Jan.–Feb); Clement crowns Charles king of Lombardy (22 Feb.) and Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna (24 Feb.); Charles crosses the Brenner into Austria (2 May); Infante Fernando dies (30 July); Charles's illegitimate daughter Juana dies at Madrigal; Imperial-papal siege forces Florentine republic to surrender (Aug.), and Charles restores Medici rule (Oct.)	Gattinara dies (5 June), and Los Cobos and Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle become Charles's principal ministers; Charles opens the Diet of Augsburg (15 June) and hears the Augsburg Confession (25 June); French princes return to France upon payment in full of their ransom (1 July); Eleanor of Austria marries Francis (7 July); Charles condemns Lutherans in closing act of the Diet (19 Nov.); Margaret of Austria dies (30 Nov.)	Pizarro and Diego de Almagro lead an expedition from Panama to Peru (27 Dec.)
1531		Ferdinand elected king of the Romans (5 Jan.); Charles enters Brussels (25 Jan.); landgrave of Hesse and Elector of Saxony form the Schmalkaldic League of Lutheran states (27 Feb.); Charles appoints Marie, dowager queen of Hungary, his regent in the Netherlands, advised by three Collateral	Henry VIII claims the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England (11 Feb.)

		Councils (Sep.–Oct.), and holds chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Tournai (Dec.)	
1532	Charles crosses the Brenner into Italy with an army (Oct.) and enters Bologna (13 Dec.) for more talks with Clement; Machiavelli's *Prince* published posthumously	Charles leaves Brussels for Germany (17 Jan.); suffers a hunting accident and a series of health crises (25 Feb.–July); challenged by Suleiman to battle (12 July); agrees to the peace of Nuremberg (23 July) granting German Lutheran rulers toleration in exchange for military support; enters Vienna (23 Sep.); Ottoman army withdraws from Hungary (Oct.)	Francisco Pizarro captures the Inca Atahualpa at Cajamarca (16 Nov.) and sends *prendas* to Charles
1533	Charles signs pact for the defence of Italy (24 Feb.), leaves Bologna (28 Feb.) and sets sail for Spain from Genoa (10 Apr.); Charles rejoins his family in Barcelona (22 Apr.)		Henry VIII repudiates Katherine of Aragon, marries Anne Boleyn (25 Jan.), and is excommunicated by pope; Pizarro executes Atahualpa (26 July); Elizabeth Tudor born (7 Sep.); Pizarro captures Cuzco (15 Nov.)
1534	*Prendas* sent by Pizarro reach Spain (Jan.); Charles visits university of Salamanca (June); empress gives birth to stillborn son (29 June); Clement VII dies (25 Sep.); Alessandro Farnese elected pope (13 Oct. as Paul III)	Landgrave of Hesse leads Lutheran troops into Württemberg, drives out Habsburg garrisons, and restores Duke Ulrich (Apr.–June)	Clement reaffirms the validity of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon (Mar.); Henry ends England's obedience to Rome
1535	Charles makes his third will (28 Feb.), leaves Spain (28 May), and captures Tunis (16 June–20 Aug.); Infanta Joanna born (24 June); Charles establishes an independent household for Prince Philip (June); Charles undertakes victory lap through Sicily (21 Aug.–2 Nov.) and Naples; Barbarossa sacks Mahón in		Charles incorporates Tlaxcala into the Crown of Castile (13 Mar.) and appoints Antonio de Mendoza his first viceroy of New Spain (25 Apr.)

	Menorca (Sep.); Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan dies (1 Nov.) and Leyva takes possession of duchy in Charles's name		
1536	Charles presides in Naples at the marriage of his daughter Margarita to Duke Alessandro de' Medici of Florence (18 Jan.), enters Rome (5 Apr.), and again challenges Francis to a duel (16 Apr.); Charles leads army into France (25 July); Germaine de Foix dies (15 Oct.); Charles retreats defeated to Genoa (28 Oct.) and sets sail for Barcelona (15 Nov.)	Francis occupies Savoy and Piedmont (Feb.–Mar.), and negotiates alliance with Suleiman (Apr.); Charles invades Provence (July) but has to retreat to Italy (Sep.–Oct.)	Katherine of Aragon dies (7 Jan.); Henry VIII has Anne Boleyn executed (19 May), and marries Jane Seymour (30 May)
1537	Duke Alessandro de' Medici murdered (6 Jan.); Infante Juan born (19 Oct.)		Prince Edward Tudor born (12 Oct.); Queen Jane Seymour dies (24 Oct.)
1538	Charles sets out for Nice (12 Feb,); Infante Juan dies (29 Mar.); Ottoman fleet defeats Christian fleet at Prevesa (28 Sep.); Margarita of Austria marries Octavio Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III and future duke of Parma (4 Nov.)	Charles and Francis meet the pope in Nice (9 May–20 June); Duke Charles of Guelders dies (30 June), and his subjects recognize Duke William of Cleves as his successor; Charles meets Francis at Aigues-Mortes (14–15 July)	Pizarro brothers defeat and execute Almagro (8 July)
1539	Empress gives birth to another stillborn son (21 Apr.) and dies (1 May); Charles names Philip regent (5 Nov.) and writes his first set of 'instructions' for his son before setting out for the Netherlands (11 Nov.)	Revolt of Ghent begins (17 Aug.); Charles enters France en route for the Netherlands (Nov.) and joins Francis (10 Dec.)	Francisco de Vitoria delivers his *Relectio de Indis* at the university of Salamanca (Jan.)
1540	Charles approves creation of a government archive in the fortress of Simancas (Sep.)	Charles enters Paris in triumph (1 Jan.), enters Ghent at the head of his troops (14 Feb.) and punishes rebel leaders (3 May)	Cortés returns to Spain (June); Henry VIII marries Anne of Cleves (6 Jan.), rejects her (9 July), and marries Catherine Howard (28 July)

1541	Marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan, arranges murder of French ambassadors Antonio Rincón and Cesare Fregoso (3 July), subsequently approved by Charles; Charles meets Paul III in Lucca (15–18 Sep.) before leading his forces in an unsuccessful attack on Algiers (23–28 Oct.); returns to Spain (1 Dec.)	Charles presides over the Diet of Regensburg (23 Feb.–29 July); sets out for Italy (29 July); Ottomans defeat Habsburg forces besieging Buda (21 Aug.) and occupy most of Hungary	Allies of Almagro murder Pizarro (26 June); Catherine Howard executed (23 Nov.)
1542	While at Monzón to meet the Cortes of Aragon (June–Sep.) Charles contemplates abdication and retirement to a monastery; French siege of Perpignan fails (Sep.)	Denmark and the duke of Cleves declare war on Charles (June), followed by France (10/12 July): the allies attack the Low Countries, Catalonia and Navarre	Charles allies with Henry VIII to attack France and Scotland (11 Feb.), and signs the New Laws, suppressing *encomiendas* in America (20 Nov.); English defeat Scots at Solway Moss (24 Nov.); James V of Scotland dies (14 Dec.) and his heiress, Mary Stuart, flees to France
1543	Charles sets sail for Genoa (1 May), and in Palamos he compiles secret holograph instructions for Prince Philip, left as regent (4 and 6 May); Charles meets Paul III at Busseto (20–23 June); Philip marries his cousin María Manuela of Portugal (14 Nov.); Barbarossa and Ottoman fleet winter in Toulon	Charles marches through Germany and attacks Cleves, taking Düren by storm (24 Aug.); Franco-Ottoman forces sack Nice (6 Sep.); Duke William of Cleves submits and surrenders Guelders to Charles (7 Sep.); Charles advances on Landrecies and offers battle to Francis, who retreats (3 Nov.)	Charles appoints Blasco Nuñez Vela his first viceroy of Peru (28 Feb.); Henry VIII marries Catherine Parr (12 July)
1544	French victory over imperial army under Vasto at Ceresole d'Alba (14 Apr.)	Charles presides at the Diet of Speyer (Feb.–June), which votes funds for war against France; Charles invades France, captures St Dizier (17 Aug.), and signs the Peace of Crépy which includes many French concessions (including a secret promise to provide aid against the German Lutherans) but obliges Charles to surrender either Milan or	Nuñez Vela arrives in Peru (May); *encomenderos* in Peru rebel, led by Gonzalo Pizarro (Aug.)

		Netherlands to Francis's son, Duke Charles of Orléans (18–19 Sep.)	
1545	News of rebellion in Peru arrives in Spain (May); Don Carlos born (8 July); María Manuela of Portugal dies (12 July); Paul III offers to send Charles money and troops for war against Lutherans (June) and invests his son Pier Luigi as duke of Parma and Piacenza (Sep.); council of Trent opens (13 Dec.)	Charles announces his decision to surrender Milan to Charles of Orléans (1 Feb.); Charles of Orléans dies (9 Sep.), allowing Charles to retain both Milan and the Netherlands; landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony defeat and imprison Duke Henry of Brunswick and seize his lands (Oct.)	Los Cobos recommends appointing Pedro de La Gasca to pacify Peru (30 June); French forces invade Isle of Wight (21 July)
1546	Charles sends Philip his 'letter of emancipation' (30 June)	Charles holds chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Utrecht (Jan.); Martin Luther dies (18 Feb.); Charles travels to Regensburg to meet Diet (Feb.–June), seduces Barbara Blomberg, and mobilizes troops in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, ostensibly to restore the duke of Brunswick (June); landgrave of Hesse, Elector of Saxony and other leaders of the League of Schmalkalden mobilize and sign an Act of Diffidation, renouncing Charles's rule (11 Aug.); League's army bombards Charles and his army in their camp before Ingolstadt (31 Aug.–4 Sep.); League's army withdraws (4 Sep.) and demobilizes (22 Nov.); Frederick of the Palatinate and Ulrich of Württemberg submit to Charles (Nov.–Dec.)	Viceroy Nuñez Vela of Peru defeated and executed by rebels (18 Jan.); Pedro de La Gasca leaves Spain for Peru (Mar.); France and England make peace (6 June); La Gasca reaches Panama (Aug.)
1547	Fieschi leads revolution in Genoa (2–3 January); Paul III relocates the general council from Trent to Bologna (Mar.); riots in Naples against the introduction of the Inquisition (May–Aug.); Los Cobos dies	Barbara Blomberg gives birth in Regensburg to Charles's son, called Gerónimo, later Don John of Austria (24 Feb.); Paul III withdraws his troops from Germany (Feb.); Francis I dies (31 Mar.), succeeded by	Henry VIII dies (28 Jan.), succeeded by Edward VI; La Gasca lands in Peru and advances towards Cuzco (June); English defeat the Scots at Pinkie (10 Sep.)

	(17 May); five-year truce between Charles and Suleiman (19 June); Duke Pier Luigi Farnese murdered in Piacenza (10 Sep.) and Imperial troops occupy the city; Cortés dies (2 Dec.)	Henry II; at Mühlberg Charles defeats and captures the Elector of Saxony (24 Apr.), who surrenders his lands and titles; landgrave of Hesse surrenders to Charles (19 June) who imprisons him; Charles sends Spanish garrisons into Württemberg, presides at the 'Armed Diet' of Augsburg (opened 1 Sep.), and summons Philip and María to join him in Germany (25 Dec.)	
1548	Imperial agents in Venice assassinate Lorenzino de' Medici, Duke Alessandro's murderer (26 Feb.); Charles's daughter María marries Ferdinand's son Maximilian and they become joint regents in Spain (Sep.); Philip leaves Spain for Genoa (Oct.) and travels through northern Italy into Germany	Charles sends his *Political Testament* to Philip (18 Jan); Charles orders Philip to join him in Brussels after Maximilian arrives and marries María in Spain (9 Apr.); Diet of Augsburg enacts the Interim (15 May); Diet declares the Netherlands a separate Circle of the Empire (30 June); Charles starts purging German city councils as he returns to Netherlands (Aug.)	La Gasca defeats rebellious *encomenderos* of Peru in battle outside Cuzco (8 Apr.), has Gonzalo Pizarro executed (10 Apr.), and starts purge of rebels and their relatives
1549	Council of Trent/Bologna prorogued indefinitely (17 Sep.); Paul III dies (10 Nov.)	Philip joins Charles in the Netherlands (1 Apr.), and both tour southern cities and attend festivals, notably at Binche (21–31 Aug.); Pragmatic Sanction unites the seventeen Habsburg provinces of the Netherlands (4 Nov.)	
1550	Giovanni del Monte elected pope (7 Feb.: Julius III); Charles makes his fourth will (19 May); Charles's illegitimate son Gerónimo sent to Spain (June); Junta de Indias meets in Valladolid to discuss royal policy in America (Aug.–Sep.); Habsburg forces conquer	Charles travels to Germany with Philip and starts writing his *Memoirs* (June); presides over the Diet of Augsburg; Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle dies (27 Aug.); bitter arguments with Ferdinand over imperial succession	Treaty of Boulogne reconciles England with France and Scotland (24 Mar.); Charles appoints Antonio de Mendoza viceroy of Peru and Luis de Velasco viceroy of Mexico (Apr.); La Gasca reaches Spain with two million ducats from Peru (Sep.)

	Mahdia and other ports in north Africa (Sep.)		
1551	Junta de Indias reconvenes in Valladolid (Apr.–May); Philip travels from Augsburg via Trent to Spain (May–July); Duke Octavio Farnese switches his allegiance to France and Imperial-papal forces lay siege to Parma and La Mirandola (July); Ottomans capture Tripoli (15 Aug.)	In Augsburg, Ferdinand and Philip sign a Family Compact concerning the imperial succession (9 March); council of Trent reconvenes, to which Charles insists that Lutherans must be invited (1 May); Charles's agents start to remodel the charters of twenty-five South German cities (Oct.); Henry II and German Lutheran princes led by Maurice of Saxony sign the Treaty of Lochau (5 Oct.); Charles orders the Spanish garrisons in Württemberg to join siege of Parma (Oct.), and moves to Innsbruck with his court (Nov.)	Charles creates institutions of higher education in Mexico and Peru (May)
1552	Infanta Joanna marries Prince John of Portugal (11 Jan.); end of the War of Parma (25 June); successful pro-French uprising in Siena (26 July); Charles orders garrison to raze fortifications of Mahdia and abandon it (Sep.)	Lutheran forces occupy Augsburg (4 Apr.); Metz recognizes Henry II as its suzerain (21 Apr.); council of Trent suspended (May); Charles flees from Innsbruck to Villach (19 May), agrees to free the imprisoned rulers of Hesse and Saxony, and ratifies the treaty of Passau, bringing the German war to an end (15 Aug.); Charles joins his army at Augsburg (20 Aug.), marches across Germany, and lays siege to Metz (23 Oct.)	Bartolomé de Las Casas publishes *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* in Seville
1553	Charles orders his son to break off negotiations to marry Maria of Portugal, the daughter of Eleanor (Aug.)	The Imperial army abandons the siege of Metz (1 Jan.); Charles reaches Brussels (6 Feb.), addresses the States-General (13 Feb.), and summons Philip to the Netherlands; Imperial troops besiege and destroy French-held Thérouanne and Hesdin (June)	Edward VI of England dies (6 July), and Mary Tudor succeeds; Charles urges Philip to marry Mary (30 July); Francisco Hernández Girón rebels in Peru (12 Nov.)

1554	Prince John of Portugal dies (2 Jan.); Infanta Joanna gives birth to Prince Sebastian (20 Jan.) and returns to Castile; Philip briefs Joanna on serving as regent of Spain, then leaves for England (13 July); Charles abdicates as king of Naples in favour of Philip (24 July)	Charles approves the terms of the marriage of Philip and Mary Tudor (4 Jan.); Charles drafts his fifth (last) will and secret codicils (6 June), leaves Brussels to join his troops (7 July), relieves Renty and forces French to withdraw (14 Aug.), and returns to Brussels in triumph (9 Oct.)	Mary crushes Wyatt's rebellion (3 Feb.) and imprisons her sister Elizabeth; Philip marries Mary Tudor (25 July), becomes king consort, and resides in England; England reconciled with Rome; Hernández Girón defeated in battle in Peru (8 Oct.) and is executed
1555	Julius III dies (23 Mar.); Queen Joanna, Charles's mother, dies (12 Apr.); Siena surrenders to Florentine-Imperial forces (17 Apr.); Marcello Cervini elected pope (9 Apr.: as Marcellus II) and dies (1 May); Gian Pietro Caraffa elected pope (23 May: as Paul IV); Ottoman forces capture Bougie (Aug.)	Philip returns to Brussels (8 Sep.); Ferdinand signs the peace of Augsburg (25 Sep.), which guarantees toleration for Lutherans in the Empire; Charles abdicates as ruler of the Netherlands (25 Oct.) and as Sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece (26 Oct.) in favour of Philip	Philip leaves England for the Netherlands (4 Sep.)
1556	Paul IV excommunicates and declares war on Charles and Philip (Sep.); Charles lands at Laredo (28 Sep.) and travels to Jarandilla	Charles abdicates as king of Sicily, Aragon and Castile, in favour of Philip (16 Jan.), whom he names imperial vicar-general in Italy; truce of Vaucelles with France (Feb.–July); Charles and his sisters Eleanor and Marie leave the Netherlands for Spain (17 Sep.)	
1557	Charles moves into his quarters at Yuste (3 Feb.); Philip begs his father to leave Yuste and govern Spain again, but he refuses (23–24 Mar.); Philip issues his first *Decreto* suspending all payments from the treasury of Castile (May); John III of Portugal dies (11 June), succeeded by infant grandson Sebastian, with Charles's sister Catalina as regent; Paul IV makes peace (14 Sep.)	Philip's army defeats French at the battle of St Quentin (10 Aug.), and invades France (Sep.–Oct.	Philip returns to England (18 Mar.–6 July); England declares war on France and Scotland (7 June)

1558	Eleanor of Austria dies (25 Feb.); Luis Quijada brings Gerónimo to Yuste and presents him to Charles (July); Ottoman fleet sacks Ciutadella on Menorca (July); Charles reviews his last testament and makes some changes (9 Sep.); Charles dies (21 Sep.); Marie of Hungary dies (18 Oct.); exequies for Charles in Spain and Italy (Dec.)	Charles's abdication as Holy Roman Emperor accepted by Electoral College (14 Mar.); Ferdinand succeeds him but denies Philip the title of imperial vicar-general in Italy; Philip's army defeats French at the battle of Gravelines (13 July); exequies for Charles in the Netherlands (Dec.)	England loses Calais (7 Jan.); Mary Tudor dies (17 Nov.), succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth; exequies for Charles in London (Dec.)
1559	Paul IV dies (18 Aug.); Giovanni Angelo de' Medici elected pope (25 Dec. as Pius IV); Philip returns to Spain, meets his half-brother Gerónimo, whom he renames Don John of Austria, and welcomes him to his court (Sep.)	Exequies for Charles in Augsburg (24 Feb.); Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis ends Habsburg-Valois wars (3 Apr.); Philip appoints his half-sister Margarita his regent in the Netherlands and sails to Spain (Aug.)	Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis ends Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-French wars (3 Apr.); exequies for Charles in Lima (11–12 Nov.), Mexico City (30 Nov.), and elsewhere in Spanish America
1562		Charles's daughter Tadea, now a nun in Rome, begs permission to come to Spain (12 Oct.); Ferdinand secures the election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans (24 Nov.)	Gonzalo Méndez, a Franciscan friar in Guatemala, observes Charles's soul ascend from Purgatory to Paradise

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES AND SOURCES

AA	Biblioteca de Liria, Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de los Duques de Alba, with caja and folio
ADN	Archives départementales du Nord, Lille
B	*Archives civiles, Série B (Chambre des Comptes de Lille)*, with register or liasse and (where one exists) immatriculation
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, with legajo and ramo, or libro and folio
IG	*Indiferente General*
Justicia	*Papeles de Justicia*
Lima	*Audiencia de Lima*
México	*Audiencia de México*
Patronato	*Patronato Real*
AGNM	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico D.F.
Mercedes	*Instituciones coloniales: Mercedes*
AGPM	Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid, Sección histórica
AGRB	Archives Générales du Royaume/Algemene Rijksarchief, Brussels
Audience	*Papiers d'État et d'Audience/Papieren van Staat en Audientië*
Gachard	*Collection Gachard/Collectie Gachard*
MD	*Manuscrits divers/Handschriftenverzameling*
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid)
CC	*Cámara de Castilla*
CJH	*Consejos y Juntas de Hacienda*
CMC	*Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas* (with época and legajo)
CS	*Contaduría del Sueldo* (with época and legajo)
CSR	*Casas y Sitios Reales*
E	*Negociación de Estado*
GA	*Guerra Antigua*
PR	*Patronato Real*
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
Inquisición	*Sección de Inquisición*
AHN Nobleza	Sección Nobleza del Archivo Histórico Nacional, Toledo
Frías	*Archivo de los duques de Frías* (until 1987 housed in the castle of the dukes of

	Frías at Montemayor, Córdoba)
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AMAE	Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid
ANF	Archives Nationales de France, Paris, Archives de l'Ancien Régime
Série J	*Trésor des Chartes*
Série K	*Monuments historiques*
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
CC	*Corpo cronológico*
AS	Archivio di Stato
ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
MdP	*Mediceo del Principato*
SDO	*Signori, Dieci di Balia e Otto di Pratica. Legazioni e commissarie, missive e response*
ASMa	Archivio di Stato, Mantua
AG CE	*Archivio Gonzaga: Corrispondenza estera*
ASMo	Archivio di Stato, Modena
CDA	*Cancellaria ducale: ambasciatori*
ASP	Archivio di Stato, Parma
CF	*Carteggio Farnesiano*
GG	*Archivi di Famiglie e di Persone: Gonzaga di Guastalla*
AST	Archivio di Stato, Turin
LM	*Lettere di ministri*
B&S	*Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V.*, with issue number (a series of 20 fascicles published in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* between 1930 and 1942 by Karl Brandi and his students. See bibliography for details.)
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Manuscript collection
Vat. Lat.	*Codex Vaticanus Latinus*
BCRH	*Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*
BH	*Bulletin Hispanique*
BHO	*British History Online*
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BKK	Brandi, K., *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen und Erörterungen* (Munich, 1941)
BL	British Library (formerly British Museum Library), London, Department of Western Manuscripts
Addl. Ms.	*Additional Manuscripts*
Cott. Ms.	*Cotton Manuscripts*
Eg. Ms.	*Egerton Manuscripts*
Harl. Ms.	*Harleian Manuscripts*
BMECB	Bibliothèque Municipale d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon
Ms. Granvelle	*Collection Manuscrite Granvelle*
BNE *Ms.*	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, *Colección de Manuscritos*
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, *Section des Manuscrits*
Dupuy	*Collection manuscrite Dupuy*
F. f.	*Fonds français*
Ms. Esp.	*Manuscrit espagnol*
Ms. Port.	*Manuscrit portugais*

BNMV	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Manuscript collection
BNP	*La Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. Notice et extraits des manuscrits qui concernent l'histoire de la Belgique*, ed. L. P. Gachard, 2 vols (Brussels, 1875–7)
BR *Ms.*	Biblioteca Real (formerly Biblioteca del Palacio Real), Madrid, *Colección de Manuscritos*
BRAH	*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*
BRB *Ms.*	Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, *Cabinet des Manuscrits/Handschriftenkabinet*
BSLE *Ms.*	del Real Biblioteca Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, *Colección de Manuscritos*
BZ	Biblioteca de Zabálburu, Madrid, Manuscript collection (with caja and folio)
CADMA	Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, La Courneuve (previously Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères)
MDE	*Mémoires et documents: Espagne*
CCG	*Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle*, ed. E. Poullet and C. Piot, 12 vols (Brussels, 1877–96)
CDCV	*Corpus Documental de Carlos V*, ed. M. Fernández Álvarez, 5 vols (Salamanca, 1973–81)
CLC	*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, 7 vols (Madrid, 1861–1903)
CMH	*Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie avec Charles-Quint et Nicolas de Granvelle*, ed. L. Gorter-van Royen and J.-P. Hoyois, 2 vols (Leuven, 2009–18)
CODOIN	*Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España*, 112 vols (Madrid, 1842–95)
CODOIN . . . América	*Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones de América y Oceania*, 42 vols (Madrid, 1864–84)
CODOIN . . . Ultramar	*Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de Ultramar*, 25 vols (Madrid, 1885–1932)
CR	*Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. K. G. Bretschneider et al., 101 vols to date (Halle, 1834–)
CSPF	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Edward VI, 1547–1553*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (London, 1861)
CSP Milan	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan, 1385–1618*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1912)
CSPSp	*Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna, Simancas, Besançon, Brussels, Madrid and Lille*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth, P. de Gayangos et al., 13 vols, (London, 1862–1954)
CSPSp Supplement	*Supplement to volume I and volume II of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives of Simancas and elsewhere*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London, 1868)
CSPSp Further Supplement	*Further Supplement to Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna and elsewhere, 1513–1542*, ed. G. Mattingly (London, 1947)
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice*, ed. H. F. Brown et al., 38 vols (London, 1864–1947)

CWE — *The Collected Works of Erasmus: The Correspondence*, ed. W. K. Ferguson, J. Estes et al., 18 vols to date (Toronto, 1974–2018)

EHR — *English Historical Review*

FBD — G. Parker, *Felipe II. La biografía definitiva* (Barcelona, 2010)

GRM — *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste. Lettres inédites publiées d'après les originaux conservés dans les archives royales de Simancas*, by L. P. Gachard, *Introduction* and 2 vols (Brussels, 1854–6)

HHStA — Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna

Länderabteilungen: Belgien-Niederländisches Departement

- *Belgien DD* — *Belgien Repertorium DD*
- *Belgien PA* — *Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung A*
- *Belgien PB* — *Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung B*
- *Belgien PC* — *Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung C*

Handschriftensammlung

- *Hs. Blau* — *Handschrift Blau*

HMC — *Historical Manuscripts Commission*

HR — *Historical Research* (formerly *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*)

HSA — Hispanic Society of America, New York, Manuscript collection

- *Altamira* — Manuscripts from the Society's Altamira collection, with box, folder and document
- *B* — Manuscripts from the Society's main manuscript collection
- *HC* — Documents purchased by the HSA from Karl Hiersemann, with catalogue and document

Hunt — Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino (California)

- *HA* — *Hastings Manuscripts*
- *PL* — *Pizarro–La Gasca Collection*

IVdeDJ — Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, with envío and folio

KB — Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

KFF — *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. Die Familienkorrespondenz*, ed. W. Bauer et al., 5 vols to date (Vienna, 1912–2015)

LCK — *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karls V., aus dem königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de Bourgogne zu Brüssel*, ed. K. Lanz, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1844–6)

LGC — *Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilien I^er^ et de Marguerite d'Autriche, sa fille, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1507 à 1519*, ed. A. J. G. Le Glay, 2 vols (Paris, 1839)

L&P Henry VIII — *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, 21 vols, some in multiple parts (London, 1872–1920), plus revised and expanded editions of the first two volumes

LWB — *Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 4: Briefwechsel*, 18 vols (Weimar, 1930–85)

LWS — *Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 1: Schriften*, 56 vols (Weimar, 1883–1929)

LWT — *Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 2: Tischreden*, 6 vols (Weimar, 1912–21)

MHE — *Memorial Histórico Español*

MÖStA — *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*

NBD	*Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. Nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, Erste Abteilung 1533–1559*, ed. W. Friedensburg, L. Cardauns et al., 17 vols, with two *Ergänzungsbände* covering 1530–2 (Gotha, 1892–1981)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; updated online resource: *www.oxforddnb.com*)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, manuscript collection
PEG	*Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle*, ed. C. Weiss, 9 vols (Paris, 1841–52)
RAH *Ms.*	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, *Colección de Manuscritos*
Muñoz	*Colección manuscrita Muñoz*
Salazar	*Colección manuscrita Salazar y Castro*
RTA	*Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V.*, ed. A. Kluckhohn et al., 20 vols, some in multiple parts (Gotha and Munich, 1893–2009)
RVEC	Rodríguez Villa, A., *El Emperador Carlos V y su corte según las cartas de don Martín de Salinas, embajador del Infante don Fernando, 1522–1539* (Madrid, 1903)
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SLID	Sánchez Loro, Domingo, *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V*, 3 vols (Cáceres, 1957–9)
SP	*State papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. King Henry the Eighth*, 5 parts in 11 vols (London, 1830–52)
SPO	*State Papers Online* (online resource: *https://www.gale.com/uk/primary-sources/state-papers-online*)
TNA	The National Archives (formerly The Public Record Office), Kew, London
TRHistS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

NOTE ON DATES AND QUOTES

Dates in the earlier sixteenth century present the historian with multiple challenges. According to the French Style used in most of northern Europe during Charles's lifetime, each year began with Easter (which, then as now, fell on different dates in successive years); but according to the Roman Style, widely used in Italy and Spain, each year began on 1 January, while in Venice it began on 1 March. Thus Charles was born on 24 February 1500 according to the Roman style; but since Easter that year fell on 19 April, most documents written in Venice, France, Germany, England and the Netherlands stated that he was born on 24 February 1499. This difference between calendars only affected the months between New Year and Easter, and some letter-writers would add 'before Easter' to make clear that they were using the French Style (Venetians sometimes add 'm.v.': *more veneto*), but several writers who provide critical information on Charles used more than one calendar. Margaret of Austria normally used French Style but adopted Roman Style when she wrote to correspondents in Spain, and her father Maximilian often dated letters according to the style used in the place where he happened to be writing – if indeed either of them bothered to include a date or place at all. These inconsistencies mean that some letters can only be dated from internal evidence. Unfortunately the French archivist André Le Glay, who expertly deciphered and published much of the correspondence between Maximilian and his daughter, assigned the wrong date to perhaps one-third of their letters. For example, one of Margaret's letters to her father stated that Charles had just killed a man while hunting with his crossbow earlier that day, which was 'Whit Monday'. Without revealing his rationale, Le Glay confidently dated this letter 'May 1513' and placed it alongside other letters written that month. Almost all subsequent historians have accepted Le Glay's date without question, even though Andreas Walther demonstrated long ago that Margaret wrote her letter on 5 June 1514. Unless otherwise stated, this volume uses the dates proposed by Walther and gives all dates in Roman Style: thus Charles was born on 24 February 1500 and he killed a man for the first time on 5 June 1514.[1]

The dispatches of Italian diplomats, which feature prominently in this book, present a further complication because they usually marked the passage of time according to a twenty-four-hour clock that began half an hour after sunset, which occurred at 'ore 2330' each day, whatever the season of the year. For example, in 1521 the Venetian ambassador in Brussels reported that Charles left his palace to welcome King Christian of Denmark 'at around 21 hours' on 4 July, returning 'at half-an-hour in the night'; and the following evening he recorded wearily that the two monarchs, having dined, had started to dance even though 'it is two o'clock at night, and they are still at it'. Since in July the sun sets in Brussels around 10 p.m., in this book the events recorded by the ambassador

occurred at (respectively) 7.30 p.m. and 11 p.m. on 4 July, and he wrote about them at 12.30 a.m. on 6 July.[2]

Quoting sixteenth-century documents also presents challenges. First comes orthography: even familiar syntax and vocabulary can be obscured by frequent abbreviations and bizarre spelling. Jason Powell has calculated that the twenty-four surviving letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt, most of them written while he was English ambassador at the imperial court between 1537 and 1540, contain almost 30,000 words, 'among which are 3,380 abbreviations. That is to say that there is one abbreviation for every 8.43 words in Wyatt's holograph prose.'[3] A similar ratio probably characterized the correspondence of Charles and his other European contemporaries (curious readers should feel free to check). As for vocabulary, even the same document may contain several different spellings of the same word. And then there is repetition. Correspondents in the earlier sixteenth century seldom used one word when they could use two or more, creating a tedious parade of synonyms. Charles would 'order and command'; he 'travelled and journeyed'; an action must be carried out with 'dissimulation and secrecy'; and so on. In this book I have respected both the original orthography (for documents in English) and the repetition, but expanded the abbreviations. Readers interested in the original quotations from Spanish sources will find them in Geoffrey Parker, *Carlos V: una nueva vida del emperador* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2019).

NOTE ON SOURCES

The historiography of the reign of Charles V, wrote Benito Sánchez Alonso in his classic *Sources of Spanish and Latin American history* in 1952, is ‘the most interesting of all periods’ – but it is also ‘extremely copious and confused’. He proceeded to list some 2,500 separate sources in ten languages on ‘Spain in the period 1516–1556’. The literature has of course become yet more copious and confused since 1952 – for Spain, for Latin America and for other parts of Charles’s empire. The historiographical essays in the excellent volume *The histories of Emperor Charles* V, published in 2005, covered almost 300 pages but included only works published in various European countries and the former Ottoman Empire, ignoring how Latin American writers had portrayed him.[1]

The principal primary sources on the emperor’s life and reign can be divided into six broad categories: collections of data; ego-documents; administrative archives; diplomatic archives; chronicles and histories; and cultural records.

I. COLLECTIONS OF DATA

Seven collections of data – four printed and three manuscript – provide a wealth of information on Charles and his world.

1. CHARLES’S TRAVELS

Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera spent almost fifty years ransacking all sources available to him to establish where Charles spent every night and day of his life, and (where possible) what he did there. He published the definitive edition in 1914. Two compilations by Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario del emperador Carlos V* and *Caminos y derroteros*, provide both more and less than Foronda: on the positive side, they include many events important for Charles, even though he was not personally present; on the negative side, they omit the copious archival references provided by Foronda. Currently, Alain Servantie and others are creating a website ‘Itinera Carolus V imperator/The European routes of Emperor Charles V: Itinera Carolus V|Las Rutas del Emperador.’[2]

2. THE POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES V: THE UNIVERSITY OF KONSTANZ COLLECTION

In the 1960s, Horst Rabe and a team at the University of Konstanz started to collect photocopies of the political correspondence of Charles V from archives and libraries in Austria, Belgium and Spain.

By 2000 they had catalogued over 120,000 missives sent to or by Charles, from almost 1,500 distinct bundles, written in Dutch, French, German, Italian, Latin and Spanish. They assigned each document a number and then published an index, arranged by date and correspondent (Rabe, *Karl V., politische Korrespondenz*), and an overview of the collection (Rabe, 'Die politische Korrespondenz'). The photocopies of the letters in the Konstanz University Library are arranged in *Schuber*, according to the archive, series and bundle (*legajo*, *liasse* or *Konvolut*) from which they came, usually with two lists of contents at the front: one organized by the letter number of each document in the box, the other by the folio in the original archive bundle. The essential details – sender and recipient; date and place of signature; archive call-number and Schuber number; status (original, minute, cyphered and so on) – have also been entered into the database POLKAweb: http://karl-v.bsz-bw.de/. The arrangement of all the letters in a single numbered sequence by date tracks the uneven flow of paperwork over time and measures the pulse of empire much as Charles did – a remarkable work of historical reconstruction in itself.[3]

3. THE BERGENROTH TRANSCRIPTS OF DOCUMENTS FOR A *HISTORY OF CHARLES V*

After a colourful life in Europe and California, Gustave Bergenroth spent a decade locating and reading manuscripts in European archives and libraries in preparation for his projected *History of Charles V*. Bergenroth employed up to ten copyists to make transcripts and by the time of his death in 1869 (from typhus contracted while living at Simancas) he had accumulated almost 20,000 pages of copies. Almost immediately, his 'intimate friend' Paul Friedmann offered Bergenroth's 'Charles V collection' to the British Museum for £1,500, and the Keeper of Manuscripts asked an eminent historian, Lord Acton, to assess their value. Although Acton regretted that Bergenroth's 'power of detecting what was important and new was superior by far to his manner of using what he had obtained', he deemed the collection 'eminently worthy of a place among the treasures of the Museum'. The Trustees approved the purchase in 1870. Bound in a single chronological order, regardless of the archive in which they were found, the twenty-six fat folio volumes of the Bergenroth collection (BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,572–28,597) afford a unique opportunity to see the world through Charles's eyes.[4]

Shortly after purchasing the collection, the British Museum librarians discovered that Friedmann had withheld eleven more volumes. Although he later offered them for sale, the Museum declined and in 1896 Friedmann donated them to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. After World War II, they were acquired by the Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Kraków, accessioned as *Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 27–37. The first six volumes contain more transcripts prepared for Bergenroth, arranged by themes (*Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 29 contains copies of documents from various collections concerning Charles and the Inquisition; *Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 30 includes copies of Charles's correspondence about the council of Trent; and so on). The rest contain Bergenroth's list of all the documents he had consulted and transcribed, those in London as well as those in Kraków, organized by archive and series.[5] All eleven volumes have been scanned and made available online: http://info.filg.uj.edu.pl/fibula/pl/manuscripts/5

4. THE COURT OF CHARLES V

In 2000, José Martínez Millán and a group of colleagues (mainly from the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid) published a five-volume study of Charles's court and government. The first two volumes contain essays; the rest include lists and biographies of many ministers and household officials.[6] The volumes are all available online at https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=4519

5. THE EMPEROR'S GOODS

In 2010, Fernando Checa Cremades and an international team of experts transcribed and published almost all the extant inventories left by Charles, his siblings, and other close relatives, each one listing and describing in detail what they owned at various stages of their lives. The inventory for each member of the family is preceded by a helpful essay in both English and Spanish.[7]

6. CHARLES'S RETIREMENT

The period of Charles's final sojourn in Spain (September 1556–September 1558) is the best-documented of his entire life. Immediately after the emperor's death, at the request of his daughter Joanna, Prior Martín de Angulo of Yuste composed a short *Vida y fin que ha tenido la cesárea, sacra y real majestad de nuestro señor Don Carlos, en este monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste*.[8] Some decades later, Fray Hernando del Corral wrote a far more detailed *Historia breve y sumaria de cómo el emperador Don Carlos V, nuestro señor, trató de venirse a recoger al monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste*, which began with the emperor's abdication and ended with the relocation of his body in 1574 to a new Jeronimite house, San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, but concentrated on his nineteen months in the imperial apartments attached to the convent.[9] Their more celebrated successor, Fray José de Sigüenza, shamelessly plagiarized both Angulo and Corral for the second part of his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, published in 1600 – albeit with some subtle additions and omissions – and Prudencio de Sandoval did the same in a final segment of his *History*: 'Historia de la vida que el emperador Carlos V rey de España hizo retirado en el monasterio de Iuste'.

In addition the emperor's correspondence, the correspondence of many in his entourage, the audited accounts of his household, and the inventory of his possessions while at Yuste all remain largely intact in Simancas. Many of these sources appeared in print for the first time in the 1850s, apparently in preparation for the third centenary of his death, some transcribed by the archivists of Simancas, Tomás and Manuel González, others by their successor, Manuel García González, working for the Belgian archivist and historian Louis Prosper Gachard.[10] In 1957–8, Domingo Sánchez Loro published almost all of the surviving sources on the emperor's last two years in three volumes containing almost 2,000 pages. Volume III published a day-by-day reconstruction of the 'Retiro, estancia y muerte de Carlos V en Yuste' compiled from the Simancas documents transcribed by Tomás González, with the texts of the corresponding documents inserted in over 500 footnotes.[11]

Charles's final illness can be reconstructed almost minute-by-minute thanks to these sources, complemented by the sworn depositions from twenty of those gathered around his deathbed, collected by the Inquisition as part of its investigation of the archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza, for heresy. José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, who worked tirelessly on Carranza, published the twenty depositions in three places: *BRAH*, CXLIII (1958), 155–227; along with other documents in *Fray Bartolomé Carranza. Documentos históricos* (1962–94); and in a special volume entitled *Así murió el emperador* (1995).

7. CHARLES'S DEBTS

AGS *CSR* legajos 128–180, known as *Descargos de Carlos V*, comprise fifty-two boxes filled with manuscript accounts and petitions to the executors of Charles's last will from those who claimed that he still owed them money: a total that exceeded 500,000 ducats. The claimants ranged from his ministers and household officials, or their heirs (including the widow of Francisco de Los Cobos, who had to produce his will before she received his salary arrears as Charles's principal secretary), to Barbara Blomberg, the mother of Don Juan de Austria (who was still begging for payment of her

son's debts in 1597). Their stories shed a unique light on the emperor's world. An index of the names of all petitioners mentioned in the collection, compiled in 1898, is available in the Sala de los Investigadores at Simancas.[12]

Nevertheless, all seven collections of data remain incomplete. Although Foronda consulted manuscripts from collections all over Spain and at Lille, elsewhere he relied largely on published works. The University of Konstanz researchers deliberately excluded everything from Charles's early years (the first letters from Charles in their collection date from June 1517) and also overlooked many documents held in private archives. Bergenroth gathered copies of many but by no means all important manuscripts concerning Charles. Checa Cremades and his team omitted a partial inventory of the items that accompanied Charles on his first journey from the Netherlands to Spain in 1517.[13] The index entries for the *Descargos de Carlos V* do not mention the documents attached, and in any case the series covers only Charles's creditors in Castile.

II. EGO-DOCUMENTS

In 1958 the Dutch historian Jacob Presser coined the term 'ego-document' to cover 'those historical sources in which the user is confronted with an "I", or occasionally (Caesar, Henry Adams) a "he", continuously present in the text as the writing and describing subject'.[14] Historians, particularly early modern European historians, have subsequently developed important methodologies to deal with the problems surrounding ego-documents, such as memories so painful or embarrassing that writers either could not recount them or else (whether unconsciously or consciously) edited them. Although no contemporaries seem to have recorded Charles's mealtime conversations, as they did for his brother Ferdinand and for Martin Luther, the emperor wrote an autobiography, delivered policy speeches based on notes written in his own hand, and composed countless instructions, position papers and letters in which he revealed his inner thoughts. As Federico Chabod observed: 'Probably no other ruler in History left holograph documents comparable in quantity with those of Charles V.'[15]

1. AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

While sailing up the Rhine on his barge in 1550, assisted by his chamberlain Guillaume van Male, Charles composed *Memoirs* in the third person that covered his public life between 1515 and 1548 (see Appendix I). Two members of Charles's inner circle also wrote life stories that involved him. Emperor Maximilian supervised the composition of an illustrated autobiography in four parts: *Theuerdank* (1505–16); *Der Weisskunig* (1510–17); *Freydal* (1512–16); and *Historia Friderici III et Maximiliani I* (1515–16). He presented special copies of all four to his grandson Charles (chapter 2).[16] Charles's Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara wrote his autobiography, also in the third person, just before sailing for Italy from Barcelona with Charles in July 1529. In 1915, Carlos Bornate published the text of the document, which covered forty-seven large folios written in Latin in Gattinara's distinctive neat script, heavily corrected, together with some memoranda and letters that clarified the chancellor's assertions (Bornate, 'Historia'). Almost a century later, Rebecca Ard Boone published an English translation as an appendix to her study of the chancellor, including most but not all of Bornate's erudite notes (Boone, *Mercurino*). As Bornate observed bitterly, Gattinara's 'style is verbose and prolix', and he sometimes 'weighed down his rationale by interminable sentences and overlong digressions', so that (in the words of Manuel Rivera Rodríguez) on reading the *Autobiography* 'We have the impression that we are subjected to a monologue.' Nevertheless, it contains much material not found elsewhere.[17]

2. INSTRUCTIONS

Like other rulers of his day, whenever Charles appointed someone to carry out an important task – diplomatic, military, administrative, personal – he composed detailed instructions, some public and others secret. For example, when he left Spain in May 1543 he drew up and signed dozens of instructions to those who would govern in his absence, including two written in his own hand for his son Philip, each one covering over twenty pages. The second document, intended only for the eyes of his son, included Charles's thoughts not only on how Philip should govern but on the strengths and weaknesses of those who would assist him.[18]

3. POSITION PAPERS

In 1551, the Venetian ambassador Mario Cavalli noted that when faced by a complex decision, Charles liked to 'write down the reasons pro and contra to see which one offered the better rationale'. Many of these introspective documents have survived, starting with a consideration of his dilemmas in February 1525, composed because 'I wanted to write down my opinion [the reasons pro and contra] in confidence, even though no one knows them better than me'.[19] Some of the emperor's holograph letters to his brother served the same purpose: see, for example, his holograph 'state of the empire' message in January 1530, which covered fourteen folios, some heavily corrected, composed expressly so that 'it will serve as a memorandum when we are together, and I will explain to you everything necessary concerning what I have written'.[20]

4. SPEECHES

Some considered Charles taciturn – in 1532, Luther jested that 'he says as much in one year as I do in a day' – but we know that the emperor, too, could be loquacious because ambassadors always recorded, often verbatim, what he said at audiences (see below). Moreover, some of his formal addresses appeared in print (e.g. his speeches when he opened a meeting of the representative assembly of a dominion; and his lengthy responses to criticisms of his conduct voiced by the Knights of the Golden Fleece at their formal chapters recorded by the Greffier of the Order).[21]

Contemporaries paid special attention to Charles's public speeches, such as his harangue to the pope and the College of Cardinals in Rome in April 1536, which lasted well over an hour, and his abdication address to the States-General of the Netherlands in Brussels in October 1555; and although on both occasions Charles spoke from notes, not from a text, many eyewitnesses later recorded what they thought he had said. The most detailed versions were those relayed to foreign governments by their ambassadors, and because they sat at the front of the audience they presumably heard and saw everything of importance.[22] Others were less fortunate – the report by a Spanish eyewitness of the abdication speech was probably typical: 'I can only narrate what happened according to what I saw myself, because there were so many people that you could not hear anything' – but some at the back of the hall took notes and later published them anyway.[23] Pontus Heuterus from Holland was one of them: in 1598 he printed in his *Affairs of the Netherlands and of Austria* (in Latin) a version of Charles's speech forty-three years before, but it differed significantly from the most detailed surviving text: 'Receuil [sic] de ce que l'empereur dit de bouche aux estatz generaulx de pardeça le xxv^{e} d'octobre 1555 . . . noté par quelque bon personnaige estant à ladicte assamblée', probably compiled by Antoine Perrenot from the notes used by Charles.[24] Unfortunately, the best-known text – that published by Prudencio de Sandoval in the last volume of his *History* (1606) – relied on Heuterus; and therefore those who have relied on Sandoval (like Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: el César*, 782–8) included the same errors as Heuterus. To take a single example, Heuterus,

Sandoval and Fernández Álvarez all claimed that the emperor said that ‘my much-loved mother, who died recently, was out of her mind after the death of my father, so she was never fit to govern’ – an extraordinary admission – whereas according to the ‘Receuil’, the emperor stated (far more plausibly) that he had gone to Spain in 1517 ‘to attend to the indispositions of the queen his mother (who died recently)’.

5. LETTERS

In 1892, after working for a decade on his history of the emperor’s reign, Hermann Baumgarten wrote that ‘The most important source is Charles V’s correspondence’ – but not all letters are equal. Lyndal Roper’s admirable study of the correspondence of Martin Luther (which fills eighteen printed volumes) pointed out that letters in the sixteenth century ‘functioned rather like email, readily forwarded and semi-public’; and like Luther, Charles composed some of his letters with a view to publication, such as those challenging Francis I to a duel in 1528. Many of the emperor’s other letters were cyphered, to prevent anyone except the intended recipient from reading them, and he wrote other letters entirely in his own hand, sometimes even addressing and sealing them himself, explicitly so that his ministers would not know what he had written.[25] Many letters survive in multiple copies, but (again) not all are equal. Secretaries often summarized incoming letters and papers, and read those summaries out to the emperor, making a note in the margin of how he wished to respond; they would then draft a letter, which the emperor might revise (often by commenting as they were read out to him). Therefore, the annotated summaries and drafts often provide more evidence than the original correspondence of the emperor’s decision-making process.

Almost 100,000 letters exchanged between Charles and his siblings Ferdinand and Marie survive in half a dozen different archives and libraries. Marie’s correspondence down to 1533 has appeared in a modern edition, with more volumes promised; the correspondence of Ferdinand with other family members, including Charles, has now reached 1,536 letters in five volumes, the most recent one accompanied by English summaries of the documents and an English translation of the introduction. More volumes are promised but Christopher Laferl, the general editor, has warned that although the series began publication in 1912 only a quarter of the surviving letters have so far been printed. ‘At this rate,’ he concluded with grim humour, ‘publication of his family correspondence should be completed in the year 2558, just in time for the millennial commemoration of the death of Charles V.’[26]

Charles also exchanged intimate letters with his wife, but none appear to have survived: the 114 printed letters from the empress to her husband between 1528 and 1538 reveal little affection or intimacy, although they allude to other personal missives now apparently lost.[27] Two of Charles’s surviving letters in 1536 to Ursolina de la Penna, who had borne his child fourteen years before, were certainly personal, but they concerned ‘our daughter Tadea’ and were written in French by a secretary, with a sentence in Italian enjoining her to take the letters to a local friar ‘should you not understand what I have written’. Charles himself only signed his name.[28] We find nothing like the passionate love letter written to his sister Eleanor by Count Palatine Frederick in 1517, addressed to ‘Ma Mignonne’ (it survives only because Charles confiscated the letter and, having read it, took it with him to Spain and placed it in the archives of Simancas).[29] The same is true of Charles’s correspondence with his son and heir: of the 500 surviving letters he wrote to Philip between 1543 and 1558, often with holograph postscripts, none exude genuine warmth. Charles was certainly capable of raising intimate issues with his children, as he did with his daughter Margarita of Parma, but his sixty letters to her perished when German soldiers destroyed much of AS Naples in 1943. Only a few had already appeared in print.[30]

By contrast, intimate letters exchanged by Charles with other members of his circle have survived. Both von Höfler and Gachard published correspondence between Adrian and his illustrious former pupil between 1516 and 1523. Aude Viaud published forty-five epistles written to Charles by his youngest sister Catalina between 1528 and 1532, with a brilliant introduction that stresses the importance of such correspondence in holding the imperial family together.[31] In 1530, Charles sent García de Loaysa y Mendoza, his confessor, to Rome as a special representative and for the next three years Loaysa bombarded the emperor with letters full of intimate advice which frequently referred to equally intimate matters discussed while they were together in the 1520s. Two editions of Loaysa's letters to Charles appeared almost simultaneously, but the minutes of some of Charles's replies, in AGS *E* 1558/56–96, remain unpublished (except for English summaries in *CSPSp*, IV/2).[32] Although Fray Pedro de Soto accompanied the emperor as his confessor between 1542 and 1548, we know only of his role in negotiating peace with France and in urging war against the German Lutherans.[33] Many more letters have survived from Pedro's successor as confessor (1548–50), Domingo de Soto, and they appeared in print with a commentary in Beltrán de Heredía's biography of the Dominican. These documents are revealing because (as Soto claimed in one of his letters to Charles) 'nobody knows the Christian soul of Your Majesty as well as I do'.[34]

Other surviving correspondence that reveals personal details about the emperor includes the letters exchanged between his aunt Margaret and grandfather Maximilian between 1506 and 1519 (see p. 580 below); medical reports on him by his doctors (Fernando de Escoriaza's letters in Spanish to the empress in 1530–2; Cornelis van Baersdorp's letters in French to Marie of Hungary in 1548–52; Henri Mathys's letters in Latin and halting Spanish to Juan Vázquez de Molina in 1556–8); and thirty-four 'intimate letters' in Latin from his chamberlain Guillaume van Male to a colleague between 1550 and 1553.[35] St Francis Borja, one of the emperor's most trusted councillors who became a Jesuit, later described his conversations with Charles at Yuste to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who included them in his *Life* of the future saint (reproduced with embellishments by Sandoval).[36]

III. CHARLES'S ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHIVES

By the time he abdicated each of Charles's dominions boasted a central archive. In addition certain libraries acquired segments of Charles's administrative archives, often filed with other items. The following are the most important collections, grouped by country:

1. AUSTRIA

(a) Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (HHStA)

As its title suggests, HHStA contains documents concerning the dynasties that have ruled Austria, as well as their households and governments, and collections from other territories ruled by the Habsburgs. An e-guide is in progress at http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=1.

Four sections are of special interest to Charles's biographers:

* *Habsburgische-Lothringische Hausarchive: Hausarchiv*, *Familienkorrespondenz*, which contains four boxes of Charles's correspondence between 1534 and 1555.
* *Länderabteilungen: Belgien-Niederländisches Departement*, which contains the extensive administrative correspondence of both Charles and Marie (much of it removed from the archives of Brussels in the eighteenth century): see *Belgien PA*, *Belgien PC* and *Belgien DD-B*. Rabe, 'Stückverzeichnis' (with nine parts), provided basic data on 7,165 documents in the series *Belgien PA* 1–*PA* 35/1 (letters from 1480 to 1542).

* *Diplomatie und Aussenpolitik vor 1848, Staatenabteilung Grossbritannien (England), Diplomatische Korrespondenz* 1–17, which contains Charles's correspondence with his regents in the Netherlands and his ambassadors in England between 1505 and 1555. Summaries of many of these items were published in English in *CSPSp*. Unfortunately, the call-numbers in the Calendars no longer correspond with those currently used in the archive. For example, Charles's letter to Ambassador Eustache Chapuys dated 14 March 1542, summarized in *CSPSp*, VI/1, 480–3, with the call-number *Länderabteilungen Belgien PC*, Faszikel 233, folios 9–18, is now *Staatenabteilung England, Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, Faszikel 9, folios 3–7.[37]
* *Handschriftensammlung: Handschriften Blau* 595 and 596/1–2, three registers containing copies of Charles's letters to his brother (1524–48, 1548–51 and 1551–8 respectively).

In the 1930s, Karl Brandi and his research team published a guide to relevant HHStA documents in *Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V. [B&S]*: 'Die Überlieferung der Akten Karls V. im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien', organized in four parts: I, 'Die Burgundische Kanzlei' (the emperor's correspondence with his aunt Margaret and his sister Marie: *B&S*, IV, 241–77); II and III, 'Die Kabinettskanzlei des Kaisers' (correspondence with his Austrian lands and with foreign powers: *B&S*, V, 18–51, and VII, 229–59); and IV, 'Die deutsche Reichskanzlei Karls V.' and 'Die österreichische Kanzlei' (*B&S*, XI, 513–78). HHStA has changed many call-numbers since then, which complicates the use of Brandi's lists, but they still indicate what is there. Voltes Bou, *Documentos*, provided brief descriptions of documents in HHStA relating to Spain, arranged in a single chronological list.

Karl Lanz, *Monumenta Habsburgica*, vol. I, promised a complete edition of Charles's letters and state papers in HHStA, but unfortunately his first volume (which printed 170 documents) proved to be the last: *Aktenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte Kaiser Karls V. (1513–1521)*.[38] The Charles V collection at the University of Konstanz contains photocopies of most letters written to and from the emperor in HHStA (see above); and von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, vol. IX, 'Urkunden Band', printed extracts from many documents (including many letters exchanged between Ferdinand and his brother) cited in earlier volumes. The volume is available online at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10015425.html

(b) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)

The collection contains numerous items owned by or related to Charles. Here are four examples, together with their provenance:

* Codex 1859: a Book of Hours in Latin and French presented to Charles by his aunt Margaret with seventy-six miniatures (from the Jesuit College at Wiener Neustadt, which acquired it from Archduke Leopold William, governor-general of the Netherlands):[39] http://archiv.onb.ac.at:1801/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=7174926.xml&dvs=1527614220163~484&locale=en_US&search_terms=&adjacency=&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/nmets.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=1&divType=&usePid1=true&usePid2=true
* Codex 2591: the original illustrated manuscript of the 'Solemnelle entrée faicte sur l'advenement de Charles Archidux d'Autriche en Bruges, 1515' by Remy du Puys (bequeathed to the library by Emperor Mathias in 1619): http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13947423
* *Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus* 9363: a collection of Latin documents from the imperial chancery about the imprisonment of John Frederick of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse in 1547–52. A detailed analysis is available at http://www.vhmml.us/research2014/catalog/detail.asp?MSID=19262
* *Codex Vindobonensis* S. N. 1600: the *Cartas de relación* sent to Charles from Mexico by Hernán Cortés, and many other important documents about the Americas from the 1520s, forwarded to King

Ferdinand. See the facsimile edition: *Cartas de Relación de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. C. Gibson (Graz, 1960).

2. BELGIUM

Charles spent almost half his life in Belgium, and he took several steps to streamline the central government (above all by creating three Collateral Councils in 1531, and a special German secretariat in 1548). Some archives perished in wars and fires (the archive of the Council of Brabant burnt during the bombardment of Brussels in 1695; a fire at the royal palace in 1731 destroyed almost the entire archive of the council of Finance). Others were housed in places now outside Belgium (notably ADN *Chambre des Comptes* at Lille, now in France), or migrated to Vienna when Habsburg rule ended abruptly in the eighteenth century. Once Belgium became an independent state in 1830, its government sought to recover migrant documents (notably those in Vienna) and sponsored the publication of surviving sources in its own archives. It also paid its archivists to travel abroad to locate and transcribe relevant sources in foreign archives, which it then published (for an example, see the works of L.P. Gachard in the bibliography to this volume).

(i) Brussels

(a) Archives Générales du Royaume/Algemene Rijksarchief, Brussels (AGRB)

* *Chambre des Comptes/Rekenkamer:* The Burgundian state decentralized the task of auditing its various officials and the Chambre des Comptes in Brussels handled the accounts of some officials of the central government (the rest are at ADN: see below) as well as all of those from the duchy of Brabant and some from the county of Flanders: see details in Janssens, 'Fuentes flamencas', 200.
* *Collection Gachard/Collectie Gachard:* Louis Prosper Gachard (1800–85) became an archivist in 1822, and served as head of the AGRB from 1831 until his death, undertaking numerous visits to foreign archives in search of documents relating to Belgian history and publishing the results. In 1842 another eminent Belgian historian called him, with only slight exaggeration (and perhaps a hint of envy), 'emperor of the archives'.[40] Although Gachard published thousands of pages of edited documents (see the bibliography of this volume), his papers contain notes, summaries and unpublished transcripts of many more manuscripts, some now lost (e.g. AGRB *Collectie Gachard* 565, 569 and 572 contain his notes on documents relating to Belgium in AS Naples, whose originals perished in 1943) as well as materials gathered for his publications (e.g. AGRB *Collectie Gachard* 628–637, material for his projected biography of Charles V).[41] Wellens, *Inventaire*, provided a guide to the collection: see items 467–840 for material related to Charles.[42]
* *Papiers d'État et d'Audience/Audientië:* This large series contains papers of both the Council of State and the Privy Council under Charles, including much of his correspondence with his aunt Margaret and his sister Marie, and with Granvelle, as well as the correspondence of Marie while regent of the Netherlands: see Janssens, 'Fuentes flamencas', 204–5.
* *Secrétairerie d'État allemande/Duitse Staatssecretarie:* Much of Charles's correspondence with German rulers, military personnel, and institutions (above all the Diet and the Reichskammergericht) is archived here. In the 1840s, Karl Lanz published 1,009 documents from Brussels in *LCK*, with 100 more in *Staatspapiere*: many came from the *Secrétairerie d'État allemande*.[43]

(b) Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels (BRB)

The BRB manuscript collection contains items from Charles's library as duke of Burgundy as well as subsequent additions, such as the earliest surviving intimate letter written by Charles: a holograph missive to his confidant Count Henry of Nassau ('mon Henri') in 1518, one of very few in which he

discussed his sex life (Pl. 8). BRB purchased the item at auction in 1892 as part of the collection of autographs assembled by Johannes van Vollenhove, chaplain of the Stadholder-King William III (who inherited the archive of 'mon Henri').[44] Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, VII, 278–90 and 418–32, described manuscripts in the collection concerning Charles, but several items have migrated to AGRB since he published: for example, BRB *Ms*. 16068–72, 'Recueil de documents relatifs à Marguerite d'Autriche 1515–1530' (van den Gheyn, VII, 430–2) is now AGRB *Audience* 41bis.

(ii) Mons

Archives de l'État, Mons

Charles de Croÿ, prince of Chimay (1455–1527), was one of Charles V's godparents and his first chamberlain. In the mid-nineteenth century the archives of his descendants at Beaumont castle still contained several items relating to the emperor. In 1838, Émile Gachet published a brief inventory of the collection, and seven years later Louis Prosper Gachard published a more detailed description: both noted a 'Registre tenu par le seigneur de Boussu des sommes reçues et payées par lui, par le commandement de l'empereur', 1 Aug. 1530–31 Jan. 1532. Charles reviewed and signed Boussu's account at the end of each month.[45] Some of the papers formerly at Beaumont are now in the Archives de l'État, Mons, *Dossier famille de Caraman-Chimay*, with an inventory by P.-J. Niebes, *Inventaire des archives de Chimay. Château de Beaumont* (2013: available online), which correlates items listed by Gachet with the collection in Mons. Alas, the Registre is not among them. Beaumont castle was sold in 1931, and part of its archive was sold between then and 1986, when AGRB bought the remains: once again, the Registre was not among them. Presumably it now graces some private library, but I have been unable to locate it. But what of Charles's personal spending in other years? It seems unlikely that the 1530–2 register stood alone, but neither Gachet nor Gachard mentioned any similar registers before 1530 or after 1532, so they belong to the tantalizing category 'Unknown unknowns' (see below).[46]

3. GERMANY

http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de provides listings for 90,000 manuscripts (many of them digitized) in German libraries. Typing 'Personenname' and 'Karl V. Kaiser' produces 187 links. Between 1873 and 1896 four volumes of *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts . . . Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte 1546–1555*, edited by August von Druffel (the last volume completed by Karl Brandi), included extracts (often lengthy) from documents held by the principal archives of Germany, supplemented by some from HHStA and AGS, concerning Charles's relations with his German subjects during the last decade of his rule. See also the section on the *Deutsche Reichstagakten* below.

4. ITALY

(i) Milan and Naples

The relevant archives of two important areas ruled by Charles – Milan and Naples – largely perished in 1943: in August aerial bombardment destroyed much of AS Milan, and in September, German troops set fire to the most important series of AS Naples (including its large collection of Farnese papers, moved from Parma in the eighteenth century). Nevertheless, a few relevant documents remain (such as AS Milan *Autografi*, Folders 220–230, which contain many of the letters received by the governor of Milan); and copies of some items destroyed in 1943 have been preserved elsewhere, including the correspondence of Governor Vasto of Milan with Charles in 1540–2 (p. 578); and

Gachard's notes from AS Naples (p. 575). Others had already appeared in print: for example, Chabod, *Lo stato*, quoted copiously from AS Milan; and *CSP Milan*, 381–588, published English abstracts of numerous documents from Charles's reign from the same repository.[47] Gachard printed two of Charles's holograph letters to his daughter Margarita about her marital problems from AS Naples, *Carte Farnesiane*; and *NBD* included excerpts from letters in the same series sent by nuncios at the imperial court to Cardinal Farnese, papal secretary of state from 1538 to 1549. Nevertheless, most of the documents from these two archives destroyed in 1943 are irreplaceable.

(ii) Parma

Allied bombardment in 1944 seriously damaged the Palazzo della Pilotta, which housed the Archivio di Stato at Parma (ASP). Its diligent archivists have reconstructed as much as possible of the surviving documents, including the official correspondence of Dukes Pier Luigi and Octavio Farnese, in the series *Carteggio Farnesiano interno* (arranged in a single chronological order) and *estero* (arranged in chronological order by place of provenance: 'Genova', 'Roma', 'Spagna' and so on); as well as that of their arch-enemy Ferrante Gonzaga, imperial courtier and commander, viceroy of Sicily and governor of Milan: ASP *Archivi di Famiglie: Gonzaga di Guastalla* and ASP *Racolta Ronchini*.

5. MEXICO

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico D.F. (AGNM)

The first four registers of the series AGNM *Libros de Mercedes* (appropriately entitled *Libros de Gobierno*), supplemented by three volumes in other collections, contain in chronological order many of the warrants (*mandamientos*) issued by the two viceroys of New Spain appointed by Charles: Antonio de Mendoza (1535–50) and Luis de Velasco (1550–64). In the words of Peter Gerhard, who compiled an analysis and index of the four volumes that cover 1548–53: 'We have here a daily record of all business transacted at the viceregal court in Mexico during a period of transcendent importance, involving people from all social levels and all regions.'[48] Nothing like it has survived for any other part of Charles's empire, which enhances the importance of these volumes. The full sequence in chronological order is as follows:

* AGNM *Civil* 1271: copies of 92 warrants issued Dec. 1537–Sep. 1538 and Mar. 1550.[49]
* AGNM *Mercedes* I: copies of almost 500 warrants issued Mar.–Oct. 1542.
* AGNM *Mercedes* II: copies of over 750 orders warrants issued Jan. 1543–Apr. 1544.
* AGNM *Mercedes* III: copies of almost 800 warrants issued Mar. 1550–May 1551.
* Library of Congress, Washington (D.C.), *Kraus Ms.* 140: copies of some 800 warrants issued Nov. 1550–May 1552.
* Newberry Library, Chicago, *Ayer Ms*. 1121: copies of some 800 warrants issued May 1552–Dec. 1553.
* AGNM *Mercedes* IV: copies of over 200 warrants issued Mar. 1554–Sep. 1556.

Several warrants quote the text of a royal order demanding action, and more of these are copied into AGNM *Cédulas reales duplicadas* I, which runs from April 1548 to November 1566. AGNM *Hospital de Jesús* contains the archive of an institution founded by Hernán Cortés, which houses his corpse and many of his papers. AGI contains many more documents concerning the viceroyalty (see below).

Semboloni Capitani, *La construcción*, Gráfica 3 and Mapa 10, used the warrants registered in the early 'Libros de Gobierno' to chart the steady geographical expansion of viceregal authority in New

Spain. Martínez, *Documentos cortesianos*, printed virtually all the documents concerning Cortés between 1518 and 1547 currently in AGNM and AGI.

6. PERU

The Archivo Arzobispal, Lima, *Sección histórica*, *Papeles importantes*, contains copies of over thirty warrants issued by Charles to Peruvian institutions, but the majority of the surviving documents from his reign concerning the viceroyalty survive only in AGI or the Huntington Library (see below).

7. SPAIN

Starting in 1992, *Portal de Archivos Españoles* (PARES) has made available online thousands of documents from the reign of Charles V in various Spanish archives, so that someone in (say) Columbus, Ohio, can locate, read and print them, without a reader's card and without charge, even at times when the archives that hold the originals are closed.[50] The principal relevant archival series are as follows:

(i) Simancas (Valladolid)

Archivo General de Simancas (AGS)

After 1540, Charles sought to turn the royal fortress in the village into a repository for the documents generated by the government of Spain, then based eight kilometres away in Valladolid. Even after the seat of government moved to Madrid, the archives remained at Simancas. The major series with material from Charles's reign are:

* *Consejos y Juntas de Hacienda*: letters and papers addressed to the king 'en manos del secretario de Hacienda', and *consultas* sent to Charles by his council of Finance, sometimes bearing a royal rescript. For the audited accounts of those who disbursed government funds or provided government loans, see four other AGS series: *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas*, *Contaduría del Sueldo*, *Contadurías Generales* and *Dirección General del Tesoro*.
* *Estado*: the papers of the council of State organized geographically, with one series for each European country ruled by the king (Aragon, Castile, 'Flandes', Milan, Naples, Sicily and so on) or governed by others (England, France, Germany, Portugal, Rome, Savoy and so on), plus 'Armadas y Galeras' (about the Mediterranean fleet) and 'Despachos diversos' (including registers of the secretary of state's outgoing correspondence).
* *Guerra Antigua*: papers handled by the council of War about the defence of Spain by land and sea, including garrisons in north Africa.
* *Junta de Obras y Bosques*, founded in 1545 to deal with public building and works: its papers are today divided between AGS *Casas y Sitios Reales* and AGPM *Sección histórica* (see below). AGS *CSR* also contains accounts for the households of members of the royal family, including the registers of Philip's household as prince of Asturias from 1535 (AGS *CSR* 36). AGS *CSR legajos* 128–180 contain the *Descargos de Carlos V*: see above.
* *Patronato Real*: a collection of ninety-two *legajos* containing documents to which the central government attached special importance, such as testaments, treaties and instructions. The entire series is available online via PARES.

Many AGS documents from Charles's reign have appeared in print. Manuel Danvila y Collado, *Historia crítica* (*MDE*, XXXV–XL), published some 4,000 documents from AGS related to the Comunero rebellion, albeit with many errors of transcription (perhaps because he worked from nineteenth-century copies rather than from the originals in AGS *PR*).[51] Von Höfler, 'Zur Kritik und

Quellenkunde', published 755 documents (in whole or in part) from AGS dated 1521; Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, printed almost 100 'Akten aus dem spanischen Staatsarchiv von Simancas' concerning the emperor's German policy between 1530 and 1555; and more appeared in von Döllinger, *Dokumente*, in *CODOIN*, and in *CDCV* (see below). *CSPSp* published lengthy summaries in English of many AGS documents, albeit often taken from the transcripts made by or for Gustave Bergenroth and not from the originals (see above: all volumes of *CSPSp* are available in digital form via *BHO*).

The majority of the relevant documents in AGS nevertheless remain unpublished. Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 75–82, provided a helpful guide to material on Charles in the series *Patronato Real* and the sections of *Estado* for which a published catalogue existed; but he omitted the series *Estado K* (papers of the council of State concerning France, housed in the French Archives Nationales between 1812 and 1941) and in *Estado* 8334–8343 (mostly documents stolen from Spanish archives in the nineteenth century, held until 1941 by CADMA: p. 581 below).[52] In the 1930s, Hasenclever, 'Die Überlieferung', listed all the documents in these collections from the reign of Charles V: *B&S*, X, 437–69. In addition, Looz-Corswarem, 'Die römische Korrespondenz Karls V.', *B&S*, XIII, 109–90, listed all imperial correspondence with Rome in the archives of Simancas and Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca Real, Real Academia de la Historia) arranged by year (first letters to and then letters from Charles). Looz-Corswarem, 'Die Korrespondenz Karls V. mit Philipp und mit der Regentschaft in Spanien (1539–1556)', *B&S*, XV, 227–68, listed Charles's correspondence with his regents in Spain in AGS by year (first letters to and then letters from Charles).

(ii) Madrid

(a) Archivo de la Casa de los Duques de Alba (AA)

Caja 4 contains Charles's letters to the III duke of Alba in the 1540s and 1550s, and his replies (the latter published in Berwick y Alba, *Epistolario*, I). Two other important items in AA have been published: the letters of Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, Spanish ambassador at the court of Burgundy 1500–9 (Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*); and the correspondence of the marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan, with the emperor in 1540–2 (Berwick y Alba, 'Correspondencia', but note that letters to Vasto written by Charles while in Regensburg and Innsbruck dated '1542' in the article were actually written in 1541).

(b) Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid (AGPM)

Sección histórica, *Cédulas reales*, 1–3, contain register copies of all warrants issued by the Junta de Obras y Bosques between 1545 and 1556 in chronological order.

(c) Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE)

The *Sección de manuscritos* is a collection of collections, containing many important documents by or about Charles. For example:

* *Ms*. MR43/283 (formerly *Ms.* 283), 'Descripció de parte de Francia por donde entró el emperador', is the huge map apparently commissioned to help Charles prepare his invasion of France in 1544 (Pl. 23 in this volume).
* *Ms.* 917, 'Registrum epistolarum Caroli V imperatoris et hispaniae regis et aliorum', contains copies of 292 letters in Latin issued by the imperial chancery between 1518 and 1523.[53]
* *Ms.* 5578 and 5938 contain proposals by Juan Páez de Castro on how to write a history of the emperor.
* *Ms.* 18,634/58 is a *consulta* sent by Francisco de Los Cobos to Charles while he was on retreat in Holy Week 1531, returned with the memorable reproach: 'It is hard to confess and write a lot at the

same time.'[54]

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 87–99, described these and other BNE manuscripts concerning Charles by topic ('Alcabalas', 'Alianzas y tratados' and so on). Many have been digitized and can be read online via http://www.bne.es/es/Colecciones/Manuscritos/

In 1899 the BNE acquired the library of Pascual de Gayangos, which included many important manuscripts concerning Charles and his entourage, notably seven volumes of correspondence that once belonged to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle: now *Ms.* 20,209–20,217, many of them digitized and available online. Roca, *Catálogo*, described the BNE Gayangos collection, which has been little used by historians.

(d) Biblioteca Real (BR: formerly Biblioteca del Palacio Real)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 415–16, listed some manuscripts in BR concerning Charles, but provided little detail. He also omitted the most important collection: the papers of Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle, chief minister of both Charles and Philip II, who died in Madrid in 1586 leaving an archive that contained the papers of his father Nicholas Perrenot as well as his own. Today perhaps 100,000 of their surviving letters are scattered through archives from Sweden to Sicily, and from Austria to America, written in hundreds of different scripts and in seven languages (Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Latin and Spanish.) A large part of Perrenot's archive – some 14,000 letters – came to the BR manuscript collection in 1806, now bound into over 100 volumes: II/2188, II/2192–2194, II/2201, II/2203–2204, II/2206, II/2210, II/2248–2325 and II/2549, and parts of II/2229–2233 and II/2238. Documents from the 1550s are particularly numerous and important.[55] In addition, BR *Ms.* 1960 and 1960*bis* contain La Gasca's papers concerning the pacification of Peru (BR *Ms.* 409 contains copies of the same).

(e) Real Academia de la Historia (RAH)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 101–413, listed manuscripts concerning Charles in the RAH collection *Salazar y Castro*, in chronological order. The searchable catalogue of the collection, available online, includes a detailed description of each document, arranged by volume and folio. RAH *Salazar y Castro* A–17 to A–44, full of Charles's correspondence with his ministers in Italy between 1521 and 1529, arranged chronologically, are of particular importance.

RAH also acquired the archive of Lope de Soria, one of Charles's veteran diplomats in Italy. Ibarra y Rodríguez and Arsenio de Izaga, 'Catálogo', described the collection: RAH *Ms.* 9/1951–1954. The first two volumes contain almost 100 original letters from Charles to Soria between 1523 and 1538 (sometimes duplicating items in *Salazar y Castro*). In addition, RAH *Ms*. 9/4817 (formerly Muñoz A–83) contains minutes and drafts of Charles's letters to the duke of Sessa, his ambassador in Rome, 1522–6, often annotated by Chancellor Gattinara (to whom the volume apparently once belonged): see details in *Catálogo de la colección de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz*, I (Madrid, 1954), 205–16.

Looz-Corswarem, 'Die römische Korrespondenz', provided a useful guide to letters exchanged between the papacy and the Spanish court archived in Simancas and Madrid: see above.

(iii) El Escorial (Madrid)

Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (BSLE)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 83–5, noted that a catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts in the library described 303 codices concerning Charles, many of them compiled by the royal chroniclers Florián de Ocampo, Bernabé de Busto and Juan Páez de Castro. In addition, the Panteón de los Reyes contains Charles's mummified corpse: see Appendix II for details.

(iv) Seville

Archivo General de Indias (AGI)

AGI contains the majority of the papers handled by the council of the Indies. As at AGS, documents that the government considered especially important (treaties, concessions, papal bulls) are filed in *Patronato*. The disarmingly named series *Indiferente General* contains many of the *consultas* sent by the council to the king. The council's correspondence with royal officials and others in the Americas is organized geographically (AGI *México*, *Perú* and so on); and its papers on judicial matters (including those generated by the *Visita* that scrutinized the actions of Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain) are in AGI *Justicia*.

(v) Sant Cugat del Vallès

Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (ANC)

ANC Fons *Arxiu del Palau-Requesens*, lligalls/legajos 35–100, contain the papers of Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, Prince Philip's governor, including his correspondence with Charles, mostly published by March, *Niñez* (March prudishly excised passages from some documents). Lligalls/legajos 118–157 of the collection contain papers left by Mencía de Mendoza, marchioness of Zenete, and her husbands, Count Henry of Nassau and Ferdinand of Aragon, duke of Calabria.[56] Bofarull y Sans, *Predilección*, printed in full 131 letters (some in Catalan) addressed by Charles and his regents to Catalan officials and institutions, preserved in Catalan archives.

(vi) Toledo

Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (AHN Nobleza)

A separate centre for the archives of Spanish noble families was created in Toledo in 1993, and shortly afterwards the first collections migrated from the AHN. By 2018, AHN Nobleza contained the archives of almost 260 noble families. Many have been digitized and can be consulted through PARES. Many contain correspondence with Charles.

In addition, the archives and libraries of two other countries have acquired important collections of documents generated by Charles's government: France and the United States.

8. FRANCE

(i) Lille

Archives départementales du Nord (ADN)

ADN contains the majority of the surviving documents concerning Charles's first seventeen years, when he resided in the Netherlands, and much relevant material down to 1530. This reflects two circumstances.

a) The dukes of Burgundy created four *Chambres des Comptes* to audit the accounts of their various dominions (at Brussels, Dijon, Lille and The Hague). The auditors at Lille handled not only regional accounts but also those of the central government, including the huge registers in which the Receveur Général des Finances summarized his accounts for each year, always organized in the same categories, accompanied by files containing the original warrants and receipts. *Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord: Archives civiles, Série B: Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, vols 1–8, provides the best guide to this collection (many entries include lengthy quotations). In addition, each loose document in the series has a unique *numéro d'immatriculation*. In this volume, references appear in the following format: ADN *B* 2170 (72,193) – that is, ADN *Archives Anciennes Série B, liasse* 2170, *numéro d'immatriculation* 72,193. Citations from registers

in the series retain their original foliation, except that I have rendered the Roman numerals into Arabic: thus 'folio vi^{xx}xij' (= six-vingts douze) becomes 'folio 132'.

b) ADN *Lettres missives* includes the letters received and sent by the chancery of Margaret of Austria, dowager duchess of Savoy and regent in the Netherlands, for most of the period between 1507 and 1530: a total of perhaps 20,000 letters (the majority concerning Margaret's own domains in Franche-Comté and Savoy). On her death they entered the archives of the Chambre des Comptes at Lille and in the 1840s they were reorganized and bound into twenty registers. So far, over 1,000 of Margaret's letters, many of them exchanged with her father Maximilian about Charles, have appeared in print in the following collections (in chronological order of publication): Godefroy, *Lettres du roi Louis XII*; Mone, 'Briefwechsel'; Le Glay, *Correspondance*; van den Bergh, *Gedenkstukken*; Chmel, *Urkunden*; Gachard, *Lettres* and *Correspondance de Marguerite*; Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel*; Walther, *Die Anfänge* and 'Review of Kreiten'; and Bruchet and Lancien, *L'itinéraire*.[57]

The *Lettres missives* series presents historians with three problems. First, about half of the letters are either undated or at least lack a year, and their earliest editors proposed erroneous dates. Second, several correspondents wrote hastily (and, in Maximilian's case, sometimes while intoxicated) so that transcribing their prose can pose almost insurmountable problems. Finally, at least until 1517 many of the minutes of Margaret's letters lack an addressee (although the salutation usually offers a clue: 'Treschier et bien aimé' indicated a letter directed to ambassadors or officials; 'Mon cousin' meant that the addressee was a prince of the blood or a Knight of the Golden Fleece; and 'Mon très redoucté seigneur et père' can only refer to her father). When in doubt, I have accepted the dates, addressees and readings proposed for each published letter by Andreas Walther in his 1908 'Review of Kreiten', 268–84.[58]

(ii) Paris

Several Paris archives and libraries contain documents related to Charles: see the list in Hasenclever, 'Die Überlieferung der Akten Karls V. in Pariser Archiven und Bibliotheken'. The most important collections are as follows:

(a) Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF: formerly Bibliothèque Royale, Bibliothèque Impériale and then Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris)

The library's manuscript collection contains many documents generated by the French government concerning Charles (especially in the series *Fonds français* and *Collection Dupuy*) as well as many other items collected or confiscated by the French (notably in the series *Manuscrits Espagnols* and *Manuscrits Portugais*). Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 417–21, listed all relevant items in BNF *Ms. Esp.*

The online catalogue http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc7296x provides descriptions of items in the various BNF manuscript collections, organized by language, together with a link to individual manuscripts that have been digitized. Thus typing 'Charles-Quint' into the box 'Refine' produces details on hundreds of manuscripts about the emperor that can be consulted online. For an example, go to 'Portugais' in the list of languages, choose '61', and you can read online the only surviving text of the emperor's *Memoirs* (see Appendix I for more details on this document).

Gachard, *BNP*, provided descriptions and some extracts of documents in the library that concerned the history of Belgium, with a helpful list of entries in chronological order at the end of each volume (I, 530–4, and II, 580–6, list documents from Charles's reign). Vol. II, 36–114, summarized the surviving dispatches of French diplomats at the imperial court: fragments of the dispatches of La Roche-Beaucourt (1518–19: fifteen letters) and Vély (1535–6: seven letters); and three registers of correspondence kept by Marillac (1548–50).[59]

(b) Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, La Courneuve (CADMA; formerly Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères)

In the nineteenth century, Melchior Tirán, a French official sent to inspect Spanish archives, looted numerous documents and delivered them to CADMA (some were later transferred to the Archives Nationales). At a meeting in October 1940, General Francisco Franco asked Adolf Hitler to compel the defeated French to repatriate these documents, and the Führer followed through: CADMA made photocopies before sending them back and these, as well as a few originals and documents from non-Spanish repositories, remain in the series *MDE*. See the description of each volume currently in the series at https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/md-espagne-1-369.pdf.[60]

(iii) Besançon

Bibliothèque Municipale d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon (BMECB)

In 1694 the Bibliothèque Municipale of Besançon acquired eighty-two volumes of papers from the heir of Nicholas and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, which became the *Collection manuscrite Granvelle*. The first six volumes, 'Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé sous le ministère du chancelier et du cardinal de Granvelle', cover the reign of Charles (*PEG* printed over 700 documents from this source, though not always in full). In 1992 the library acquired ten more volumes of Granvelle papers from the archive of the marquis of Downshire (Trumbull papers).[61] BMECB has now scanned virtually the whole Granvelle collection and made it accessible online, together with an index to each volume and hotlinks to each document: http://memoirevive.besancon.fr.[62] Some items are sensational, such as the transcript of a secret codicil to Charles's will concerning his illegitimate son, the future Don John of Austria, signed in 1554 (BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* V/265–8: see chapter 15), and the various position papers composed by and for Nicholas Perrenot between 1530, when he became the emperor's principal adviser on foreign affairs, and his death in 1550.

Publication of the Granvelle papers began in the later sixteenth century, and the most recent collection – Grata, *Des lettres pour gouverner* – provides a helpful list of previous editions of Antoine's correspondence as well as the text of all his letters contained in two of the Trumbull volumes: 149 letters in Italian exchanged with fifty-three people between August 1551 and February 1552. Most of the correspondents were obscure men – soldiers, lawyers, printers, merchants, clerics – who held humble posts scattered through Burgundy, Germany, Lorraine, the Low Countries and Spain as well as Italy, and they wrote mostly about minor matters; but paradoxically their relative obscurity proved an unexpected strength, because the routine nature of the letters revealed the vast network that helped Perrenot and his father to influence Charles's decisions. For another major collection of Granvelle papers, see p. 579 above.

9. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Two cousins, Archer and Henry Huntington, shared a love of Spain and inherited enough money both to acquire most of what they wanted and to endow a suitable repository to preserve their acquisitions.

(i) New York City

The Hispanic Society of America (HSA)

Although the HSA contains relatively few documents by or to Charles, two of them are outstanding:

* *Ms.* B 2954: a collection of eleven autograph or holograph letters exchanged between Charles and other rulers 1525–31, purchased by the founder of the HSA, Archer M. Huntington, c. 1900.
* *Ms.* B 2955: the original holograph instructions sent by Charles to his son in May 1543, purchased by Huntington in 1906: see Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*.

A typescript ‘Reference List: Charles V’, available in the HSA search room, describes these and other items in the collection and provides their call-numbers.

(ii) San Marino (California)

The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens (Hunt)

The rebellion of the settlers of Peru in 1544–8 allegedly caused Charles more grief than any other revolt (chapter 13), and by a happy coincidence a unique collection of documents allows historians to reconstruct both its genesis and its suppression. Following the defeat and execution of Gonzalo Pizarro, Charles’s lieutenant Pedro de La Gasca acquired his archive, and after his triumphant return to Spain he entrusted it, together with many of his own papers, to Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella whom La Gasca charged with writing a chronicle of his achievements (Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, written in 1565–7 but unpublished until the nineteenth century). In 1925, Henry E. Huntington acquired at auction a collection of almost 1,000 of La Gasca’s documents, subsequently rearranged in ten boxes in a single chronological order: Hunt *PL* 1–946. The Library also possesses a microfilm copy of the collection, and a volume of nineteenth-century transcripts, for which a typescript index exists: ‘Pizarro-La Gasca transcription volumes: Table of Contents’. English summaries, not always accurate, were published in the 1925 sale catalogue, entitled *From Panama to Peru*. In 1964, Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso published *Documentos relativos*, transcribing another set of nineteenth-century copies of the originals now in the Huntington: RAH *Mss*. 9–9–5–1830 and 1831 (formerly in the Colección Muñoz).[63]

Consultation of this important collection is complicated by two factors:

(a) The Huntington microfilms and transcripts, and the RAH copies, all follow the same idiosyncratic order, copied by Pérez de Tudela. By contrast the originals (Hunt *PL* 1–946) and the translated extracts in *From Panama to Peru* both follow a strict chronological order. The various texts can be collated through the folio numbers provided in both published works, although the task is further complicated because vol. I of the RAH texts, and therefore of *Documentos relativos*, corresponds to vol. II in the Huntington, and therefore in *From Panama to Peru*, and vice versa. Thus the English summary of Gonzalo Pizarro’s initial letter to the emperor in August 1544 criticizing the New Laws is at *From Panama to Peru*, 17–20 (from Huntington vol. I, ff. 455–60, of the original pagination), and at *Documentos relativos*, II, 383–95 (from RAH *Ms.* 9–9–5–1831, ff. 455–60). The original document is now Hunt *PL* 623.

(b) Although Pérez de Tudela Bueso obtained a microfilm of the originals from the Huntington Library, and used it to improve his transcriptions, *Documentos relativos* omitted many of the originals, notably Huntington vol. I, ff. 784–920, which contain most of La Gasca’s correspondence with Charles and the council of the Indies in the period 1545–51. An eight-page typed ‘Preliminary inventory’ of these omissions is available in the Huntington Library reading room.[64]

In addition, Charles left a documentary trail wherever he travelled – and he visited over 1,000 different places in the course of his reign, many of them repeatedly. For the scale of the available documentation, see Vincenzo Saletta’s careful reconstruction from local sources of the emperor’s ‘victory lap’ from Trapani in Sicily to Savigliano near the French frontier between July 1535 and July 1536, which covers almost 200 printed pages.[65]

IV. DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES

In the preface to the final volume of his *History of Charles V*, Hermann Baumgarten wrote that although a generation earlier Leopold von Ranke established admirable protocols for historical study based upon the newly accessible diplomatic archives of Venice, 'if he were sitting today in the archives of Vienna, he would concentrate above all on Charles and his entourage. Set beside the correspondence of the emperor, his siblings, his councils and his ambassadors, the Final Relations and dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors become a second-class source.'[66] This is unfair. Charles's unique importance attracted extensive international attention, starting with Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, a special ambassador sent in 1500 by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in part to report on the health and temperament of the grandson who would eventually succeed them. Thanks to the register of his dispatches in the Alba archive, we have several detailed descriptions of Charles as an infant (see chapter 1).

Fuensalida was a member of an exclusive group, because resident ambassadors were still a rarity. In 1512 English diplomats urged Henry VIII to keep a permanent representative at the court of Maximilian because 'a letter is soon seen, and lightly cast [away and] forgotten, where the presence of one of your ambassadors' could 'force hym to declare his mynd'.[67] The number of resident ambassadors at the courts of Europe steadily increased, and so did the frequency of their dispatches. Already in 1476 the duke of Milan had warned his envoy to Duke Charles of Burgundy, the emperor's great-grandfather, that 'I demand and require you expressly, on pain of death, to write to me every day'; and half a century later, many ambassadors did just that.[68] By the time of Charles's abdication, over a hundred different diplomats sent by the pope, England, Ferrara, Florence, France, Mantua, Milan, Poland, Portugal, Venice, and also by his brother Ferdinand, had written tens of thousands of dispatches describing the emperor's words and deeds as well as events, people and places from the vantage-point of Charles's court. 'Ambassadors', according to an experienced minister of Henry VIII, should be 'chosen men of experience' who could observe the sovereign to whom they were accredited so closely that they could 'fishe out the bottom of his stomake', and 'feale the depenes of his harte'. Admittedly, as Elizabeth Gleason has pointed out, several ambassadors began very young. Gasparo Contarini of Venice, for example, at first 'wrote like a novice, loading his reports with peripheral detail', but in the course of writing almost 400 letters from Charles's court between 1521 and 1525 he became increasingly shrewd, judicious and well-informed.[69]

Ambassadors took special care to record what happened at their audiences, 'merking and noting in suche wise the dyscourses, procedinges and communicatyons to be had there; their continuance, fasshyon and vehemence, with the very woordes and aunswers'. Even when Charles 'used so many words to explain everything' that afterwards an ambassador could not recall all of them, he nevertheless 'wrote down all the conversation I could remember'.[70] Several hundred accounts survive of how Charles appeared at audiences (his dress, his gestures, his expressions, his complexion), and some are very vivid. The dispatches of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a leading poet who served as English ambassador to the emperor from 1537 to 1540, are (in the words of his first editor) 'some of the most lively and dramatic pieces of writing that I know. They place the emperor before our eyes; we see his every look, and every gesture; and trace in all he says and does, that refinement of political cunning for which he was so remarkable.' Nevertheless (in the words of his most recent editor), we should recall that Wyatt and other diplomats often told 'good stories, employed humor or drew fascinating portraits of places and characters' at least in part 'with the aim of overshadowing their failures'. Whatever the motive, however, the ambassadors who accompanied Charles provided uniquely vivid portraits of him laughing and frowning, interrupting their 'tale, with imperius and brave words', and 'wagging his head and making a "Tush"' when he heard something he did not like.[71]

Then as now, a shrewd ambassador might overmatch the emperor's 'political cunning' through skilful questioning. In December 1543, Henry VIII and Charles agreed to mount a joint invasion of France, and a few months later Nicholas Wotton, Wyatt's successor at the imperial court, received instructions to find out whether the emperor intended to honour his promise and, if so, when and where he would strike. Wotton therefore asked Granvelle a leading question:

> 'I trust we shall now shortelye departe owte of this rude cowntrey [Germany], and go downe to that merye and pleasant cowntrey of Brabant againe.' But Granvele had me streight, and perceyvid right well that it was neither the rudenesse of this cowntrey nor the playsantnes of Brabant, that cawsed me to move that questyon, and said, 'Ah! Yow maye not aske me that questyon, for I maye not answer yow'.

Granvelle would only assure Wotton that the emperor 'entendithe to folow his cownsell, and to entre into France, and to keepe that waye, that the king hathe advysed and cownseiled him to do'. Wotton transmitted this answer to Henry in the hope that 'though it be darke to me, [it] maye peradventure gyve summe lighte to Your Hieghnes'. It did indeed, because the two monarchs had agreed 'that th'emperor shall with his armye make invasion into the realm of Ffraunce *by the country of Champaign*, and so marche towards Parys'. Granvelle's affirmation that his master would adhere to the agreed plan may have been 'darke' to Wotton, but it shed all the light that Henry needed. Both monarchs invaded France as planned a few months later.[72]

Like all sources, diplomatic dispatches have their limitations. Many ambassadors expressed frustration at the lack of reliable information because Charles refused to see them when he was ill, or when 'during this military emergency he is not dealing with ordinary business', or when he sought to create a news blackout. Thus in September 1552, just before besieging Metz, Charles announced that 'no agent, secretary, or man of any ambassador shall be suffered to write or tell out what is done' in his camp, and banished all of them to Speyer, 200 kilometres away. The diplomats remained there, largely isolated from the sovereign to whom they were accredited, for almost five months.[73]

Sometimes ambassadors inadvertently reported fake news. One English envoy in the Netherlands 'repented the writing' of some recent letters because 'here flye suche swarmes of lyes that he who writes nothing does best'; and when the perceptive Polish ambassador Jan Dantiszek arrived at Charles's court in 1519, he compared himself to a freshman student entering university. He discerned four faculties: 'the first teaches one patience, the second offers instruction in distrust, the third in dissimulation, and the fourth and largest in how to lie'. The court, Dantiszek opined, 'is a magnificent school in which to perfect all these skills'.[74]

Luckily, the abundance of sources created by diplomatic alumni of the imperial court normally allows historians to separate truth from falsehood. For example, in September 1526, Charles granted a joint audience to the ambassadors of three signatories to the hostile League of Cognac – France, the pope and Venice – and the diplomats wrote full reports for their masters immediately afterwards. Since each provided much the same account of what Charles said, their reliability seems assured.[75] At the very least, ambassadors provided an accurate record of when and where certain events took place – something that can be surprisingly difficult to document from other sources. For example, controversy surrounds the date and place when Charles first saw the treasure and other gifts, including some native Americans, sent to him from Veracruz by Hernán Cortés; but the descriptions included in the dispatches of the nuncio and the Venetian ambassador prove that this happened in Valladolid in early March 1521 (chapter 13 above).

Ambassadors also made copies of important documents for their masters, and in some cases they provided the only surviving record. Thus we lack the original text of Charles's angry condemnation of Martin Luther in 1521 at the Diet of Worms, composed the night after their only meeting; but

Henry VIII's envoy, Thomas Spinelly, who had resided at Charles's court for over a decade, travelling with him through Spain, the Netherlands and Germany, secured a transcript of the original written in French in Charles's own hand. It is preserved in The National Archives in England, and is as close to the holograph original as historians are ever likely to get.[76]

Ambassadors expressed frustration when heads of state met in person to resolve policy via direct negotiation. Early in 1538, after eighteen months of war, Charles told a French diplomat that although he and Francis could continue 'to declare their wishes and intentions to each other by means of their ministers', he believed that a face-to-face meeting between them 'was the true and best means to achieve the peace that they desired'. Two summits between them soon took place, first at Nice with the pope as a mediator and then at Aigues Mortes between the two monarchs alone. No diplomat attended their discussions.[77] Monarchs also exchanged numerous holograph letters, some containing matters that they wished to conceal from the eyes of diplomats. Charles wrote numerous letters in his own hand to Francis (whom he saw in 1525–6, 1538 and 1539–40), to Henry VIII (whom he met in 1513, 1520 and 1522), to Adrian VI (whom he already knew well), to Clement VII (holding summits in 1529–30 and 1532–3), and to Paul III (with summits in 1538, 1541 and 1543).[78] But at other times the thousands of surviving dispatches from diplomats at Charles's court in the archives and libraries of England, France, the Low Countries, Poland, Portugal, Scandinavia and the independent states of Germany and Italy provide an invaluable source on the emperor and the problems he faced. The main series are as follows:

1. ENGLAND

(i) The National Archives, Kew (TNA: formerly The Public Record Office)

The series *State Papers*, divided by reign, contains (among other things) correspondence between the central government and its diplomats abroad:

* *State Papers* 1 (246 vols). An artificial collection of public and private letters, memoranda and papers from the reign of Henry VIII (1509–47), arranged in the nineteenth century into a single chronological order irrespective of provenance and covering both foreign and domestic affairs.
* *State Papers* 2 (20 vols). An artificial collection of folio-sized public and private letters, memoranda and papers from 1516 to 1539, arranged in the nineteenth century into a single chronological order, irrespective of provenance.
* *State Papers* 68 (15 vols). Letters and papers relating to foreign countries and to Calais from the reign of Edward VI (1547–53), arranged in chronological order, first for foreign countries and then for Calais.
* *State Papers* 69 (13 vols). Letters and papers relating to foreign countries from the reign of Mary (1553–4) and Philip and Mary (1554–58), arranged in chronological order.

Many documents in TNA *SP* are also available via *CSP*, *L&P Henry VIII*, *SP* and *SPO*: see details below.

(ii) The British Library, London (BL: formerly British Museum Library)

a) Cotton Manuscripts

Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) started collecting manuscripts when he was eighteen and eventually owned perhaps the most important collection of manuscripts ever assembled in Britain by a private person. He arranged them in a series of presses surmounted by busts of the twelve Caesars and two of their consorts. In 1702, Cotton's grandson donated the collection to 'the British Nation' and in 1753 it entered the library of the newly opened British Museum (now the British Library), which retained Cotton's unique classification system (Galba A.1–E. XIV; Vespasian A.1–F. XVII; and so on.). BL

Cotton Mss. today contains more than 1,400 manuscripts, many of them from the earlier sixteenth century, many of them removed from the State Paper Office. In the 1990s a team from the University of Sheffield re-catalogued the entire collection and provided new descriptions of its contents: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/cotframe.htm

b) Additional Manuscripts

Other BL manuscript collections contain numerous documents by or about Charles. They are best identified through the BL site 'Explore archives and manuscripts': http://searcharchives.bl.uk. Type 'Emperor Charles V' into the 'Advanced Search' option to bring up more than 600 items ranging from individual charters (e.g. *Addl. Charter* 74,946, Charles's appointment of Johann Obernberger as his German language secretary in 1538) to entire volumes (e.g. *Addl. Ms.* 28,706, a volume containing 114 folios about the marriages of Charles's children Philip and Joanna with their Portuguese cousins, collected by Charles's secretary Alonso de Idiáquez, who negotiated the match in 1542–3). BL *Addl. Mss.* 28,572–28,597 contain transcripts of thousands of documents concerning Charles made in European archives by or for Gustave Bergenroth: see above.

Several tools facilitate consultation of these series. Pride of place goes to *State Papers Online* (hereafter *SPO*), a commercial venture only accessible via institutional subscription (and in the words of Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'one of the great scholarly achievements of the modern age'). *SPO* provides online access, via its 'Browse manuscript' feature, to all volumes in TNA *SP* and to the volumes in BL *Cott. Ms.* that once belonged to that series. They are accessed through their archival signature (TNA *SP* 1/220, using the numbering stamped in print on the manuscripts; BL *Cotton Ms.* Galba B.VI, using the most recent sequence of numbering; and so on).[79] *SPO* also provides online access, via its 'Browse Calendar' feature, to the following relevant printed sources:

* *State Papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission . . . King Henry the Eighth*, vols 6–11 ('Part V: foreign correspondence'): full transcripts of almost all the official correspondence of English diplomats abroad between 1473 and 1547 preserved in TNA *SP* 1 and *SP* 2.
* *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols, some in multiple parts: summaries of all the documents generated by the government of Henry VIII now in TNA *SP* 1 and 2 and in BL *Cott. Mss.* and other collections, as well as in numerous printed sources. Each entry includes a précis, often with lengthy quotations. The original editor, J. S. Brewer, first catalogued all materials in TNA for the reign of Henry VIII by arranging them in a single chronological series – no mean feat, since the documents were divided between several locations and the majority bore no year so that 'the chronology could only be ascertained from internal evidence by an elaborate and comprehensive study of the whole correspondence, long before any attempt was made to summarise their contents in a calendar'.[80] Brewer published the first four volumes of the series and his assistant, James Gairdner of TNA, completed the project after Brewer's death, latterly assisted by another archivist, R. H. Brodie, who also published a 'second edition revised and greatly enlarged' of the first volume, in two parts, covering 1509–14. These erudite editors sometimes transcribed words now illegible, and located documents subsequently mislaid.
* *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign Series (CSPF)*, for the reigns of Edward and Mary. Once again, there is a close correlation between the calendars and TNA *SP* 68 and 69: both archival series are arranged according to the calendar entry numbers.

Only a few relevant manuscripts escaped the editors, such as 'A diary iournall of the actions in France done by Henry 8th in the 5 yeare of his raigne', in which John Taylor, clerk of Parliaments, kept a record in Latin of the 1513 campaign, including a description of Charles at his first summit meeting with other heads of state (BL *Cott. Ms.* Cleopatra C.1, # 4, f. 92).

Although *SPO* provides links between the Calendar summary and the original document, they do not always match because *L&P Henry VIII* and *SPO* both used the original foliation for BL *Cotton Mss.*, not the current one. It is therefore necessary to browse the scanned volume to locate the original document and its current call-number. Conversely, most entries in *State Papers* and *L&P* either provided outdated call-numbers or no call-number at all for documents in TNA *SP*; but *SPO* personnel used 'a key available at the National Archives' to identify the original documents. Therefore, the *SPO* scanned texts of *L&P Henry VIII* include a 'Browse Manuscript' link that leads directly to the item summarized, and provides its current call-number as well as another link to scans of each document, making *SPO* an outstanding online resource for Charles's reign.

2. FRANCE

In the late nineteenth century, French archivists adopted the Calendar technique pioneered by their British colleagues and published summaries of the dispatches of three ambassadors from Francis and Henry II to England preserved in CADMA: Castillon and Marillac in 1537–42 (Kaulek, *Correspondance*) and Selve in 1546–9 (Lefèvre-Pontarlis, *Correspondance*). Gachard, *BNP*, provided helpful summaries of the surviving dispatches from French ambassadors to Charles's court in BNF, together with call-numbers, but none have been published: see details above.

3. GERMANY

Only one German ruler maintained a permanent representative at Charles's court: his brother Ferdinand (also, until the birth of Prince Philip in 1527, Charles's heir). A register of 400 letters written by Martín de Salinas between 1522 and 1539 was published in *RVEC*, albeit with the omission of 'private matters and economic measures that lack any historical value'.[81] Salinas recognized at an early stage the importance of the new lands acquired for Charles by Hernán Cortés, and he not only encouraged Ferdinand to correspond directly with the conqueror of Mexico but also made copies of important documents about America and sent them back to his master. Gradually, Salinas's nephew Alonso Gamiz took over his functions: AGS *Estado* 641bis contains correspondence between Ferdinand and Gamiz, 1542–1556 (acquired at auction in 1983), with more in the *Archivo Familiar Gamiz* in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Álava (acquired in 1998 and accessible through PARES, by typing 'Alonso de Gamiz' into 'Búsqueda Sencilla'; many letters are digitized).

4. ITALY

(i) Florence

Archivio di Stato (ASF)

Although the Florentine Republic and later Duke Alessandro de' Medici, Charles's son-in-law, maintained a resident ambassador at the imperial court, few of their dispatches have survived. By contrast, after Cosimo became duke of Florence in 1537 dispatches abound in the series ASF *Mediceo del Principato* (*MdP*), with most documents concentrated in the volumes of the sub-section *Germania: Corte Imperiale*.[82] Many dispatches from Averardo Serristori in 1537–8 and 1541 were printed by his descendant: Serristori, *Legazioni*.

Many diplomatic dispatches from ASF *MdP* have been analysed and entered into the Medici Archive Project (MAP), available online. Users need to obtain a username and password to log in, and they may then type 'Habsburg Karl V' in the 'Simple Search' field on top of the Main Menu, and click 'go'. The right screen will show all people with those elements in their names: click on the

emperor's name and his profile will appear on the left screen. Alternatively, log in and follow this link: http://bia.medici.org/DocSources/src/peoplebase/SharePerson.do?personId=253

This leads to the emperor's profile. At that point click on the 'More info' button, and at least 569 documents related to Charles V will appear (the number constantly increases as MAP expands). Each entry contains a transcription and at least a partial English translation. Although the project began as a database on material culture, and therefore does not focus on politics or military matters, it still contains fascinating details – such as a description of the portable wooden office constructed to accompany Charles on his travels in 1541, enabling him to deal with public affairs while on the move.[83] In addition, since MAP is currently digitizing the Medici archives, the full texts of many documents related to Charles V are available online.

Finally, although documents related to the emperor are scattered across ASF, there is one remarkable exception: *MdP: Carteggio Universale* filza 329 consists entirely of letters and diplomas sent by Charles to Duke Cosimo between 1530 and 1556. It has been fully digitized, and is available either via Basic Search or through the link: http://bia.medici.org/DocSources/src/volbase/ShareVolume.do?summaryId=890

(ii) Vatican City

Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV)

The correspondence of the papal diplomat Girolamo Aleandro in 1520–1 has been published twice: Balan, *Monumenta*, printed the original letters, and shortly afterwards Brieger, *Quellen*, provided the texts in the register of his correspondence. Brieger corrected most of the dates proposed by Balan for Aleandro's letters, printed many more of them, and provided a concordance between the two (*Quellen*, xiv–xv), but Balan sometimes provided superior readings. Serassi, *Delle lettere*, published many of the dispatches of Nuncio Baldassare Castiglione from Spain 1525–7. The dispatches of the papal nuncios in Germany between 1533 and 1556, most of them in ASV, were printed in calendar form in the seventeen vols of *NBD: Erste Abteilung*. Charles appears prominently in vols VI and VII (1540–4), VIII–XI (1545–9), XII–XIV and XVI (1550–6), and in two important *Ergänzungsbände* covering the Legation of Lorenzo Campeggio and the Nuntiature of Girolamo Aleandro in 1530–2. In addition, Pastor, 'Correspondenz', Dittich, 'Nuntiaturberichte' and Schultze, 'Dreizehn Depeschen', all published dispatches from papal agents at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541. For direct communications between Charles and Popes Adrian and Clement, see Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles-Quint et d'Adrien*, and Vañes, 'Cartas', respectively.

(iii) Mantua

Archivio di Stato (ASMa)

Archivio Gonzaga: Corrispondenza estera contains dispatches from Mantuan diplomats at the imperial court. The duke evidently shared many of them with Venice, because Sanuto copied them – or parts of them – into his *Diarii*. But did the duke share the whole dispatch and nothing but the dispatch? Only a close comparison of the two texts will tell.

(iv) Modena

Archivio di Stato (ASMo)

Cancellaria ducale: ambasciatori, sub-series 'Alemagna', 'Italia' and 'Spagna', contain dispatches from the diplomats sent to Charles's court by the dukes of Ferrara.

(v) Turin

Archivio di Stato (AST)

French troops invaded the duchy of Savoy in 1536, forcing Duke Charles and his heir Prince Emanuel Philibert to flee until after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. Since support from the emperor offered the only realistic chance of expelling the French, the duke maintained a permanent ambassador at the imperial court: Jean-Thomas de Langosco, count of Stroppiana, provided much detail in his dispatches to both the duke and the prince – not least because, according to another (envious?) diplomat, Stroppiana 'sleeps in the emperor's bedchamber'.[84] The originals are in AST *Lettere di ministri: Vienna*, mazzi 2, 3 and 4. Greppi, 'Extraits', published French summaries of many of them for 1546–59 (with transcripts of many Italian originals in the notes).

(vi) Venice

Every Venetian ambassador composed a *Relazione* after returning from his embassy, and after 1524 each one had to read his text to the Senate and submit it in writing two weeks later. These were substantial documents: it took Gasparo Contarini over three hours to read out his *Relazione* in 1525, after fifty-two months at the court of Charles V, and his text covers over sixty printed pages.[85] Most of each *Relazione* dealt with the same issues: geography and resources; wealth of cities and nobles; recent history; and the character, appearance and health of the ruler, his immediate family and his principal advisers. Thanks to this custom, historians can find intimate portraits of the emperor at different ages by Vincenzo Quirini in 1506, Francesco Corner in 1521, Gasparo Contarini in 1525, Niccolò Tiepolo in 1532, Bernardo Navagero in 1546, Alvise Mocenigo in 1548, Marino Cavalli in 1551, and Federico Badoer in 1557.[86] In the nineteenth century, Eugenio Alberì published the *Relazioni* of most Venetian ambassadors (but in an apparently haphazard order); and a century later, Luigi Firpo started to republish many of them, together with a few more printed elsewhere, arranged by country and then by date. Vols II and III (*Germania 1506–1554* and *Germania 1557–1654*) and IX (*Spagna 1497–1598*) contain the *Relazioni* composed by ambassadors to Charles V. All except those of Quirini and Corner are available online at http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it.[87]

In addition, like envoys sent by other rulers, each Venetian ambassador sent regular dispatches to his home government, and extracts from them appear in two printed sources: *CSPV* (available in digital form through *BHO*) and the *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto: see http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/metabook?id=sanudodiary

Sanuto was already a historian with some works to his credit when in 1496 he decided to create a chronicle of his own times by collecting relevant materials every day, recording Venetian documents and debates that he considered important until September 1533, just before his death. The republic's political elite recognized the value of his enterprise, granting him special permission to scour archives in order to keep his *Diarii* up to date. Sanuto himself boasted that 'I have seen and understood the truth, not only about the city but about the entire world, and I can state that no writer will be able to undertake a good history of modern times without consulting my *Diarii*.'[88] His material would fill fifty-eight large printed volumes, arranged (according to Sanuto's design) according to the year, month and day on which each document arrived in Venice. This may confuse historians trying to follow a particular 'thread' of correspondence, because dispatches from diplomats in different places describing the same event arrived at an uneven pace; but Sanuto shows historians of Venice what the government knew and when they knew it, and allows historians of communication to measure the speed of couriers on official business (see Fig. 2). Nothing similar exists for any other government.

Rawdon Brown, who edited the early volumes of *CSPV*, often used Sanuto's transcriptions of incoming dispatches, rather than the originals, but he did so before the publication of the *Diarii* provided the volume and folio of the original, which differ from the references in the published text, making it difficult to calibrate the two. In addition, Brown made several errors of transcription.[89]

The dispatches of four Venetian ambassadors at Charles's court have been published in whole or in part: von Höfler, 'Depeschen' for Quirino; Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni*, VI, for Andrea Navagero; Gachard, *Trois années*, for Bernardo Navagero (from a register of his correspondence in ÖNB); Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, for Badoer. Two other registers of diplomatic dispatches have survived: BNMV *Ms. Italiani Clase VII*, cod. 1009, contains Contarini's letters from Charles's court, 1521–5; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753 contains those of his successor, Andrea Navagero, 1525–8. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, provides summaries and extracts of the dispatches sent by ambassadors at the imperial court, now in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, from 1538 onwards.

5. POLAND

Johannes von Höfen, a humanist and poet from Danzig (hence his name Johannes Dantiscus in Latin, Dantisco in Spanish and Dantiszek in Polish), served as ambassador of King Sigismund of Poland-Lithuania at Charles's court in 1518–19, 1522–3 and 1525–32. Perhaps because of boredom (a recurring complaint in his correspondence) Dantiszek filled his dispatches with descriptions of the places and peoples he saw, as well as of events, and so provided more information than most diplomats. He also corresponded with Cortés and others about the Americas, and collected materials from the New World which he sent back to Poland.[90] Many of Dantiszek's official dispatches were published in Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*: the papers of the Polish statesman Piotr Tomicki, collected and preserved by his secretary. The first thirteen volumes are available online: http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/32217. Many of the 6,000 surviving letters (mostly in Latin and German) written by and to Dantiszek are also available in full-text, searchable form: *Corpus of Joannes Dantiscus' texts and correspondence* (http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?menu=clat&f=clat). In 1994, Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, published a Spanish translation of over forty of Dantiszek's diplomatic dispatches from Charles's court (as well as many other fascinating items, including his correspondence about America).

6. PORTUGAL

The Houses of Austria and Avis maintained close family ties: King Manuel married two of Charles's aunts and then his sister Eleanor; Charles married the sister of John III, who married Catalina of Austria; their son Prince John married Charles's daughter Joanna, and Charles's son Philip married the prince's sister, María Manuela. These links meant that the Portuguese ambassadors to the imperial court took special care to describe Charles's behaviour – especially towards scions of the House of Avis. See, for example, the dispatches from 1526–7, when the imperial couple were still 'very much in love and very happy', printed by Braamcamp Freire, 'Ida'. These dispatches came from ANTT *CC*, a series created in the wake of the chaos caused by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, with most surviving documents placed in a single chronological sequence by date of composition, irrespective of provenance, addressee or date received. ANTT *CC*, Part I, maço 21 (1517) to maço 103 (1558) contain (among many other documents) dispatches received from the emperor and from diplomats at his court. https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3767259 provides a brief description of each document in the series.

V. CHRONICLES AND HISTORIES

The final group of important documents on Charles are the chronicles compiled by protagonists. In the Netherlands, Jean Molinet (1475–1507), his nephew Jean Lemaire des Belges (1507–12), Remy

du Puys (1515–16) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1530–2) all served as chroniclers (*indiciaire*) at the court of Burgundy, but few published much history. Paradoxically, although never appointed official chronicler, in 1559, Charles's librarian Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg published a 300-page biography of the emperor: three other editions had appeared by 1563, with two more in the 1590s.[91] In Castile, nine scholars served Charles as royal chroniclers: Antonio de Nebrija (1509–22), Peter Mártir de Anglería (1520–6), Bernardo Gentile (1523–6), Antonio de Guevara (1525–45), Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1536–73), Florián de Ocampo (1539–58), Bernabé de Busto (1546–57), Pedro Mexía (1548–51) and Juan Páez de Castro (1556–68). All of these men had a Humanist training and boasted a university degree, but only three (Mexía, Ocampo and Sepúlveda) had previous experience of writing history. All of them seem to have spent too much time researching (or working on other projects) and not enough time writing.[92]

Morel-Fatio, *Historiography of Charles V. Part I* (1913), provided an outstanding evaluation of the work of each of the Spanish chroniclers, although in several cases a subsequent edition has appeared. Thus a typescript of almost 4,000 pages was created from the manuscript of Santa Cruz's *Chronicle of Emperor Charles V*, and published in Madrid in five volumes between 1920 and 1925; a critical edition of Mexía's chronicle appeared in 1945; between 1953 and 1957, José López de Toro published a four-volume Spanish translation of the letters of Peter Mártir; a full edition of Girón's history came out in 1964; and a magnificent edition of Sepúlveda's *The deeds of Emperor Charles V*, with the original Latin and a Spanish translation on facing pages, appeared in six volumes between 1995 and 2010.[93]

Of the official chroniclers only Sepúlveda interviewed Charles and asked him to explain his motives and his feelings about certain episodes, and he included a highly critical evaluation of the emperor in his final years (book XXX); but his *History* did not appear in print until the 1780s.[94] Three other chroniclers did not need an interview because they already knew the emperor well: Guevara was his chaplain, Girón served as his Alcalde de Casa y Corte (the magistrate tasked with maintaining discipline in the court of Spain), and Santa Cruz taught Charles mathematics and accompanied him on journeys.[95] Other contemporary historians who left personal records of their time with the emperor included the following (in chronological order):

1. Jean Vandenesse kept a diary of Charles's movements from 1506 to 1551 that included detailed descriptions of several major events.
2. Sancho Cota did the same from 1510 until October 1518, when he left for Portugal with Eleanor.
3. Laurent Vital kept a day-by-day record of life at Charles's court between June 1517, when he left the Netherlands with Charles, and April 1518, when he returned with Ferdinand.
4. Francesillo de Zúñiga, 'Official gossip-monger of the Spanish court [*chismógrafo official de la corte Española*]', accompanied Charles between 1517 and 1529, holding the office of court jester from 1522. After he fell from favour, Zúñiga compiled a scurrilous account of life at court, full of barbed comments about its denizens, and it began to circulate widely in manuscript almost immediately. The sting of his barbs can be judged by the fact that one of his targets had him stabbed to death in 1532.[96]
5. Martín García Cerezada, *Treatise*, is an account of a foot-soldier's campaigns in Charles's service between 1522 and 1545, with great detail (often day-to-day) on those periods when, 'as an eyewitness', he watched the emperor in action at the head of his troops.
6. Fery de Guyon, from Franche-Comté, began to serve in Charles's armies as a page in 1523, rising in 1539 to become an 'archer of the guard', which gave him the opportunity to observe his sovereign at close quarters. Guyon was completely absent from some parts of his *Memoirs* (apparently composed for his family after 1566), but he appeared prominently as a protagonist in

other parts and provided some unique details on the logistics of Charles's principal campaigns, including some criticisms of 'our emperor' from the perspective of a junior officer.[97]

7. Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga composed and in 1548 published flattering *Commentaries* on the Schmalkaldic war, based on his experience at Charles's side, and also acted as imperial *proto-cronista*, overseeing the work of other historians.[98]
8. Charles was the central figure in the second half of Paolo Giovio's *History of his own times*, ending in 1547 and first published in 1552. Apart from wide reading, Giovio conducted interviews (sometimes in person, more often by letter) with Charles and his leading lieutenants as well as with his enemies (Giovio interviewed some Muslims captured in Tunis and brought by the emperor to Rome in 1536; and he sent questionnaires to John Frederick of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse in August 1547, when both languished in prison, asking for their views on why their rebellion had failed).[99] He also drew on his personal experience, based on his meetings with Charles in 1529, 1536, 1541 and 1543.[100]
9. In 1555, Johannes Sleidan brought out his *Commentaries on the state of religion and public affairs under Emperor Charles V*, initially in Latin but soon with translations into several vernacular languages. Sleidan boasted at the outset that 'This work of mine is based entirely on documents collected with the utmost diligence', but as official historian of the Schmalkaldic League he collected documents about religion and public affairs, rather than about Charles: he therefore allocated fifty pages to the recent war in Germany, but only six lines to the Tunis campaign. Sleidan wrote virtually nothing about the emperor's appearance or inner thoughts. Although (not surprisingly) Charles disliked his work, Sleidan provided important insights on the emperor's German policies, and their opponents.[101]
10. Francisco López de Gómara composed his *Annals of Charles V* in 1557–8, although some passages remain in the form of notes rather than as a finished work. The author had accompanied Charles on his Algiers expedition and was perhaps an eyewitness to other events, which gives his account great vividness.[102]
11. Although Florián de Ocampo only published five of a projected eighty-four chapters of his *Chronicle*, he left some notebooks full of relevant material concerning conditions in Spain: BNE *Ms.* 9936 and 9937, covering the years 1521–43 and 1550–8, were both copied from BSLE *Ms* V-II–4, 'Relación de cosas sucedidas en la Cristiandad desde 1510 hasta 1558', annotated by Páez and perhaps by Busto.
12. The life of Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, born in circa 1551, scarcely overlapped with that of the star of his *History of the life and deeds of the Emperor Charles V*, first published in 1604–6, and he borrowed extensively – often literally – from the chronicles compiled by Gómara, Guevara, Mexía and Santa Cruz. Nevertheless, his claim to have read or held in his hand many of the documents quoted in his *History* reminds us that he had access to numerous state papers, including some now lost; and where the originals survive, they confirm that Sandoval cited his sources accurately.[103]

Charles appeared in many other contemporary accounts over which he had no control. He featured frequently in the *Memoirs* of Bartholomew Sastrow, from Stralsund, who observed the emperor on many occasions in the 1540s; in the *History of Italy* by Francesco Guicciardini, which ended in 1534; and in the biography of Frederick, first Count and then Elector Palatine, composed by Thomas Hubert (also known as 'Leodius'), who served as Frederick's secretary and special envoy from 1522 until his death in 1555. Hubert recorded many conversations with his master about members of the imperial family (including Charles's sister Eleanor, whom Frederick tried to marry in 1517 and again in 1522) as well as citing documents from the Palatine archives.[104] Charles also

appeared in the legion of chronicles devoted to his various campaigns: Voigt, ‘Die Geschichtschreibung’, published carefully researched bibliographical articles on the Tunis and Schmalkalden operations, which are still valuable. Nordman, *Tempête*, edited an exemplary collection of texts, both Christian and Muslim, concerning the Algiers fiasco.

VI. CULTURAL RECORDS

I. BUILDINGS

All four palaces in the Low Countries where Charles resided have been destroyed. In Ghent, commemorative frescoes depicting his great deeds were installed in 1685 in the room where he was born in the Hof Ten Walle (subsequently renamed the Prinsenhof in his honour), but it burned down in 1835. The Keizershof in Mechelen, where Charles spent most of his adolescence, became a monastery and was demolished at the beginning of the eighteenth century (now restored). The enormous ducal palace in Brussels, in which Charles staged many key events, including his emancipation in 1515 and his abdication forty years later, was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1731 – although recent excavations have uncovered traces of several additions made during the emperor’s reign. Nothing remains of the cottage in the palace park where he lived between 1553 and 1556 because it was demolished in 1778.[105]

Only two of Charles’s palaces survive more or less intact, both in Spain. Charles commissioned the Renaissance construction in the heart of the Alhambra of Granada during his visit to Mantua in 1532, and although he made plans to return on more than one occasion, he never actually saw it.[106] By contrast the emperor reviewed and approved architectural plans for another major construction: the apartments at Yuste where he would spend the last nineteen months of his life. They became part of the convent shortly after his death, but in 1809 French troops sacked, looted and burnt the site, and the entire complex fell into ruins soon after the monastery was abandoned in 1837. Serious restoration work began just before the 400th anniversary of Charles’s death, in 1958, and was triumphantly completed between 1999 and 2002.[107]

II. REPRESENTATIONS

Charles and his entourage closely supervised visual representations of the empire by painters, sculptors, engravers and other artists. Wohlfeil, ‘Retratos’, Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, and especially Burke, ‘Presenting’, provide excellent overviews. Surviving images range from the full-length life-size paintings known as ‘state portraits’ (see Pl. 19), through stained glass and statues in wood (Pl. 15) and bronze (Pls 21 and 29), to coins and medals (Pls 16 and 17), tapestries (Pl. 20), cameos (Pl. 31) and miniatures (Pl. 33). Pieces and tokens used to play games could also be used for propaganda by placing the likeness of the emperor and his family on the upper side (Pl. 30).[108] Many images could be mass-produced thanks to printing, and the same was true of the ceremonial entries of the monarch into each city in his realms, starting at Bruges in 1515 (Pl. 7 and chapter 3 above) and reaching its apogee in the triumphal arches as Charles and his son progressed around the Netherlands in 1549 reproduced in Calvete de Estrella, *El felicíssimo viaje*. Jacquot, *Fêtes et cérémonies*, included many examples, and new studies of individual commemorations continue to appear, such as Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal*, about the impressive frieze created in Tarazona, Spain, to commemorate Charles’s coronation as emperor at Bologna in 1530.

Many of Charles’s ministers acquired portraits and other memorabilia to remind them of their late master (or they sought to acquire them: see the unrequited effort of the first count of Olivares to

secure a copy of Titian's painting of Charles at Mühlberg in chapter 17). Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, whom some regarded as the emperor's Favourite, almost certainly convinced Charles to retire to Yuste, near to his own palace in Plasencia where he created a veritable 'Caroline Museum' decorated with frescoes of the emperor's leading battles (when Ávila described the one of Renty, Charles objected that it was not accurate) and full of memorabilia given to him by the emperor, including a marble bust by Pompeo Leoni dated 1555. The Palacio de Mirabel in Plasencia still boasts a *Salón de Carlos V*, but its contents may not remain there for long: the Leoni bust from the collection was offered for sale at auction in 2017 for 400,000 euros before being withdrawn.[109]

III. MUSIC

Young Charles learned to play several musical instruments at Mechelen, and throughout his life he heard much fine music. He evidently listened attentively because he recognized that some of the motets by Francisco Guerrero performed for him at Yuste were based on compositions by others (chapter 16). In her fine study of music at Charles's court, Mary Tiffany Ferer acknowledged that 'any personal involvement in both the patronage of music and musicians has failed to emerge'; but strong evidence links certain compositions with specific events (the imperial coronation at Bologna, the opening of the imperial Diets, the death of the empress and so on).[110] The best introduction to the emperor's music remains the long and richly documented essay by Ignace Bossuyt, a professor of musicology at the university of Leuven, 'Charles V: a life story in music', which provides a chronological outline of Charles's political career through music.

In addition, fine recordings exist of many works by composers known to Charles (Josquin des Prés, Peter Alamire, Juan de Anchieta, Luis de Narváez, Jean Courtois, Francisco Guerrero, Nicholas Gombert, Cristóbal de Morales and so on). Dedicated Carlophiles are fortunate that ensembles sometimes recreate the music performed for the emperor: for example, in October 2018, at Trinity College, Hartford (Connecticut), the Ensemble Origo performed a partial reconstruction of the music sung at Charles's coronation in Bologna on 24 February 1530.

VII. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

The Belgian historian and archivist Louis Prosper Gachard, who published more documents about the emperor than anyone before or since, discerned only one chronological gap in the record: 'History only took an interest in [Charles] after he began to sparkle,' he complained in 1842:

> It would be intriguing to know just how a prince who would fill the world with the sound of his fame and his power was raised. Above all, it would be interesting to follow, step by step, the development of the mind that would, for almost half a century, exercise such a striking influence on the fate of Europe . . . But unfortunately it does not seem that the sources survive.

For once, Gachard erred: in 2011, Anna Margarete Schlegelmilch published a 650-page study on precisely this subject, based on a dazzling range of sources in seven languages, entitled *The adolescence of Charles V: The cultural environment and education of a Burgundian prince*. Her meticulous multi-lingual research proved that material on Charles 'before he began to sparkle' has survived in prodigious quantities.[111]

For the rest of Charles's life, printed sources that include material from only one archive (AGS, ASV), or only one source (the Venetian *Relazioni*), are described above in the entries on individual

archives; but some important publications include documents from many sources, notably:

I. SPAIN

CODOIN, a series of 112 volumes, contained many documents by or about Charles from Spanish archives (Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 61–73, listed them in alphabetical order). *CLC*, vols IV and V, published documents generated by the Cortes of Castile of Charles's reign (now available online: https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=16930). Facsimile editions of the last wills of Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles were published in 2016 and 1983 by J. M. Calderón Ortega, and by M. Fernández Álvarez and J. L. de la Peña, respectively.

Pride of place among printed sources published in Spain goes to *CDCV*. In 1956, Manuel Fernández Álvarez received the instruction: '"Álvarez: the centenary of Charles V approaches and we need to do something." Ever since then,' Don Manuel recalled, 'I have committed myself to accumulating material on the emperor.'[112] Thanks to major research grants for foreign research, and a publication subsidy of 500,000 pesetas, the 2,800 pages of *CDCV* appeared in five volumes between 1973 and 1981, containing 825 documents (almost all published in their entirety) and a Spanish translation of the emperor's *Memoirs*, together with cumulative indexes.[113]

II. GERMANY

In 1893 the first volume of *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V.* (*RTA*) appeared, containing a documentary history of the process by which Charles became king of the Romans (1516–July 1519). Vol. II (1896) covered the period from his election to the end of the Diet of Worms (July 1519–May 1521). Both volumes printed the relevant dispatches of foreign ambassadors as well as internal documents and, as Henry Cohn has noted, they 'invalidated everything written beforehand' – yet they have been little used by historians outside Germany.[114] Of the other assemblies over which Charles presided in person, *RTA* vol. X (1992; 1,602 pages in three parts) printed documents from the Regensburg Reichstag of 1532; vol. XV (2001; 2,404 pages in four parts) those from Speyer in 1544; vol. XVI (2003; 1,740 pages in two parts) those from Worms in 1545; vol. XVII (2006; 596 pages) those from Regensburg in 1546; vol. XVIII (2006; 2,760 pages in three parts) those from Augsburg in 1547–8; and vol. XIX (2005; 1,681 pages in three parts) those from Augsburg in 1550–1. Two volumes currently in preparation will cover the other Reichstage over which Charles presided: Augsburg in 1530 (IX) and Regensburg in 1541 (XIV). The lack of the former can be partially replaced by the sources printed by Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*. Von Druffel and Brandi, *Briefe und Akten*, vols II–IV, published many documents concerning the Reichstag of 1546–55.

Kohler, *Quellen*, printed 120 important documents about Charles, all translated into modern German. The majority came from printed primary and secondary sources (see the list at pp. XV–XXII). Few of the sources were originally in German, but # 10 is a fascinating exception: the accounts of Charles's 'Receiver-General in Germany' for 1520, recording the payments made on Charles's behalf to secure his election as king of the Romans.[115] Kohler quoted and discussed each document in his admirable biography, *Carlos V*.

In 2001 the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz began to digitize its *Regesta Imperii* project, a chronological record of the activities of all popes and emperors down to 1558, in the form of abstracts ('Regesten': more than 130,000 are currently available). Since then it has added details on literature that cites or extends the Regesta, for example providing a detailed list of the contents of relevant edited volumes and collections of essays, with links to any contributions available online. Currently, over two million titles are available. See further details in

http://www.regesta-imperii.de/en/research/ri-online.html#c958. For an example, see the description of Boone and Demoor, *Charles V in context*, with one chapter available online: http://opac.regesta-imperii.de/lang_en/anzeige.php?sammelwerk=Charles+V+in+context.+The+making+of+a+European+identity&pk=973091

III. BELGIUM

Publications of sources from Charles's reign include six huge volumes that contain all the ordinances issued by his government (*Recueil des Ordinnances*) and a history based on (and often quoting) Belgium's local and central archives: Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique*, in ten volumes.

IV. ITALY

Shortly after Henne's history appeared, Giuseppe de Leva began to publish a similar study for Italy, reproducing material drawn from an impressive range of foreign as well as Italian archives and libraries down to 1552: *Storia documentata di Carlo V*, in five volumes.

VIII. SECONDARY LITERATURE

Thousands of biographies of Charles have appeared in at least a dozen languages, starting in the emperor's lifetime. Over 100 had appeared by 1600. In 1956, Royall Tyler opined that among all available studies 'pride of place' belonged to the biography published by Karl Brandi: *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, the first volume published in 1937 and soon translated into many languages. Brandi had started work on a biography of Charles in 1907, intending to complete the unfinished three-volume study by Hermann Baumgarten, but he later resolved to start from scratch and worked through primary and secondary sources for much of the next three decades. In 1941, Brandi published a companion volume, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen und Erörterungen*, which described and often transcribed in part the sources cited on each page of the German version of his biography (supplemented by an article in *B&S*, XIX, 161–257, 'Aus den Kabinettsakten des Kaisers', which included some documents of outstanding importance that Brandi discovered after publishing his biography).[116] Some might criticize Brandi for devoting so much space to political and religious developments in Germany, and so little to economic and social issues, or for citing so few documents in the archives of Lille and those of Spain, but his biography – especially if one reads the two volumes together, as he intended – continues to occupy pride of place. It still sets the standard by which all other works about Charles should be judged.[117]

A spate of biographies appeared around 1958, the quatercentenary of Charles's death, together with sixty-seven papers delivered in various languages at four international conferences: Kohler, *Carlos V*, 403–4, provided full details. Another spate of studies of the emperor appeared around 2000, the quincentenary of his birth. Above all, the *Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V* sponsored five international conferences and six exhibitions in 2000, and published the corresponding proceedings (275 individual contributions) and catalogues, as well as numerous monographs and sources concerning Charles – a total of some 25,000 printed pages. Blockmans and Mout, *The world*, 1–11 and 337–47, provided full details. Belgium, too, celebrated the quincentenary: the 286-page report of the Flemish 'Charles V Commission' detailed the various activities concerning the emperor that it had supported in 2000, including a list of thirty-eight relevant publications.[118]

Chaunu and Escamilla, *Charles*, 1,133–60, provided an excellent survey of publications down to 2000, and subsequent publications can be tracked via three online resources: by typing 'Karl V' into the Online *Katalog der deutschen Nationalbibliothek:* https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&query=118560093; by typing 'Carlos V', 'Karl V' and 'Charles-Quint' into Dialnet.unirioja.es; and by consulting the 'Carlos Quinto' portal on *Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes*.[119]

IX. THE ABSENTEES

In his excellent study of biographies and their obsessed authors, James Atlas observed: 'You could never get it all down. The story would always remain unfinished. It was a hazard of the trade . . . Biography, like [psychiatric] analysis, remains incomplete; the subject, like the patient, remains unknown.'[120] There are two types of unknown, however: those you are aware of, and the rest.

1. THE KNOWN UNKNOWNS

War has destroyed many of the documents written by, for or about Charles. The archives of the States of Brabant perished in 1695 when the French bombarded Brussels; advancing German troops destroyed those of Leuven and Ieper in 1914; retreating German troops burned those of Naples in 1943. Other documents perished in shipwrecks. In 1542, Charles apologized to an ambassador that he could not find some relevant papers because they were 'lost on the Algiers campaign' the previous year.[121] Worse, 'All the papers of the emperor and of the king our lord since the year 1540' until 1559, when Philip II sailed from the Netherlands back to Spain, perished when the ship carrying them foundered, and 'with them we lost an important source on past events'.[122] Another important loss – that of holograph messages from Charles to his brother – is known because shortly after his brother's death, Ferdinand ordered their entire correspondence since 1522 to be copied into special registers: HHStA *Hs. Blau* 595, 596/1–2 and 597/1–3. Although his archivists 'collated their copies with the original letters', they systematically omitted the emperor's holograph postscripts after the first few words, perhaps because Ferdinand considered them too sensitive. We know what Charles wrote with his own hand when the original of his letters also survives, but for the rest we know only that something – presumably something important – is missing.[123]

Many other surviving documents withhold their secrets from researchers, at least in part. Some made little sense even to contemporaries: Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell once complained that the letters sent by an envoy at Charles's court were 'so obscure that hard itt was for any man to understand the same'. Even when the syntax is clear, the surviving documents are written in a bewildering variety of scripts, some of them all but impenetrable. One of the editors of *The family correspondence of Ferdinand I* observed wearily 'that in every generation of historians there should be someone who can edit the letters exchanged between Ferdinand I and his siblings, letters which are sometimes extremely difficult to decipher'. Charles himself was one of the worst offenders. His sister Marie sometimes reproached him for the illegibility of his letters: 'If I may say so, there were one or two words so badly written that I was not able to read them properly, and can't be sure I divined them correctly.'[124] (See Pls 8 and 9 for examples of Charles's challenging script in both Spanish and French documents.) But since the emperor expected all recipients to be able to read what he wrote, historians must persevere.

Many papers once legible have subsequently been damaged. Several volumes of the manuscripts collected by Sir Robert Cotton were burnt by fire before they reached the British Library, so that it is now impossible to read the outer parts of dispatches from many English diplomats at Charles's court;

a volcanic eruption in Guatemala in 1541 unleashed flood waters that destroyed the colonial capital, including most documents, damaging the rest; and so on.

In addition, many documents were written in code for which no 'clear' text survives, either because the recipient was so familiar with it that they could cypher and decipher it in their head, or because the key has not survived. In 1516, Emperor Maximilian received at least one letter from his daughter 'which you cyphered with your own hand'; and a decade later Charles reassured his brother that 'I decoded myself what you wrote to me in your letter of 9 May' – two examples among many.[125] Gustave Bergenroth encountered some fifty different cyphers in Simancas alone, and carried out an 'immense labour, injurious to my health' trying to decode them until he stumbled on a box in the archive that contained numerous keys. Some were 'of use to me in deciphering page after page; others were useful only for reading a few lines'; but thanks to his labours, documents transcribed by or for Bergenroth can now be read in their entirety, whereas the originals in the archives contain extensive passages still in cypher. To tackle the rest, Stix, 'Die Geheimschriftenschlüssel', provided keys to twenty-four cyphers used by Charles's chancery (together with seven plates showing the cypher and decrypt).[126]

In some cases we know we lack some information only because a correspondent announced tantalizingly that a particular matter was too important or too sensitive to commit to paper. Thus Maximilian informed Margaret that he had 'explained our plans orally' to a special messenger who 'can advise you with greater secrecy and candour what we have decided to do'; Margaret told Cardinal Wolsey that her special envoy would explain her plans to him in person 'because these are matters better communicated orally than in writing'; and Charles's regent in Spain likewise communicated sensitive information via trusted messengers because 'affairs here are much worse than I can express in my letters'.[127] Charles likewise sometimes insisted on handling sensitive business orally. In 1528 he informed the count of Haro that 'it is necessary for you to come here so that I can tell you some important matters concerning my service' (almost certainly to appoint and instruct the count as guardian of the French princes held as hostages). Two decades later he told his brother that 'The importance of this matter makes it more than necessary that we discuss it together in person . . . It cannot be handled by third parties or in writing.' He envisaged 'talking together for four or five days'. (The 'matter' was making war on the German Lutherans.)[128]

Finally, although Charles himself committed an extraordinary amount to paper, he also sometimes took steps to conceal matters of state. In 1515 he sent his preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, from Brussels 'to Spain to see the king of Aragon *about some important secret affairs that do not need to be explained*'. The same phrase appears frequently in the records of his Netherlands government throughout his reign: forty years later, his treasurer in Brussels paid a minister £500 'for some important matters concerning His Majesty's service *that need not be specified*', and another received £50 'to be distributed by him on some secret matters *that His Majesty does not wish to be specified*'.[129] Charles also sometimes ordered the destruction of sensitive papers. In 1536, when war with France seemed imminent, he instructed his ambassador at the French court to 'burn the minutes and other papers in your possession that should not be seen'. Seven years later, he prefaced the secret advice sent to his son Philip on the eve of another war with France: 'I am writing and sending you this secret document which will be for you alone. You must therefore keep it secret, under lock and key where neither your wife nor any other living person can see it.' The emperor repeated his stern admonition at the end: 'Because we are all mortal, if God were to call you to His side, be certain to put it in a place where it will be returned to me under seal, or have it burned in your presence.'[130]

2. THE UNKNOWN UNKNOWNS

Historians are fortunate that the instructions of 1543 were not burnt, because the emperor composed them alone and made no copies. Some other ‘secret matters that His Majesty does not wish to be specified’ can be recovered with a measure of luck and ingenuity, because normally secretaries kept a draft, copy or minute of outgoing letters, or else sent duplicates or even triplicates, of which at least one copy survives. Nevertheless, some gaps will inevitably remain unknown. The registers of Charles’s private expenditure (p. 576 above) illuminate the problem: we know that the register covering 1530–2 once existed, because although now lost it was inventoried in the nineteenth century, but other volumes may have covered the period before 1530 and after 1532 and have since disappeared without trace. Historians do not know.

The problem of the ‘unknown unknowns’ is particularly serious for political and military history, as Robert Caro found when composing his monumental biography of the US President Lyndon B. Johnson. Caro began work in 1975, two years after his subject’s death, when ‘most of his contemporaries were still alive’ and available for interview. This proved a vital asset. Although written sources about the thirty-sixth president have survived on a scale that awes biographers of Charles V (the Johnson Library and Museum in Austin, Texas, contains 34,000,000 documents), they still leave many things obscure; but Caro could and did consult those who had known Johnson personally, ‘and when the meaning of documents in the Library was not clear, they often made it clear’. But this led to other frustrations, because Caro soon found that not all interviewees were equal. ‘You don’t really know how power is being used until years later,’ he complained, when ‘people are more willing to talk in interviews. Then you go back and you see what was really happening.’[131]

In the case of Charles V, this is not an option – although Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent made a gallant attempt in his *Interviews with Emperor Charles V*. Having published many sources concerning his subject, Cadenas y Vicent used his knowledge to ask more than a thousand searching questions, together with an answer (usually brief) from ‘the emperor’, followed by references and excerpts from actual documents as supporting evidence. Although Cadenas y Vicent emphasized that he offered only ‘entertainment’, his questions pinpointed many issues to which every biographer of the emperor longs for answers. Unfortunately for historians, since an impeccable source observed Charles’s soul in transit between Purgatory and Paradise in 1562, some of the unknowns are likely to remain unknown.[132]

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Dixon, ‘Charles V’, 105–6 (Dixon also claimed – incorrectly – that the emperor ‘left no personal reflections’); Kleinschmidt, *Charles*, xv.
2. Brandi, *The emperor*, 16; Chabod, *Carlos V*, 128 (from a lecture course originally delivered in 1938–9); Braudel, ‘Charles-Quint’, 205; Blockmans, *Emperor*, 1–2. Note the distinguished lineage: Brandi helped Chabod with his research (Chabod, *Lo stato*, Prefazione); Chabod aided Braudel; Braudel inspired Blockmans.
3. I thank Claudia Möller Recondo and Alain Servantie for help in calculating the emperor’s movements. See also the table showing where Charles spent his days in Anatra, ‘Itinerarios’, and the diagram in Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 401.
4. AGNM *Mercedes* I and II (now *Signaturas servibles* 15792 and 15793), counting each ‘expediente’ as a *cédula*; Ruiz Medrano, *Mexico’s indigenous communities*, 112 (reinforced by a conversation with Lidia Gómez García in Mexico in 2015 about Charles’s ‘divinity’).
5. Dolce, *Le vite*, f. 525v, claimed that *El cortesano* was one of the few books that Charles read thoroughly; and in 1533 the emperor signed a privilege to print a Spanish translation. In 1516, Erasmus, *The education*, dedicated to Charles, had made the same point: ‘Whenever [the prince] goes out, he should take care that his face, his bearing, above all his speech are such that they will set his people an example, bearing in mind that whatever he says or does will be seen by all and known to all’ (99).
6. Lutz, ‘Karl V.’, 181; ASF *MdP* 4301/179, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo of Florence, from the imperial camp, 30 Aug. 1543. See also Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 465–6, Relation of Bernardo Navagero, Venetian ambassador, July 1546: Charles ‘cannot conceal the pleasure he takes in war. He is happy then, he comes alive.’
7. *Plutarch’s Lives*, II, 139, translated by John Dryden.
8. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 130, Charles’s secret instruction to Prince Philip, 6 May 1543.
9. De Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 28–33, van Male to Louis de Praet, 11 Nov. 1552, Latin.
10. For the paper trail created by one imperial visit, consider the sources generated during the three days that Charles spent in Aigues Mortes in 1538 deployed by Le Person, ‘A moment of “resverie”’ – and multiply them by 1,000.
11. Nicolson and Trautmann, *The letters of Virginia Woolf*, VI, 225–6, Woolf to Vita Sackville-West, 3 May 1938 (Woolf had been commissioned to write a biography of the artist and art critic Roger Fry).

12. BNE *Ms*. 5578/77–99v, ‘Méthodo para escribir la Historia por Dr Juan Páez de Castro, chronista de el emperador Carlos V, a quien le dirige’, copy. The original, once in BSLE, seems to have disappeared. Esteban, ‘De las cosas’, printed a flawed transcription of this manuscript, then BNE *Ms*. Q-18. De Courcelles, *Escribir*, 316–28, claimed to provide a new transcription of the document, but still used the discontinued call-number ‘Q-18’ and included exactly the same errors as Esteban. Although the document is undated, a letter written by Páez de Castro in Brussels dated 12 July 1556 described ‘what I need to write in my history’: Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia*, 430–1. Presumably by then Páez de Castro had submitted his outline to Charles, who was still in the Netherlands.
13. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 544–7, Pedro de La Gasca to a cabildo in Peru (Arica?), 28 Sep. 1549.
14. Smith, *Erasmus*, 34–5; Bataillon, ‘Charles-Quint’, 91.
15. BNE *Ms*. 5578/87v–88, ‘Méthodo para escribir la Historia’. For two modern studies on Páez de Castro, see Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia*, and von Ostenfeld-Suske, ‘Juan Páez’.
16. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, cols 68–9, copy of a letter from Brussels, 7 Oct. 1531; *SLID*, II, 136 (Hernando del Corral); Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2–3, relating Ferdinand’s conversations with his doctor in 1563–4.
17. *CDCV*, III, 667, Charles to Philip, 13 Mar. 1554.
18. Clark, *The sleepwalkers*, xxix–xxx. I thank Mary Sarotte for bringing this passage to my attention.
19. GRM, I, 405–7, Luis Quijada to Juan Vázquez de Molina, 26 Sep. 1558 (five days after Charles’s death); AGS *E* 874/17–18, Juan de Vega, imperial ambassador in Rome, to Charles, 19 Feb. 1547; von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 366–70, Charles de Marillac’s report on his embassy, 1550.
20. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, 153–5, Bergenroth to David Douglas, 1 Aug. 1866; Brandi, *The emperor*, 644.

NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

1. In *CSPSp*, V/1, viii, Gayangos incorrectly asserted that Antoine Perrenin, Charles’s secretary of state (1525–38), was in fact Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, and throughout the *Calendars* that he edited he incorrectly attributed to the latter several letters written to or by the former.
2. Scribner, *The German Reformation*, 2–4, provided a helpful overview of the changing meaning of the terms ‘Protestant’ and ‘Reformation’. He argued that Ranke was the first to use the latter term in its current broad sense, but this ignores John Knox, who between 1559 and 1571 composed a work entitled *The history of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the realme of Scotland* in defence of ‘the Protestants of the Realm’: Knox, *History*, Preface. For an example of Charles using the terms ‘protestans’, ‘lutheriens’ and ‘les desuoyez de la foy’ interchangeably in the same letter see *LCK*, II, 486–91, Charles to Marie, 9 June 1546.

CHAPTER 1: FROM DUKE OF LUXEMBURG TO PRINCE OF CASTILE, 1500–8

1. Mexía, *Historia*, 4–5 (stating that he was writing in 1548). Hieronymus Gelweiler, a Humanist from Alsace, and Pietro Mareno, a papal notary, both affirmed Charles’s descent from Noah; Ludovico Ariosto, a best-selling Italian poet, traced it back to Hector of Troy; Fray Prudencio de Sandoval began his biography of Charles with a genealogy going back 119 generations to Adam: Burke, ‘Presenting’, 418.

2. A verse based on Ovid, *Heroides*, XII, 84 (‘Bella gerant alii: Protesilaus amet’), attributed to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, in the 1480s.
3. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 154, Charles’s instructions to Philip, 6 May 1543. Weber, ‘Zur Heiratspolitik Karls V.’, remains the best analysis of how the emperor pursued matrimonial imperialism particularly towards France.
4. AGS *E K* 1482/14, Maximilian to Catholic Monarchs, 23 June 1495. On the broader context, see Angermeier, ‘Der Wormser Reichstag 1495’. Cauchies and van Eeckenrode, ‘“Recevoir madame l’archiduchesse”’, 263–6, provided the best guide to the complex antecedents of the double Spanish marriage. Kohler, *Carlos V*, 28, noted that Maximilian had only two legitimate children, and so marrying both of them into the House of Trastámara exhausted his options.
5. ADN *B* 2165/205, payment to ‘une saige femme de la ville de Lille nommée Ysabeau’, Sep. 1499; ADN *B* 2169/58v and 136v, payments to George de Dôle, who left Ghent on 1 Feb. 1500 ‘à extrême diligence’, and to ‘deux religieux de l’abbaye d’Anchin’ who brought the ring to ‘la ville de Gand où ilz avoient séjourné par l’espace de quinze jours entiers, actendant la délivrance de madicte dame’. The 2001 movie *Juana la Loca* (*Mad Love*) – hailed by one critic as a ‘bodice-ripper for intellectuals’ – includes a spectacular recreation of Charles’s birth in a privy, but Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*, 22 n. 15, dismisses the story as baseless gossip. Pity.
6. Van Salenson, *Die warachtige geschiedenisse*, sig. B, poem by Lieven Bautkin, stanza 2 (Bautkin wrote ‘een *paeyeselick* prince’, which meant both peace, *paix*, and Easter, *paas*); AGRB *Gachard*, 611, unfol., Philip to the city of Ieper, 24 Feb. 1500. Tondat, ‘De Geboorteplaats’, claimed that Charles was born in the town of Eeklo, 20 km from Ghent, but the numerous orders signed by Philip in Ghent in the course of Feb. 1500, as well as sources like Bautkin, rule this out.
7. ADN *B* 2169/62v–63, payment to Gillart Michiel, *chevaucheur*, dispatched on 25 Feb. 1500; Gachard, *Lettres inédites de Maximilien*, I, 105 n., Maximilian’s reply to Margaret, undated but March 1500 (dispute about the name); Rodríguez Villa, *Juana la Loca*, 43–5, Villaescusa to the Catholic Monarchs, 28 Mar. 1500 (arguments about the title).
8. Zurita, *Historia*, IV, iii, expanding on the anecdote recorded in the *Anales* of Isabella’s councillor, Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal (*CODOIN*, XVIII, 297; the queen referred to Matthew: 9:9); Gachard, *Lettres inédites de Maximilien*, I, 105 n.
9. Strøm-Olsen, ‘Dynastic ritual’, 36.
10. AGRB *Audience* 22/133–5, warrant of Archduke Philip, 1 Feb. 1500, in Spanish (an unusual circumstance in the records of the Burgundian household).
11. Blockmans, ‘Autocratie ou Polyarchie?’, 282 n. 1, council of regency to Maximilian, 15 Oct. 1483. Ghent had also rebelled against Duke Philip the Bold in the 1450s and would do so against Charles V in 1539–40.
12. Finot, *Inventaire Sommaire*, VII, xcvii–xcviii, Philip’s Household Ordinance, 2 Mar. 1497. No formal act of emancipation seems to exist for Philip, but Cauchies, *Philippe*, 84–6, argues plausibly that his minority ended in July 1493, just after his fifteenth birthday, when he started to sign documents in his own name, albeit remaining Maximilian’s ‘procurator’ until 1495.
13. Firpo, *Relazioni*, VIII, 33, Quirino’s closing Relation, 1506; Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 332, Fuensalida to Ferdinand of Aragon, 5 Mar. 1505; Cauchies, *Philippe*, 225, Maximilian to Philip, undated but Sep.–Dec. 1496; von Höfler, ‘Depeschen’, 147–8, 160–1 and 215–17, Quirino to the doge of Venice, 31 Aug. 1505, 21 Sep. 1505 and 15 May 1506.
14. La Marche, *Mémoires*, III, 315–17. (La Marche perpetrated a dreadful pun here, since ‘Croÿ’ [‘Believe’] was the surname of two of Philip’s leading councillors: Chimay and Chièvres.)
15. La Marche, *Mémoires*, I, 163, and III, 318. I follow Millar, ‘Olivier’, ch. 3, in dating the ‘Introduction’ to the *Mémoires* to 1488–91. Cauchies, ‘“Croit conseil” et ses “ministres”’,

named and discussed the cohort of councillors.

16. ADN *B* 2170 (72,017) and *B* 2171 (72,193), warrant of Philip dated 4 Aug. 1500 to pay Liberal Trevisan, 'conseiller et phisicien de monseigneur l'archiduc', and Trevisan's receipt dated 6 Aug. 1500.
17. *BKK*, II, 72, Charles to Marie of Hungary, 24 Dec. 1540 (support for Barbe's son); van der Elst, *Basilicae Bruxellensis*, II, 43 (Barbe's epitaph); Rodríguez Villa, *Juana la Loca*, 43–5, Villaescusa to the Catholic Monarchs, 28 Mar. 1500 (Barbe's origins).
18. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 138, 182 and 190, Fuensalida to the Catholic Monarchs, 4 Aug. 1500, and 22 Mar. and 27 Aug. 1501.
19. ADN *B* 2169/149, payment by Philip of £123 to the special messenger from Spain; Cauchies, '"No tyenen"', 121, Philip to the Catholic Monarchs, 11 Aug. 1500.
20. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 181, Fuensalida to the Catholic Monarchs, 22 Mar. 1501. Historians disagree about the date of the archduke's departure, but ADN *B* 2177/1v, the first account of Simon Longin as 'Maître de la chambre aux deniers' for Charles and his sisters, stated that on 31 Oct. 1501 their parents 'partirent au matin de la ville de Malines ou ilz laissèrent messeigneurs ses enffants'.
21. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Charles V and the dynasty', 28.
22. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 203, 259, 265 and 300, Fuensalida and colleagues to the Catholic Monarchs, 19 Jan., 15 July, 16 Aug. and 1 Nov. 1504. For an evaluation of Joanna's behaviour at this time, see Aram, *Juana*, ch. 3.
23. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 286–7, Ferdinand to Fuensalida, 26 Sep. 1504 (the king repeated the warning on 15 Oct., promising to send news 'with a courier who can fly' should his wife die: ibid., 292); ibid., 314, Fuensalida to Ferdinand, 3 Dec. 1504; BRB *Mss.* 7386–94/17v, 'La nouvelle d'icelle mort vint à Monseigneur l'Archiduc en sa ville d'Anvers le 11 décembre [1504]'. On Philip's tempestuous relations with Charles of Guelders, including the duke's broken promise to accompany Philip to Spain, see Struick, *Gelre*, 58–76.
24. ADN *B* 2191/355, 359–60, 370v–371, 380–1 and 393–4, Account of Receiver-General Longin for 1505, payments for decorating St Gudule for the funeral service, 14–15 Jan.; for the jousts held on 4 and 11 Sep.; and for 'three great banquets hosted in Brussels on 4, 7 and 11 Sep. 1505'; ADN *B* 2193 (74,099), warrant to pay for 'le deul de feue la royne despaigne' worn by Joanna and her children, 6 Jan. 1505; BRB *Mss.* 7386–94/17–25 and *Mss.* 16381–90/45–51, accounts of the funeral ceremony (splendidly described by Aram, *Juana*, 79–81).
25. ADN *B* 2181/42v–43 and 136, account of Receiver-General Longin for 1503, payments to 'the guardian of the two ostriches' and 'the guard of the *papegay*' that 'My Lord had sent from Spain', and for constructing and heating 'a large cage for the *papegay*'; ADN *B* 2189 (73,620), payment for the 'guard and food for four camels and two pelicans that my lord had brought from Spain', 3 Jan. 1504; AGRB *Audience* 22/186–187v, payments to the guard for the 'papegay, de l'ostriche, et des gélines d'inde', 1504; ADN *B* 2193 (74,065), payment 'pour ramener les bestes et oiseaux d'Espagne à Bruxelles', 28 Aug. 1505; ADN *B* 3462 (121,649), warrant to pay for the ironwork required 'pour le cheval que le roy des Romains donna au prince, et aussi faire regarnir le cheval que le Comte Palatine donna au prince', 30 Sep. 1505. Other details from Vera y Figueroa, *Epítome*, 21–2. In 1521, Albrecht Dürer visited the royal lions in Ghent and sketched them: Dürer, *Diary*, 87 and plates 18–19. In 1549 an Italian visitor to Mechelen admired 'l'ucello già di Massimiliano imperatore . . . col becco largo e lungo' (thus a pelican): Brizio, '"The country"', 77.
26. ADN *B* 2195 (74,346), receipt for £100 signed by Anchieta, 'Maistre d'escole de monseigneur le prince de Castille et de mesdames Lyénor et Isabeau', 26 Sep. 1505; ADN *B* 2181/124v–5 and 135, payments to Martin Bourgeois, Apr. 1503, and to Jehan Loupez, Dec. 1503; Berwick y

Alba, *Correspondencia*, 309, Fuensalida to the Catholic Monarchs, 18 Nov. 1504. See also Schilling, 'L'education', 5–6, and Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 41–2.

27. RAH *Salazar* A-10/35 (formerly f. 42), Charles to Ferdinand, Jan. 1504, discussed in Rassow, 'La primera firma'. Charles did not forget his first tutor: in 1519, at Barcelona, he granted a generous salary for life to Anchieta, who had become a prolific composer (see details of his life and compositions in Preciado, *Juan de Anchieta*).
28. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 101–2 (# 515), letter to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 13 Jan. 1513 (on Vaca); ADN *B* 3462 (121,649), payment of £5 10s to 'un escraignier de Malines qui a fait bancq atout des armoyres et une table pour aller le prince et mesdames ses soeurs à l'escolle', 30 Sep. 1505.
29. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253, Chimay to Maximilian, 9 Sep. 1506 (responding to the emperor's insistence 'qu'il apprendra le Brabanchon'); ADN *B* 3462 (121,621), payment to Evrard Sparcke for 'plusieurs drogheries, médecines et autres espiceries . . . pour mesdits seigneur et dames durant leur maladies', 31 July 1505; and ADN *B* 2195 (74,333), receipt signed by Jacques de Rubbe, 'maistre cururgien', 12 Sep. 1505. On Charles's subsequent ability to speak Dutch, see p. 377 below.
30. Von Höfler, 'Depeschen', 112, Quirino to the doge of Venice, Cleves, 8 June 1505; ADN *B* 2193 (74,137), appointment of Chimay as 'gouverneur et premier chambellan de nostredit filz le prince', 13 Oct. 1505; Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 461 ('Deuxième voyage', written by a member of Philip's entourage) and 491–3, Philip's commission to Chièvres as lieutenant-general, 26 Dec. 1505.
31. Cauchies, *Philippe*, 265–7, testament of Philip, Bruges, 26 Dec. 1505. At that time Philip had only two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, but the phrasing of his will left open the possibility of a multiple partition if he sired more.
32. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 461, Fuensalida to Ferdinand of Aragon, London, 5 July 1508, reporting a long audience with the English king; Firpo, *Relazioni*, VIII, 34, Relation of Vicenzo Quirino, 1506.
33. Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 452–3, 'Deuxième voyage'; Fagel, 'Un heredero', 118.
34. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 257, Berghes to Maximilian, 5 Oct. 1506.
35. Ibid., 258–60, council to Maximilian, Mechelen, 7 Oct. 1506.
36. Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 455, 'Deuxième voyage'. Fagel, 'Un heredero', 121–2, analyses the pro-French and pro-English factions that had developed during Maximilian's regency.
37. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 4, Maximilian to the council, 27 Oct. 1506, his first orders after receiving news of Philip's death.
38. Ibid., I, 8–9, Maximilian's letters patent, 18 Mar. 1507.
39. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253 and 260–7, Chimay to Maximilian, Mechelen, 9 Sep. and 7 Oct. 1506; AHN Nobleza *Frías* 22/91, Charles to the count of Oropesa, 7 Feb. 1508.
40. Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 49.
41. ADN *B* 3510 (123,922), warrant signed by Margaret, 10 July 1507 (discussed in Wijsman, 'Philippe le Beau', 62–5, who tentatively identified the volume as BSLE Vitrina 14); Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 113, 127, 129.
42. Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 129, 131.
43. Cauchies, *Jean Lemaire des Belges, Le carnet*, 55–6.
44. ADN *B* 18,862 (31,117), Margaret to Thomas Boleyn, undated but spring 1513. See also *HMC, 15th Report, Appendix, Part II*, 30, Boleyn to Margaret, 14 Aug. 1514, asking her to return 'ma fille, la petite Boulain'; and Paget, 'The youth'.
45. Dürer, *Diary*, 95–6 (entry for 6 June 1521).

46. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, III, 2391 (‘Il a necessité d’y mettre une serrure pour le fermer, ce que madame a ordonné faire’); and Eichberger, ‘Margaret of Austria’, 2353. Eichberger, ‘A noble residence’, provided a vivid reconstruction of the Hotel de Savoy (or Hof van Savoy) opposite the Keizershof (or Hotel de Bourgogne). Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof*, described the cultural ambience of Margaret’s court and its influence. When in 1535 and again in 1548, Charles organized the household of his son, he chose the solemn Burgundian style that Margaret had perfected at Mechelen.
47. Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 87–8, Charles to Margaret, 6 Oct. 1513; *BKK*, II, 75–6, Eleanor to Margaret, undated; Altmeyer, *Isabelle d’Autriche*, 43, Isabeau to Margaret, 7 Aug. 1515.
48. Bruchet and Lancien, *L’itinéraire*, 336, Margaret to Maximilian, 1507 (Witte would remain Eleanor’s confessor until his death in 1540: Moeller, *Éléonore*, 182–3); ibid., 348, Margaret to Chièvres, Sep. 1511; and 365, Margaret to Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, 23 Feb. 1514 (and not to Marie of Hungary, as stated in van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 88–9). See also Mary Tudor’s reply to ‘Ma bonne tante’ in Sadlack, *The French queen’s letters*, 163–4 (the date must therefore be 13 Apr. 1514).
49. Bruchet and Lancien, *L’itinéraire*, 375, Margaret to Marie of Hungary, Feb. 1518; Jordan Gschwend, ‘Ma meilleure sœur’, 2,569.
50. Gachard, ‘Particularités’, II, 129, Remonstrance of Chimay to Maximilian, 28 Sep. 1508, article 1 (date from Gachard, ‘Notice des archives de M. le duc de Caraman’, 202); *LGC*, I, 129–30 and 172, Maximilian to Margaret, 27 Apr. and 30 July 1509.
51. *LGC*, I, 202–3, 424–5, and II, 260, Margaret to Maximilian, 29 Oct. 1509, 16 June 1514, and late July 1510.
52. Gachard and Piot, *Collection*, I, 461, from the ‘Relation’ of Philip’s second journey to Spain, probably written by Philippe Dale, master of the king’s household, in 1507; BNF *Ms. Esp.* 318/24, Charles to Ferdinand of Aragon, 26 Oct. 1508; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B/III f.109, Charles to Mary Tudor, 18 Dec. 1508 (here plate 3). For another example of Charles’s abysmal writing from the same year, see his holograph postscript to AHN Nobleza *Frías* 22/91, Charles to the count of Oropesa, 7 Feb. 1508. By contrast, BNE *Ms.* 20210/14/4, Charles to Ferdinand, 12 June 1510, with a holograph salutation and signature, showed some improvement in his calligraphy.
53. *CMH*, I, 384–9, Marie to Charles, 3 Aug. 1532, holograph minute; Pardanaud, ‘Plaider’, 197.
54. ADN *B* 2185/162, account of Receiver-General Longin for 1504, payment to ‘Frère Erasme, Rotterdamensis, religieulx de l’ordre de Saint-Augustin’, Oct. 1504; *CWE*, II, 77–9 (# 179), Erasmus to Nicholas Ruistre, Feb. 1504. Erasmus, *The education*, 111–45, printed extracts from the *Panegyric* in English translation. Mesnard, ‘L’expérience politique’, 47–8, noted that Erasmus revised and republished this work, showing that he valued it highly.
55. ADN *B* 2185/227v–8 and 230v, account of Receiver-General Longin for 1504 (payments to the bookbinder and Bosch); and ADN *B* 2191/294v and 297, account of Longin for 1505 (payments for the music, the acrobat and the nude painting).
56. Gairdner, *Letters*, I, 301–3, Maximilian to Henry VII, 14 Sep. 1506; Gairdner, ‘The “Spouselles”’, 15 and 31 (on pp. xi–xii, Gairdner convincingly proved that Charles’s letter, dated 1513 in *L&P Henry VIII*, I. ii, 1108, and here plate 3, was in fact written in 1508); ADN *B* 3351, letters patent dated 27 Feb. 1509. Cauchies, *Philippe*, 144–51, provides an excellent overview of the early marriage negotiations concerning Charles; Sadlack, *The French queen’s letters*, 28–30 and 44–8, presented Mary’s side of the story.
57. Cauchies, *Jean Lemaire des Belges, Le carnet*, 63–4 (‘l’empereur joua ledit jour les joustes’) and 99 (Margaret, Charles and his sisters watched ‘den steeckspele op den merct’ on 18 Feb.

1509).

58. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 79–81, letters patent of Maximilian, 18 Mar. 1509; Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, *Quellen*, 172–5, Zyprian von Sernstein to Paul von Liechtenstein, 3 Apr. 1509; Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 93, Jean Marnix to Margaret, 9 June 1508.
59. Pirenne, *Histoire*, III, 74; *LGC*, II, 431 n., undated draft (in the hand of Gattinara) of the powers sought by Margaret, and idem, I, 122–5, Maximilian to Margaret, undated holograph (but Apr. 1508 and apparently a response to Gattinara's draft). The emperor's French (not his native language) is particularly challenging in this letter: 'i me semble, veu que je suis mainbour et grand-père de mes enfans, que je retieng quelque chose avecq vous, pour vous gouverner, et pour nostre reputation'.
60. Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel*, 246–8, Margaret to Maximilian, undated holograph (but early 1508); ADN *B* 2211 (75,365), warrant to pay Chimay £8,000 because Chièvres now serves as 'premier chambellan', 27 Apr. 1509; ADN *B* 2210/398, matching bed accessories purchased in Nov. 1509; *PEG*, I, 92, Charles to Cisneros and Adrian, 7 Sep. 1517.
61. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 93, Jean Marnix to Margaret, 9 June 1508; Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre*, 279–80, minutes of a meeting of the knights, 22 Nov. 1508; Gossart, *Charles-Quint et Philippe*, VIII and 48–9, 'Règlement de la maison du future roi d'Austrasie' (undated but mid-Dec. 1510).
62. BNE *Ms.* 20212/67/1, Margaret to Ferdinand, 2 Aug. 1508.

CHAPTER 2: THE ORPHAN PRINCE, 1509–14

1. Michelet, *Histoire*, 146 ('Celle-ci est le vrai grand homme de la famille, et, selon moi, le fondateur de la maison d'Autriche').
2. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 96, Maximilian to Margaret, Dec. 1510.
3. Bruchet and Lancien, *L'itinéraire*, 335 and 338, Margaret holograph memorandum, 1507, and Margaret to Maximilian, Apr. 1509.
4. *LGC*, I, 122–5 and II, 204–7, Maximilian to Margaret, Apr. 1508 and Aug. 1510, both holograph (dates from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 271).
5. Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel*, 249–50, Maximilian to Margaret, 29 Apr. 1508, holograph (also published in van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, I, 98–9, with the wrong date and some misreadings of the text); *LGC*, I, 271–2 and 274–5, Margaret to Maximilian, 21 May 1510, and his reply 31 May 1510.
6. Boom, *Marguerite*, 100, Eleanor to Margaret, undated but during Maximilian's visit in 1508–9. Visits calculated from von Höfler, 'Depeschen', 137–8 and 142–4, Quirini to the doge of Venice, 11 and 24 Aug. 1505 (the first visit) and von Kraus, 'Itinerarium Maximilian I', and Foronda, *Viajes* (for the rest).
7. *LGC*, II, 12–14, 182–3, Maximilian to Margaret, 20 and 23 June 1512, and 23 July 1513; ADN *B* 2210/429, payment £86 'en comptant' to Maximilian and Charles, 24 Feb. 1509 ('largesse'); ADN *B* 3351/10–12v, account of Didier Boisot, treasurer of the household of Charles's sisters, payments for their trips with Maximilian in June 1512. Other details from Moeller, *Éléonore*, 64–5.
8. *LGC*, II, 13, Maximilian to Margaret, 22 June 1512, for the stag; Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 161–70 and II, 1602–7, for the martial toys, some of them on display in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
9. ADN *B* 2218/337, account of Receiver-General Micault for 1511, payment on Maximilian's order to Pierre Alamire (Pieter van den Hove), 'escripvain des livres de la chappelle domestique

de monseigneur' and a noted composer, for 'deux gros livres de parchemin plains de messes de musique . . . donné à Madame de Savoye sa fille pour son nouvel an'.

10. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, I, 389 ('völliger Burgunder'), and 228–47, 'Das burgundische Erlebnis'.
11. Ibid., III, 370, and IV, 414. See p. 410 below for Charles's complaint in 1548.
12. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, II, 40–1 (the 'grosser Kriegsplan' of 1496); Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 218–19, Maximilian to Charles, Sep. 1513.
13. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 3, reproduces a drawing of Joseph Grünpeck presenting a copy of the *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* to his grandson, under the emperor's benevolent gaze. The beautifully illustrated manuscript prepared for Charles, with holograph notes by Maximilian, is today in HHStA *Hs. Blau* 9, Cod. 24; while the copy of *Theuerdank* that Maximilian gave him is at BSLE X-I–9.
14. *LGC*, II, 335–8 and 245, Maximilian to Margaret, 1 Jan. and 2 Mar. 1516 (dates from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 286).
15. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, I, 176 notes 6–7, and V, 518 (trailing a pike in 1485, 1504 and 1505); Lhotsky, *Festschrift*, I, 77 (Aachen).
16. Gunn, *War*, 247, quoting a speech by Maximilian to the States-General of the Netherlands in 1499.
17. Boone, 'From cuckoo's egg', 90 (the citadel at Ghent); Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, III, 229 (quoting *Der Weisskunig*) and V, 204 ('Finanzchaos').
18. Burke, 'Presenting', 411; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 110. Charles never seems to have felt qualified to become pope like Maximilian: see *LGC*, II, 37–9, Maximilian to Margaret, 18 Sep. 1511 (date from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten'), a remarkable letter signed 'Maximilianus, futur pape'.
19. Maximilian, *Der Weisskunig*, 341 (ch. 47), 332 (ch. 26) and 348–9 (chs 62–9). All of Part II (chs 13 to 69) dealt with the appropriate education for a young ruler.
20. Maximilian, *Der Weisskunig*, 338–9 (ch. 40).
21. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253, Chimay to Maximilian, 9 Sep. 1506; *LGC*, II, 176, Maximilian to Margaret, 7 July 1513. Maximilian practised what he preached: in 1498 he 'proposa fort élégamment, par l'espace de heure et demye, en lengaige thiois' to the States-General of the Netherlands (Molinet, *Chroniques*, V, 106). Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*, 176–84, provided a good overview of young Charles's limited linguistic skills. For his later linguistic proficiency, see pp. 376–8 below.
22. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I/194, archbishop of Armagh and Lord Berners to Henry VIII, Zaragoza, 17 Sep. 1518; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B. XX/218, Tunstal to Henry VIII, decrypt, Feb. 1521; GRM, II, 414, Dr Mathys to Juan Vázquez, 30 May 1558.
23. *LGC*, I, 35–6 and II, 115–16, Margaret to Maximilian, Dec. 1507 and early 1514.
24. Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, p. XVII, Charles to his envoys in England, 21 Jan. 1522. See also Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 39–40. Charles appointed his former tutor to a succession of lucrative dioceses, including Salamanca where in 1534 he paid Cabeza de Vaca a visit: see ch. 9 below.
25. Verweij, *De paus*, 5 (quotation); ADN *B* 3465 (# 121,766), list of all members of Charles's household, and their wages, on 4 Apr. 1512 ('Maistre Louis de Vacques' and 'Maistre Adrien Florency'). Other details from Stone, 'Adrian of Utrecht and the university'.
26. See Stone, 'Adrian of Utrecht as a moral theologian', and Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*, 251–317, on Adrian; and Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof*, for other details on the Humanist network based on Mechelen.

27. Danvila, *Historia*, II, 624–9, Adrian to Charles, 4 Dec. 1520; ibid., III, 31–41, Adrian to Charles, 16 Jan. 1520; *LCK*, I, 60–2, Adrian to Charles, Zaragoza, 3 May 1522, holograph. Adrian's use of the word 'croy' while reproaching Charles's more gullible councillors was probably a pun aimed at the Francophile Guillaume de Croÿ, lord of Chièvres. Fagel, 'Adrian', 45, listed the surviving letters written by Adrian to Charles between June 1520 and June 1522; *LCK*, I, and Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, printed letters exchanged after Adrian became pope.
28. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 376–86, II, 515–16, and III, 31–41, and Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, 252–3, Adrian to Charles, 25 and 30 June 1520, 28 Nov. 1520, 16 Jan. 1521 and 17 Jan. 1522 (italics added): five examples among many. See also *LCK*, I, 58–62 Charles to Adrian, 7 Mar. 1522, holograph, a more cordial letter recalling the warnings about French perfidy that Adrian 'told me some time ago when I was your pupil [*estant vostre escolier*]'.
29. Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, 34; ADN *B* 2268 (# 79,071), 'Aucunes livres que le roy ordonne porter avec luy', part of an inventory of precious goods that Charles planned to take with him to Spain, 30 June 1517. *Inventaire Sommaire*, IV, 350–1, transcribed the titles (with some errors); Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 74–7, and *Regia biblioteca*, I, 240–1, discussed the *Chroniques de Iherusalem abrégés*. Laurent Vital recorded that during the sea voyage 'aulcuns se mectoient à lire des chronicques' (Gachard, *Collection*, III, 69).
30. Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, 40–5. Wijsman, 'Philippe le Beau', 82–7, described the books taken to Spain by Philip; Debae, *La bibliothèque*, reconstructed Margaret's collection.
31. Chastellain, 'Chronique', 364–5 and 368–9 (written in 1468); *L'État de la Maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne, dit le hardi* (composed in 1474), in La Marche, *Mémoires*, IV, 1–94.
32. La Marche, *Le chevalier déliberé* – a bilingual edition.
33. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 15–16, Guillaume van Male to Louis de Praet, Augsburg, 13 Jan. 1551: 'Caesar maturat editionem libri, cui titulus erat gallicus, *Le chevalier délibéré*. Hunc per otium a se ipso traductum . . . ad numeros rithmi hispani . . . cum non solum linguam, sed et carmen et vocum significantiam mire expresserit'. The emperor charged Hernando de Acuña with completing and publishing his Spanish translation: *El cavallero determinado* (Antwerp, 1553), dedicated to Charles V. Speakman Sutch and Prescott, 'Translation as transformation', noted that the Spanish translation added the Catholic Monarchs, Philip I and Maximilian as rulers vanquished by Death. In the inventory post mortem of Charles at Yuste, the first entry in the books section was 'un libro de cavallero determinado en lengua françesa', and the fifth was the manuscript of the Spanish translation: Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 525. Checa Cremades, 'El caballero y la muerte' reproduced all 19 illustrations.
34. Powell, *The complete works*, I, 127, 'Note of remembraunce by Sir Thomas Wiat', Dec. 1538; Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 654–5, Soto to Charles, 25 Aug. 1552 (recalling something said while Soto served as imperial confessor, 1548–50).
35. Chabod, *Carlos V*, 12, with a plethora of telling examples at pp. 17–38.
36. March, *Niñez*, I, 227, Zúñiga to Charles V, 25 Aug. 1535.
37. Chytraeus, *Chronicon*, 561 (Latin) and 110 (German), paraphrasing the 'Aufzeichnungen' written down in 1556 by Matthias Gunderam, Cranach's cousin, printed in Lüdecke, *Lucas Cranach*, 84–8, used here. I thank Patrick Lenaghan for help in interpreting this passage. In 1609, Valentin Sternenboke included in his *Historia* a somewhat different account of the exchange, derived from Cranach's son (printed in Lüdecke, *Lucas Cranach*, 89–91). Alas the portrait once in Charles's apartment at Mechelen, done in Feb. or Mar. 1509, has disappeared.
38. Leti, *Vita del invitissimo imperadore*, I, 55; Maximilian, *Der Weisskunig*, 328 (ch. 20).
39. Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 196v–197.

40. *LGC*, I, 241–2, Maximilian to Margaret, 28 Feb. 1510 (date from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 271). ADN *B* 2224/342–3, records payments in June 1512 to the huntsmen who 'furled and unfurled' almost 100 metres of 'hunting nets when [Charles] went hunting with the emperor'.
41. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 300–1, letter to the marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 12 Feb. 1518; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B III, f. 36v, Wingfield, Young and Boleyn to Henry VIII, 29 June 1512; *LGC*, II, 155–6, Margaret to Maximilian, undated but 5 June 1514 (see Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 282).
42. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 61–5, describes the annual calendar of court events; ADN *B* 2210/ 379 and 2224/430, accounts of Receiver-General Micault for 1509 and 1512 (New Year's largesse).
43. ADN *B* 2224/342–3, account of Receiver-General Micault for 1512.
44. ADN *B* 2210/398, payment in Nov. 1509 ('pour le petit narre fol'); Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, II/2, 1442 (from 'The king's book of payments', July 1509, signed by Henry VIII). In the 1540s, while Charles ate his Fools told jokes: see p. 391 below.
45. On 'Jehannin le paintre', see ADN *B* 2242/306, account of Receiver-General Micault for 1515. On Bredeniers, see ADN *B* 2218/107, *B* 2224/191v–2 and *B* 2227/169–70v, accounts of Micault for 1511, 1512 and 1513; ADN *B* 2250, quittances for 1515, italics added; and Burbure, 'Bredeniers', cols 922–3: ADN *B* 2222/126.
46. Bossuyt, 'Charles', 88–90 (on Margaret's songbook, now BRB *Ms*. 228, containing 58 compositions) and 132–3 (on *Mille regretz*, already known as 'La canción del emperador' by 1538). See also Ferer, *Music and ceremony*, 216–17. For performances of 'La canción del emperador' see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cWxDG-f8OQc (cornet) and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QYruB57dJ60 (vihuela).
47. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B III/33 and 35v, Wingfield and Young to Henry VIII, 19 and 27 June 1512 (summarized in Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/1, 572–5); *LGC*, II, 260–1 and 265, Margaret to Maximilian, 16, 20–21 and 25 June 1514 (dates from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 271).
48. Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, described the remarkable ice sculptures; Dürer, *Diary*, 63 (entry for 27 Aug. 1520) and plate 75 (a sketch of 'der diergarten und dis lust hinden aws dem schloss' in Brussels.)
49. Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/2, 1046, payments for preparing pennants for Charles at the 'jousts royal' at Tournai; Ibid., 1053–4, Henry VIII's 'oblations' for 16 Oct. 1513 'with Lady Margaret and the prince of Castell'.
50. Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/2, 1047–8, Henry VIII to Pope Leo X, 12 Oct. 1513, and 1049–50, declaration of Henry, Lille, 15 Oct. 1513; Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 210–11, payment to the Count Palatine rehearsing the letters patent of Charles and Maximilian, 1 Feb. 1514. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 117–19, and Fagel, 'Un heredero', 129–30, both discussed the new Household Ordinance, which came into effect on 19 Oct. 1513.
51. Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/2, 1080, Spinelly to Henry VIII, Ghent, 15 Nov. 1513.
52. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III/15, Dr William Knight to Cardinal Wolsey, Mechelen, 2 May 1514, holograph. Ferdinand of Aragon agreed, urging Maximilian to 'delay the marriage of the prince' and 'avoid uniting him with his wife prematurely': AGS *E* 635/11, Ferdinand to his ambassador at the imperial court, Apr. 1514, draft.
53. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 233, Margaret's instructions to Louis Maroton, 6 July 1514. Details of Henry's preparations from Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/2, 1159–62 and 1194.
54. Details from Brodie, *L&P Henry VIII*, I/2, 1325, 1341 and 1351.
55. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III f. 218v, Wingfield to duke of Suffolk, Mechelen, 20 May 1514 (unfortunately, fire damage has rendered illegible several other passages of potential relevance).
56. *LGC*, I, 245–8 and 383, Maximilian to Margaret, 16 Mar. 1510 and 30 Apr. 1514.

57. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 157–9 and 162–4 (# 539 and # 542), to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 June 1514 (early death of Prince John) and 13 Nov. 1514 (early death of Louis XII).
58. Le Glay, *Négociations*, I, 595, Philippe Dalles to Margaret, Paris, 3 Jan. 1515 (in the event, Charles would marry the princess of Portugal in 1526). Charles did not forget his humiliation: in 1530 he told a papal legate that 'he thought royal marriages rarely had the desired results' and cited 'my own case, since I was betrothed to the sister of the king of England when she was of marriageable age but I was not' (*NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530–1531*, 132–9, Campeggio to Salviati, 23–24 Aug. 1530).
59. Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 266, Margaret to Maximilian, [29] Nov. 1512, holograph (Margaret evidently had second thoughts about some of the protests, because she crossed them out); *LGC*, I, 504–7, same to same, [28] Mar. 1513 (date from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten').
60. Le Glay, *Négociations*, I, 550–2, Beersel to Margaret, 16 Sep. 1513.
61. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 193–4, Fuensalida to the Catholic Monarchs, 27 Dec. 1503. For an important lesson imparted by Beersel to his illustrious pupil see p. 149 below.
62. Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre*, 382–93, report of Laurent du Blioul, Greffier of the Order (using the Burgundian calendar, in which each year began at Easter, so the events he described took place between Jan. and Mar. 1514). Ibid., 300–2, the proceedings of the first chapter of the Order after Charles became its Sovereign, in Nov. 1516, show how he ensured the rehabilitation of Don Juan.
63. *CDCV*, IV, 486 (Charles's *Memoirs*); *LGC*, II, 234 and 247–50, Margaret to Maximilian, 14 Mar. and 28 Apr. 1514; Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 233, Margaret's instructions to Louis Maroton, 6 July 1514.
64. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 307–8, letters patent of Maximilian, 23 Dec. 1514, referring to an earlier summons now lost.
65. GRM *Introduction*, 3 n. 1 (Charles's speech); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III/313–16v, Spinelly to Henry VIII, 29 Jan. 1515 (specifying that Chièvres promised Maximilian 100,000 florins 'for setting oute the prynce of tutela').
66. Keniston, *Memorias*, 50. Charles apparently kept the fragments of the seal, because an inventory of his goods in 1536 recorded 'Ung cachet de l'Empereur Maximilien, d'argent blancq, le quel est cassé et martellé' (Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 141). His own reign would end 40 years later with the same ritual in the same room.

CHAPTER 3: THE DIFFICULT INHERITANCE, 1515–17

1. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 309, Charles to the Great Council of Mechelen, 8 Jan. 1515. Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 113–14, published an identical order to the council of Flanders: Charles must have signed similar orders to all other institutions in the Netherlands.
2. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 55 (Vandenesse, 'Journal des voyages'); Du Puys, *La tryumphante entrée* (the 'encore' at p. 12). A lavish French manuscript of Du Puys's account, probably a presentation copy for Charles, is ÖNB Codex 2591. *De triumpe gedaen te Brugghe binner ter intreye van Caerle*, a copy of the Dutch text, published in Antwerp on 25 June 1515, is at KB, 225 G 11.
3. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 378, Ordinance of Charles to the magistrates of Bruges, 13 Apr. 1515, beginning 'De par le prince' and ending 'Car tel est nostre plaisir'; Gachard, *Analectes*, V ('14^{e} série'), 11, Charles to magistrates of Valenciennes, 13 Jan. 1515; and Gachard, *Analectes*, I ('2^{e} série'), 50–2, appointment of Le Sauvage as 'Grand Chancelier', 17 Jan. 1515.
4. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 337–8, order dated 28 Mar. 1515; Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 491–501, 'Ordonnance de Charles . . . pour le gouvernement de sa maison', 25 Oct. 1515; Walther, *Die*

burgundischen Zentralbehörden, 109 n. 1, Margaret to Maximilian, 1 Mar. 1515.

5. *LGC*, II, 284, Margaret to Maximilian, 28 Jan. 1515 (date from Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 282); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III/ff. 319–26, Spinelly to Henry VIII, 6 Feb. 1515 (see also ff. 313–16v, Spinelly's letter of 29 Jan. 1515, reporting Margaret's lament that 'the besynes of the world hertofor hath so succedyd that she is compellyd to folow the opyneans of the Lord Chevers'.
6. *LGC*, II, 276–7, Margaret to Maximilian, 18 Mar. 1515; van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 117–27, Mémoire of Margaret presented to Charles and his council, 20 Aug. 1515.
7. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 238–9 and 135 n. 4, Maroton to Margaret, Innsbruck, 4 and 17 Feb. 1515, reporting conversations with the emperor.
8. Gachard, *Analectes*, I ('3^{e} série'), 168–70, Charles's warrant to pay £150,000 to Maximilian for his expenses in defending the Netherlands during his minority and also 'pour consenter nostre émancipation', over and above the £50,000 'par an qu'il a et prend ordinairement de noz deniers de par deçà', Bruges, 7 May 1515; and Gachard, *Analectes*, V ('17^{e} série'), 465–70, Charles warrant of 22 Nov. 1516.
9. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 243, Maximilian to Margaret, holograph, May 1515 (italics added); van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 133–6, same to same, 18 Jan. 1516.
10. Le Glay, *Négociations*, I, 593–6, Philippe Dalles to Margaret, Paris, 3 Jan. 1515.
11. Gachard, *Analectes*, I ('2^{e} série'), 53–5, Charles's commission to Henry of Nassau and others, 19 Jan. 1515; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 2–8, instructions of the same date, 'ainsi conclu et ordonné par monseigneur en son conseil'; Verweij, *De paus*, 166–8, Charles to Nassau and others, 5 Mar. 1515.
12. TNA *SP* 1/10/49, Robert Wingfield to Henry VIII, Innsbruck, 7 Feb. 1515; *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^{er}*, I, 147–72, treaty of Paris, 24 Mar. 1515; Doussinague, *El testamento*, 432–3, Charles to Ferdinand, 16 May 1515.
13. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/1, 25–7, Suffolk to Henry VIII, early Feb. 1515, and 73–4, Suffolk to Wolsey, 5 Mar. 1515. Avoiding a resurrection of her engagement to Charles was apparently Mary's express intention: she claimed that 'she would rather to be torn in pieces' than 'married into Flanders': Sadlack, *The French queen's letters*, 102–3.
14. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/1, 447–51, Stile to Henry VIII, Madrid, 1 Mar. 1516. Zurita, *Los cinco libros*, f. 405, also noted that 'most of the grandees of Castile showed great satisfaction and joy' on hearing of Ferdinand's death.
15. Doussinague, *La política*, 483–511, stresses the strong crusading element in Ferdinand's foreign policy – an element that his grandson Charles would share.
16. AGS *PR* 56/27–2, 'Scriptura que otorgó el Rey don Felipe para no consentir que gobernase la reyna doña Juana', Benavente, 28 July 1506, original (AGS *PR* 56/27–1 is a copy of Ferdinand's version of the agreement, printed in Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 543–4). Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 438–43 (Deuxième voyage') stressed Philip's military superiority, and printed the terms of the public treaty.
17. AGS *PR* 56/30, Ferdinand's 'protesta', Villafáfila, 27 July 1506, original.
18. AGS *PR* 56/31, Ferdinand to an unknown correspondent, Aranda del Duero, 5 July 1506 (the day of the meeting), confirmed by von Höfler, 'Depeschen', 239, Quirini to the doge of Venice, 7 July 1506.
19. Zurita, *Los cinco libros*, f. 159. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 110–11, provides an astute analysis of the 'partido felipista'.
20. Von Höfler, 'Depeschen', 149–51 and 239–40, Quirini to the doge of Venice, 5 Sep. 1505 and 7 July 1506 (Quirini claimed that Cisneros, the only eyewitness, leaked to him what Ferdinand

had told Philip at the secret 'raxonamenti'); Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 461–2, Fuensalida to Ferdinand, London, 5 July 1508, reporting on his audience with Henry VII.

21. *CSPSp Supplement I*, 143, Mosen Ferrer to Cisneros, 6 Mar. 1516. The phrase used was 'dar cuerda': Gustave Bergenroth, op. cit., xlii, argued that this meant putting Joanna on the rack, but thrashing her with a rope seems more plausible.
22. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 350, 'Anales' of Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, reported that 'many believed' that the 'potion [*potaje*]' had killed Ferdinand.
23. Calderón Ortega, *Testamento*, published the different versions of Ferdinand's will; *CSPSp*, II, 118–21 and 185–8, Ferdinand's instructions to Pedro de Quintana, 21 May 1513, and to Juan de Lanuza, 20 Dec. 1513 (on partitioning the inheritance).
24. AGS *E* 1004/60, Chièvres to Ferdinand, 3 July 1515, French; RAH *Salazar* A-16/6, letters patent of Charles, 17 Sep. 1515, copy; ADN *B* 2249 (# 77,795) receipt signed by 'Adrien Florency, dit d'Utrecht' for his travel expenses, 1 Oct. 1515. Chièvres derived an additional advantage from sending Adrian to Spain: it separated pupil and teacher.
25. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 211–13 (# 565), letter to the marquis of Mondéjar, Guadalupe, 22 Jan. 1515 (*recte* 1516), written just before Mártir de Anglería learned of Ferdinand's last testament and death. Leonardo de Argensola, *Primera parte*, 8–9, printed the terms.
26. Fagel, 'Adrian', 28, letter to Floris van Egmont, 13 Dec. 1515.
27. Calderón Ortega, *Testamento*, 36–8, last testament of Ferdinand of Aragon, 22 Jan. 1516. See *CODOIN*, XVIII, 342–51, 'Anales' of Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, an eyewitness, on the animated discussions between Ferdinand and his advisers concerning his final dispositions. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/2, 447–51, John Stile to Henry VIII, Madrid, 1 Mar. 1516, accurately summarized these arrangements.
28. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 354–7, 'Anales' of Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal; Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 100 and 158 on the coup d'état.
29. Gachard, *Analectes*, I, 177–8, Charles to the magistrates of Mechelen, 10 Feb. 1516; Spielman and Thomas, 'Quellen', 21–2, Charles to Ferdinand, 15 Feb. 1516.
30. Gachard, 'Mémoire', 30, Manrique to Cisneros, 8 Mar. 1516; Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, III, 256–7 (biography of Manrique); Keniston, *Memorias*, 42 (a list of over 50 exiles).
31. Keniston, *Memorias*, 78–9; *CODOIN*, XVIII, 368 n. 2, Charles to the Chancillería of Granada, Brussels, 21 Mar. 1516.
32. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 363–8, royal council to Charles, Madrid, 4 Mar. 1516.
33. Gayangos and La Fuente, *Cartas*, 109, Cisneros to López de Ayala, 12 Apr. 1516 (describing the standard-raising ceremony in Toledo and Madrid); *L&P Henry VIII*, II/1, 486–8, John Stile to Henry VIII, 3 Apr. 1516. Other details from Aram, *Juana*.
34. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B. VI/27–28v, Spinelly to Henry VIII, Brussels, 24 Apr. 1516; La Fuente, *Cartas*, 212, Diego López de Ayala to Cisneros, Brussels, 28 July 1516.
35. Cedillo, *El cardenal Cisneros*, II, 425–6, Charles to Cisneros, 31 Oct. 1516. Keniston, *Francisco de Los Cobos*, chs 1–2, provided an excellent account of the rise of Los Cobos. See ch. 11 below on Charles's evaluation in 1543. Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, named the two rival Spanish factions at Charles's court the 'partido felipista' and 'partido fernandino'.
36. Gachard, 'Mémoire', 28, Manrique to Cisneros, 8 Mar. 1516; Spielman and Thomas, 'Quellen', 25–6 and 28–9, Charles to Ferdinand, Brussels, 22 Apr. and 10 Oct. 1516.
37. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, I, 409–30, treaty of Noyon, 13 Aug. 1516. The verdict of Karl Brandi, *The emperor*, 76, that 'this treaty was nothing but an outward

show', seems too harsh: the treaty allowed Charles to secure Spain and Francis to consolidate his hold on Italy without interference from the other.

38. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/73–81, the earl of Worcester, Cuthbert Tunstal, and Robert Wingfield to Henry VIII, Mechelen, 12 Feb. 1517 (two letters).
39. Gachard, 'Mémoire', 28–9. Manrique to Cisneros, 8 Mar. 1516.
40. Struick, *Gelre*, 244–66, discusses the tortuous negotiations between Burgundy and Guelders, including the possibility of a marriage to seal the deal, in 1517–18.
41. Gayangos and La Fuente, *Cartas*, 138 and 159, Cisneros to Diego López de Ayala, his personal envoy to Charles, 12 Aug. and 27 Sep. 1516 (repeated word for word on 14 Oct., p. 171).
42. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 293–335, account of the 18th Chapter of the Order; Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 19–25 (account of Vital).
43. Cedillo, *El cardenal Cisneros*, III, 575–8, Charles to Cisneros, 21 Apr. 1517; *CWE*, IV, 270–3 (# 543), Erasmus to Thomas More, Antwerp, 1 Mar. 1517.
44. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 246–7, Louis Maroton to Margaret, Hagenau, 12 Dec. 1516.
45. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/209–11v, earl of Worcester to Henry VIII, Antwerp, 26 Apr. 1517 (narrating a conversation with Matthew Scheiner, Cardinal of Sion, a trusted minister of the emperor); ADN *B* 2267/297, warrant dated 26 Nov. 1517 to pay £125 for 'deux verrieres' at Lier: they may still be admired in the church of St Gummarus, where his parents had married. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, IV, 381, notes the coolness at the meeting; Von Kraus, 'Itinerarium', 313–16, recorded Maximilian's movements around the Netherlands, including the trip to Zealand 1–7 May 1517.
46. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 27–32 (account of Vital); *L&P Henry VIII*, II/2, 1109, obligation of Charles, king of Spain, for repayment of the loan, 18 July 1517; Keniston, *Memorias*, 145, reported Charles's promise 'de bolver y los visitar dentro de cuatro años'. Charles did not exaggerate his fiscal needs: ADN *B* 2267, the account of the Receveur-Générale des Finances for 1517, showed an expenditure triple the size of normal years.
47. Gachard, *Analectes*, I, 9 ('4^{e} série'), 353–6, Commission to Henry of Nassau as 'chef et capitaine-général de l'armée', Middelburg, 12 July 1517; Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 578–81, Instructions to the Privy Council, 23 July 1517.
48. Fagel, 'Het Bourgondische hof', 79–135, 'Estat et ordonnance de l'ostel du roy', 21 June 1517; ADN *B* 2268 (# 79,089), warrant to pay Frederick's stipend, 19 Feb. 1517.
49. Keniston, *Memorias*, 144 (Sancho Cota composed the laments that Eleanor and her ladies sang).
50. ADN *B* 3462 (# 121,649) payment to Adrian de Beaumarais to 'faire regarnir le cheval que le Comte Palatin donna au prince', 30 Sep. 1505. See *LGC*, II, 240–1, Margaret to Maximilian, c. 28 June 1514 (date established by Walther), about Charles's improved appetite; and Thomas, *Annalium*, 50, claiming 'Caroli nutritor appelabatur Fredericus' at this time.
51. Thomas, *Annalium*, 53, briefly reported the love trysts of the couple, and Moeller, *Éléonore*, 205–14, speculated on when and where they may have taken place. Frederick himself stated in Aug. 1517 that 'it was now more than two years since he had suborned, solicited and told the noble lady Madame Eleanor of Austria that he wanted to marry her' (Moeller, *Éléonore*, 337–9).
52. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 327, printed Frederick's holograph letter to Eleanor, and 337–9, the Procès-verbal of the interrogation of the couple on 16 Aug. 1517.
53. Thomas, *Annalium*, 58, presumably based on what Frederick told him some years later, but confirmed by BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/338–9, Tunstal to Wolsey, Middelburg, 27 Aug. 1517, thus a week after the events, reporting that 'the king found [Frederick's letter] in my lady Elianor's bosome hym selff'. Other details from Moeller, *Éléonore*, 337–9, notarized Procès-verbal, 16 Aug. 1517.

54. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/338–9, Tunstal to Wolsey, Middelburg, 27 Aug. 1517, holograph, and ff. 348–50v, Spinelly to Henry VIII, Middelburg, 28 Aug. 1517, holograph.
55. La Fuente, *Cartas*, 130–4, Varacaldo to López de Ayala, Aranda del Duero, 11 Sep. 1517.

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR AS A YOUNG MAN

1. Keniston, *Memorias*, 142. See the similar portrait of young Charles in Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 101–2 (# 515), letter to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 13 Jan. 1513.
2. Di Beatis, *The travel journal*, 89–90; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIII, col. 11, letter from Giovanni Badoer, 23 Oct. 1516; idem, XXX, col. 324, Final Relation of Francesco Corner, 6 June 1521.
3. Di Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Gachard, *Collection*, III, 261–2 (Vital); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, col. 488, Corner to the Signory, Santiago de Compostela, 12 Apr. 1520.
4. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 157–9 (# 539), letter to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 June 1514 (see also the sources quoted on p. 39 above); BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.V/202–6, Worcester, Tunstal and Wingfield to Henry VIII, Antwerp, 19 Apr. 1517, reporting a conversation with Margaret of Austria.
5. *CWE*, V, 6–13, Erasmus to Thomas More, c. 10 July 1517: 'non placet Hispaniae'.
6. *BNP*, II, 66–7, La Roche-Beaucourt to the Grand Master of France, 8 Jan. 1519.
7. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 347–8 (# 633), letter to the marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 12 Jan. 1519; Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, 21–5, discussed this episode, noting that it occurred at Epiphany, and speculated that it had psychological roots. In Book XXX, ch. 35, of his *Historia de Carlos V*, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (who had known his subject personally) stated that until he married, the emperor suffered from 'morbus comitiali', or epilepsy.
8. Di Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, col. 325, Final Relation of Corner, 6 June 1521.
9. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/2, 94–5, Knight to Wolsey, 16 Feb. 1517; *KFF*, I, 70–1, Ferdinand to Charles, 25 June 1523, having discovered some documents written in their grandfather's hand, 'par lesquelz declaire ainsi qu'il ne peult souvenir les bastars qu'il a delaissé', but charging his two grandsons to look after them all.
10. BRB *Ms.* II-2270, Charles to Nassau, 22 Jan. 1518, holograph (printed in Gossart, *Charles-Quint: roi d'Espagne*, 217–20); Gachard, *Collection*, III, 159 (Vital); BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I/121–4, Spinelly to Henry VIII, Valladolid, 7 Jan. 1518 (Spinelly inserted 'gentle' between 'goodly' and 'woman'); Morgan, *Ireland 1518*, 13–15, discussed Vital's career and his chronicle.
11. Keniston, *Memorias*, 73. Although Cota did not provide a date, he wrote of '*prince* Don Carlos', which means that the incident occurred before his proclamation as king of Castile in March 1516. This detail is important because it means that the incident pre-dates all other examples of the motto discussed in the two erudite and richly illustrated articles by Earl Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra' and 'The invention'.
12. Many authors, including Rosenthal, have claimed that the device originated in Marliano's speech at the chapter of the Golden Fleece on 28 Oct. 1516 (printed in full by Freher, *Rerum*, III, 146–9). Bataillon, 'Plus oultre', 23–7, noted that this attribution is only found after 1830, and (although unaware of Cota's claim) he deployed dazzling erudition to suggest that historians should look elsewhere for the origins of the motto.
13. Raoul Le Fèvre, Philip the Good's chaplain, presented a manuscript of *Le recoeil des histoires de Troyes* to the duke in 1464. It soon became popular far beyond the court of Burgundy: twenty-five manuscripts and five incunabula are known, and the English translation was the first book ever printed in English. Le Fèvre asserted that one of the columns of Hercules bore the

minatory inscription: ‘Ne passe oultre pour quérir terre/ Ne pour loingz royaulmes conquerre./ Plus en Occident t’en yras/ Et moins de terre trouveras.’

14. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 264–9.
15. Ibid, 67–87 (Vital); Di Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIV, col. 272, Hironimo de la Vedoa to the Doge, Brussels, 4 May 1517; ibid., XXV, cols 306 and 326–7, and XXVII, cols 70–1, Corner to the Signory, 24 Feb. 1518, 8 Mar. 1518 and 25 Feb. 1519.
16. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, col. 325, Final Relation of Corner, 6 June 1521; *CWE*, V, 6–13 (# 597), Erasmus to Thomas More, c. 10 July 1517, and 72–5 (# 628), Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, 23 Aug. 1517; Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 266 (Vital).
17. Gachard, ‘Mémoire’, 23, Manrique to Cisneros, 8 Mar. 1516; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIV, col. 89, Relation of Dr Marin Zorzi, 17 Mar, 1517; *CSPV*, II, 420, Ambassador Marco Minio to the Signory, 16 Sep. 1517, relaying the report of two diplomats just returned from Charles’s court; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.XX/55, Richard Pace to Wolsey, 17 May 1517.
18. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 12–14; Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, I, 58.
19. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 155, Charles’s instructions, 6 May 1543. Frederick was born in 1482, Henry in 1483.

CHAPTER 4: FROM KING OF SPAIN TO KING OF THE ROMANS, 1517–19

1. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/1, 486–8, John Stile to Henry VIII, 3 Apr. 1516; Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 160 n. 4, Viceroy Cardona to Margaret, 27 Mar. 1516; Aram, *Juana*, 109, ‘Escritura otorgada por el lugarteniente del Justicia de Aragón’, 12 Mar. 1516; *CDCV*, I, 58, Viceroy Moncada to Charles, 12 Apr. 1516; Gayangos and La Fuente, *Cartas*, 264–9, Cisneros to Charles, 18 Mar. 1517, responding to ‘a holograph letter from Your Highness in which you informed me of your royal wishes concerning the war in Africa’.
2. Leonardo de Argensola, *Primera parte*, 65–6.
3. Gayangos and La Fuente, *Cartas*, 264–9, Cisneros to Charles, 18 Mar. 1517. On the threatening letter dispatched in June 1517 by a group of cities led by Burgos, see Pérez, *La revolución*, 108–9.
4. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 113–15; ADN *B* 17,876, Chambre des Comptes at Lille to Charles, 14 July 1517, together with copies of Joanna’s expenses in 1501 and 1505.
5. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.I /111–13, Spinelly to Henry VIII, 29 Sep. 1517.
6. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 89–95.
7. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/369, Charles to Margaret, 1 Oct. 1517, copy; Gachard, *Collection*, III, 97–120 (Vital).
8. All details in this and the following paragraph come from Vital’s day-by-day account in Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 97–130. The satellite view available through Google Maps reveals the challenging itinerary from San Vicente to Reinosa chosen by the royal party. According to TripAdvisor, ‘It is obviously unlikely that anyone is going to walk around Cantabria on foot.’ TripAdvisor obviously needs to learn some Habsburg history.
9. Hess, ‘The Ottoman conquest’, 55.
10. Keniston, *Memorias*, 146 (account of Sancho Cota, Eleanor’s secretary); and Gachard, *Collection*, III, 135 (account of Laurent Vital, with a line missing from the manuscript used by Gachard supplied from BNF *F. f.* 5627/65–6).
11. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 136.
12. Aram, *Juana*, 120.
13. *CSPSp Supplement*, 166–9, Denia to Charles, 30 July 1518, and 396–401, Infanta Catalina to Charles, 19 Aug. 1521.

14. Ibid., 202–4 and 197–200, Denia to Charles, undated but 1520 and 1519, respectively, both holograph. Joanna only discovered the truth in August 1520 when a group of Charles's ministers, fearful that she might throw in her lot with the Comuneros, and totally ignorant of the fictional world created with Charles's consent, came to Tordesillas to inform her 'of many things that had happened in her kingdoms since the death of the Catholic King'. The secret was out (ibid., 204–5, notarized account of an audience with Joanna on 23 Aug. 1520).
15. Ibid., 154–6, Denia to Charles, undated but 1518. See ibid., 'Introduction', for Bergenroth's explanation. See further examples of Charles's callous treatment of his mother on p. 212 below.
16. Aram, *La reina Juana*, 340–3, Charles to Denia, 30 Oct. 1518; Aram, *Juana*, 221 n. 54, Charles to Beltrán de Fromont, deputy mayordomo, and Guillem Punçon, wardrobe master, 28 Apr. 1519; *CDCV*, I, 82–3, Charles to Denia, 14 Jan. 1520. See also *CSPSp Supplement*, 257–60, Charles to Adrian, 26 Sep. 1520 (approving all Denia's actions).
17. *CDCV*, I, 75–8, Charles to Cisneros and Adrian, 7 Sep. 1517 (also published in *PEG*, I, 89–100); La Fuente, *Cartas*, 135–41, 151 and 174–7, bishop of Ávila to López de Ayala, 23 Sep., 25 Sep. and 22 Oct. 1517.
18. Sandoval, *Historia*, I, 112; Spielman and Thomas, 'Quellen', 29–34, Charles to Ferdinand, 7 Sep. 1517 (also in *CDCV*, I, 71–4, from a copy) and 26 Oct. 1517; *CDCV*, I, 79–80, Charles to Cisneros, 27 Sep. 1517.
19. La Fuente, *Cartas*, 139, bishop of Ávila to López de Ayala, 23 Sep. 1517, conveying Cisneros's advice. *CDCV*, I, 64–9, included the text of a paper of advice apparently prepared by Cisneros for Charles around this time, but the many internal contradictions in the document (a later copy) cast doubt on its authenticity.
20. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, I, 367, s. v. Croÿ, provides details of Guillaume's promotions. *CWE*, V, 72–5 (# 657), Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, 23 Aug. 1517, noted that Croÿ was now 'so they tell me, coadjutor of the archbishop of Toledo'.
21. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 138–9; *CWE*, V, 164–71 (# 694), Erasmus to Willibald Pirckheimer, 2 Nov. 1517, slightly amended in light of the original text of Erasmus, *Opus*, III, 116.
22. Keniston, *Memorias*, 148 (see also p. 151, where Cota suggested that Alfonso poisoned the Cortes of Aragon against their new king); Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 285–7 (# 602), letter to marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 10 Nov. 1517 (so just two days after the death of Cisneros). Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 158–66, described the troublesome regency of Alfonso in Aragon, which may also have alienated Charles.
23. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 141 (Catalina), 144 (funeral), 149 (Order), 151 (Entry). Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXV, cols 128–9, Ambassador Corner to the Signory, 19 Nov. 1517, also stressed the splendour of the event.
24. *CLC*, IV, 260–84, list of eighty-eight grievances from the Cortes of 1518, together with Charles's response to each.
25. Walter, *Die Anfänge*, 209 n. 5, Laurent Gorrevod to Margaret, 28 May 1518; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 306–8 (# 613), letter to marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 15 Mar. 1518. For examples of Charles speaking directly to ambassadors, see *BNP*, II, 45 and 59, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, 15 May and 25 Nov. 1518.
26. Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, I, 182–3; Keniston, *Memorias*, 151 (Cota explicitly stated that Charles gave his brother no advance warning of his decision); *BNP*, II, 42, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, Apr. 1518.
27. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 179–81 (clerical opposition) and 234–5 ('libelles diffamatoires'); Pérez, 'Moines', 98 n. 8, Charles to president of the Chancery of Valladolid, Zaragoza, 16 May 1518; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 298–300 (# 608), letter to marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 12 Feb. 1518.

28. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I /196 and 181, Berners to Wolsey, 18 Sep. and 26 July 1518. On the 'cane game [*juego de cañas*]', derived from the 'djerid' practised in Muslim Granada, see Fuchs, *Exotic nation*, 89–102.
29. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.I /181, 203 and 232, Berners to Wolsey, 26 July, and to Henry VIII, 8 Oct. 1518, and the archbishop of Armagh to Wolsey, 17 Dec. 1518, all from Zaragoza.
30. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 177, a section written by Rivero.
31. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXV, 242–3, 306, 326–7, Corner to the Signory, 11 and 14 Jan., 24 Feb. and 8 Mar. 1518; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 306–8 (# 613), letter to marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 15 Mar. 1518; *BNP*, II, 40 and 49, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, Apr. and 25 Oct. 1518.
32. BL *Cott*. *Ms.* Vespasian C.I/226, Armagh to Wolsey, 6 Dec. 1518; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVI, cols 223–4, Corner to the Signory, 6 Oct. 1518. For Gattinara's praise of Chièvres, see the concluding recommendations in his paper of advice in July 1519: Bornate, 'Historia', 413.
33. BL *Addl. Ms.* 18,008, 'Ad Divum Carolum Maximum, Regem Catholicum, Mercurini Arboriensis di Gattinaria . . . Oratio supplicatoria', discussed by Boone, *Mercurino*, ch. 2, from which I have taken all translations. Erasmus presented his *Institutio principis christiani* to Charles that same year, but it seems unlikely that the recipient read it.
34. *BNP*, II, 67, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, 22 Jan. 1519.
35. Keniston, *Memorias*, 152.
36. The catchy title of a popular German study: Günter Ogger, *Kauf dir einen Kaiser: Die Geschichte der Fugger*, first published in 1978.
37. Von Druffel, *Beiträge*, I, 673, Gerhard Veltwyk to Charles V, July 1551, reporting the account given by Frederick, now Elector Palatine, of what Maximilian said 'ung jour, après la guerre que luy et les Anglois firent ensemble contre roi Louis de France' in 1513. The idea of abdication was one more precedent that Charles would follow.
38. Cohn, 'Did bribery', 1; ANF *série J* 995A pièce 7, Letter of credence by the Elector of Trier, 18 Nov. 1516; ANF *série J* 952 pièce 1, 'Promesse de l'ambassadeur de Brandenbourg', 27 June 1517; Knecht, *Francis*, 72. Mignet, *Rivalité*, 120–3, discussed the deals struck with Trier and Brandenburg, but gave some incorrect dates for the key documents.
39. Chmel, 'Review of Lanz', 186–93, Instructions to Jakob Villinger, Maximilian's treasurer, [17] Aug. 1517; *RTA*, I, 71 n. 4, Charles to Maximilian, 12/13 Nov. 1517.
40. *RTA*, I, 73 n. 2, Charles to Villinger and other ministers at Maximilian's court, 8 Mar. 1518, and 75 n. 1, Chièvres to the same, 15 Apr. 1518; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 125–33, Maximilian to Charles, 18 May 1518. Mignet, *Rivalité*, 122–3, gave the terms of the deal struck by each Elector with Francis.
41. Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 13–14, Maximilian to Charles, 24 May 1518. For examples of how Charles later deployed the same passive-aggressive style, see chapters 8 and 15 below.
42. *RTA*, I, 81 n 2, Villinger to Chièvres, 28 May 1518.
43. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 203–4, La Chaulx to Margaret, 24 July 1518 (specifying that the initiative for devolution came from Chièvres), and Margaret to Maximilian, 25 Oct. 1518 respectively; Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 656–7, Ordinance of Charles, 24 July 1518.
44. Gachard, *Rapport*, 149, Courtewille to Charles, 27 May 1518 (quoting Charles's letter of 1 May).
45. *BNP*, I, 57, La Roche-Beaucourt to Francis, Zaragoza, 20 Nov. 1518. Total commitments from Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 407–9, 'Estat de l'argent'; and Gachard, *Rapport*, 151–5, Maximilian's instructions for Courtewille, Augsburg, 27 Oct. 1518. Núñez Contreras, *Un registro*, pp. LXX–LXXI, recorded almost a dozen letters from Charles to Rome in Dec. 1518 and Jan. 1519, pleading for his grandfather's coronation.

46. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 189–93, Zevenbergen to Margaret, Augsburg, 1 Feb. 1519; Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 283–5, Henry of Nassau to Margaret, Bonn, 23 Mar. 1519; *RTA*, I, 169–75 and 198–200, Francis to his envoys, late Jan. and 7 Feb. 1519; ANF *série J* 952 pièce 10, Leo X to Francis, 12 Mar. 1519. See also Laubach, 'Wahlpropaganda', 210–25, on the arguments against electing Charles deployed by the French. On Frederick's ill-starred courtship of Eleanor, see chapter 3 above.
47. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 253–62, Margaret and her council to Charles, 20 Feb. 1519 (see p. 257 for the threat to send Ferdinand to Germany 'le premier dimanche de quaresme prochain' – which in 1519 fell on 13 Mar., three weeks ahead).
48. *RTA*, I, 352–8, Charles to Margaret, 5 Mar. 1519, cyphered; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 303–10, Charles's instructions to M. de Beaurain, 5 Mar. 1519.
49. Gachard, *Rapport*, 173, Margaret to Nassau, 13 Mar. 1519; *RTA*, I, 358 ('Ensieuvez ce que vous escrips cy-dessus, car autrement n'auroie cause me contenter').
50. *KFF*, I, 11, Charles to Ferdinand, 5 Mar. 1519, holograph; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 303–10, instructions to Beaurain (charged with explaining Charles's views to both Ferdinand and Margaret), 5 Mar. 1519.
51. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 316–27, Margaret and her council to Charles, 9 Mar. 1519; Gachard, *Rapport*, 155–6, Margaret to La Chaulx, 18 Jan. 1519.
52. *RTA*, I, 633, Charles to the Elector Palatine, 2 May 1519 (with another example at ibid., 747).
53. Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 17 and 118–19, Maroton to Margaret, 21 Jan. 1519, and Frederick to Margaret, 2 Mar. 1519 ('ma fasceuse lettre'); Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 278, Paul Amerstorff to Margaret, 25 Feb. 1519. On Charles's grovelling, see Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 132–3, Jean Marnix to the count of Hoogstraeten, 16 Mar. 1519 (pension of £2,500), and 403, Le Sauch to Margaret, 26 Apr. 1519 (Charles's holograph letters delivered); and Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 333–40, Charles's instructions to Le Sauch, 13 Mar. 1519 ('ayons desjà escript par deux fois *de nostre main* bonnes et gracieuses lettres' to Frederick).
54. *RTA*, I, 220–1, Jakob Fugger to Brandenburg, 12 Feb. 1519, holograph. Other details from von Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger*, II, ch. 18, and Häberlein, *The Fuggers*, ch. 2.
55. Mignet, *Rivalité*, 174–5, Mainz to Brandenburg, 1 Mar. 1519 (from a copy sent to Margaret); Mone, 'Briefwechsel', col. 124, Nassau to Margaret, 11 Mar. 1519, quoting the count of Koenigstein; *RTA*, I, 317–19, Margaret to Zevenbergen, 28 Feb. 1519. Laubach, 'Wahlpropaganda', 225–38, also described Charles's charm offensive.
56. Mignet, *Rivalité*, 188, Joachim von Moltzan to Francis, 26 Feb. 1519 (he concluded his letter, which begged Francis to send him yet more money, *Cito, cito, cito*: 'haste, haste haste').
57. *RTA*, I, 734–5, Charles to Margaret, 31 May 1519. Cohn, 'Did bribery', 25–7, provided strong evidence that on 27 June 1519, the day before Charles's election, Frederick of Saxony was offered the position, but declined.
58. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vitellius B.XX/161–2v, Richard Pace to Wolsey, Frankfurt, 3 July 1518, holograph. This figure – 1.5 million florins – is roughly double the total normally quoted (852,189 florins), but the latter is based solely on the accounts of Charles's Germany treasurer, Johan Lucas, printed in part by Kohler, *Quellen*, 63–70, which included only expenditure *within* Germany to the Electors, to the troops and so on. It excluded expenditure elsewhere, such as the cost of mobilizing troops in the Netherlands.
59. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I/257–60, Spinelly to Wolsey, 9 Mar. 1519, holograph (italics added).
60. Boone, *Mercurino*, 91–2, Gattinara's *Autobiography*. See also Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, 29, for a similar rationale attributed to Charles himself at this time 'en débat en soy mesme s'il debvoit accepter son élection ou s'en excuser'. For subsequent use at the court of Spain of the 'argument from the escalation of potential disasters', see Parker, *The Army of Flanders*, 109–11.

61. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 194–202, Margaret's instructions to Jean Marnix, Feb. 1519. On the significance of the term 'reputation' to Charles, see Hatzfeld, 'Staatsräson'.
62. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I /247–54, Spinelly to Wolsey, 20 Feb. 1519; Bruchet and Lancien, *L'itinéraire*, 380, Margaret to Charles's agents, Apr. 1519. Häberlein, 'Jakob Fugger', 73–8, identified and described the ministerial team that worked so well together in Germany; Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 346–53, chronicled the chapter of the Order held in Barcelona.
63. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I/196, Berners to Wolsey, 18 Sep. 1518; *BNP*, II, 63 and 71, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, Nov. 1518 and 20 Feb. 1519; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, cols 1–543 (quotation at col. 71).
64. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 682–4, Royal ordinance, 1 July 1519 (issued by virtue of 'nostre certaine science, propre mouvement, auctorité et pleine puissance', a formula previously used in Spain), and idem 687–9, Margaret's acceptance on 28 July both of her new powers and also of certain restrictions (mostly the requirement that she should consult her councillors on policy and Charles on important appointments). Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, I, 92–103, and Gachard *Analectes*, V ('16^{e} série'), 306–11, also printed these crucial documents.
65. Bornate, 'Historia' 405–13, Paper of advice dated 12 July 1519 (on working while getting dressed, see p. 412). See also ibid., 414–20, a further paper of advice by Gattinara in Oct.–Nov. 1519, presented to Charles 'because it seems Your Majesty has done nothing about the measures and remedies I proposed' in Barcelona. Once again, Charles largely ignored it: Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 184–6 (date taken from 186 n. 261).
66. Brandi, *The emperor*, 84.
67. Gachard, *Rapport*, 164–5, Margaret to Zevenbergen, 28 Feb. 1519. Margaret erred, however: Charles had omitted Zevenbergen's name in the belief that he had left Germany to take up a position in the Swiss cantons. Note that Margaret urged Zevenbergen to do and say nothing that 'might risk losing the king's esteem, or the honour and excellent reputation that your prudence, diligence and dexterity have won for you'.
68. Gachard, *Rapport*, 162, Zevenbergen to Margaret, 18 Feb. 1519; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 359–63, Jean Marnix to Margaret, 22 Mar. 1519; Mone, 'Briefwechsel', cols 127–8, Nassau to Margaret, 14 Mar. 1519.
69. *CWE*, III, 239, Erasmus to Charles, Mar. 1516, preface to *The education*.
70. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, col. 581, Corner to the Signory, 28 July 1519 (Corner noted one absentee: Venice itself).
71. Ibid., Corner to the Signory, 28 July 1519.

CHAPTER 5: FROM PEACE THROUGH REBELLION TO WAR, 1519–21

1. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.I/257–60, Spinelly to Wolsey, 9 Mar. 1519, holograph cypher with decrypt; BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.III/158–75v, Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to Henry VIII, 2 June 1525; *BNP*, II, 70, La Roche-Beaucourt to Grand Master, 20 Feb. 1519.
2. *RTA*, I, 366–70, Marnix to Margaret, 7 Mar. 1519, holograph; Boone, *Mercurino*, 92 (*Autobiography*); Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, 29 (Charles's rationale).
3. TNA *SP* 1/10/49, Robert Wingfield to Henry VIII, Innsbruck, 7 Feb. 1515.
4. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 166–9, Philibert Naturelli to Margaret, 24 Oct. 1518; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.I/261–2v, Spinelly to Wolsey, Barcelona, 20 Mar. 1519. Charles would have been familiar with the prediction in La Marche, *Mémoires*, I, 197, written in the 1470s, that the passions generated by the murder of Duke John in 1419 would never die. See Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, 124–5, and Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, 18–20, on the persistence of fear and suspicion in Renaissance Europe.

5. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, I, 95; Florange, *Mémoires*, I, 257.
6. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, cols 416–17 and 514–15, Corner to the Signory, 2 and 29 June 1519, on the payment and letters.
7. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 108–13, Charles's instructions to Bernardo de Mesa and Jean de le Sauch, 12 Dec. 1519 (italics added). Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, col. 371, Corner to the Signory, Aachen, 23 Oct. 1520, reported that Charles 'non parla anchora molto promptamente lo idioma aleman'.
8. *RTA*, I, 864–76, printed the *Wahlkapitulation*, signed in Frankfurt by Charles's commissioners on 3 July 1519 (six days after the election). Kohler, *Quellen*, 53–8, reprinted most of it.
9. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, II, 299–341 and 351–6, agreements concluded in London between 1 and 8 Oct. 1518, and ibid., 565–75, arrangements for a personal meeting and an 'armatorum congressus' agreed on 10 Jan. 1520 and ratified 26 Mar. 1520.
10. Boone, *Mercurino*, 94; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, cols 246–8, Corner to the Signory, 22 Jan. 1520; Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, I, 221.
11. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 14–15 (# 663), to Gattinara, 24 Feb. 1520, and 17–18 (# 665), to the marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 'From the rebellious city of Valladolid', 14 Mar. 1520. See also Pérez, *La revolución*, 147–8, on the riots on 4 Mar. 1520.
12. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, 488, Corner to the Signory, Santiago, 12 Apr. 1520. Charles's travels reconstructed from Foronda, *Viajes*.
13. Boone, *Mercurino*, 94 (Gattinara wrote his *Memoirs* in the third person); Danvila, *Historia crítica*, III, 31–41, Adrian to Charles, 16 Jan. 1521.
14. *CLC*, IV, 293–8, speeches of Mota and Charles, 31 Mar. 1520.
15. *Caroli Romanorum regis recessuri adlocutio in conventu Hispaniarum*, based on the translation in Headley, *The emperor*, 10–11. The pamphlet was published at Rome and Augsburg in Latin, and at Leipzig in German. Headley, 'The Habsburg world empire', 52–3 and 72 n. 28, made a convincing case that composing both the speech and the printed text represented 'a collective enterprise' by Charles's ministerial team.
16. Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 397–8; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 19–20 (# 666), to the marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 5 Apr. 1520.
17. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 237–42, Provision of Charles and Joanna (the formula always used in Castile until her death in 1555), 17 May 1520. On the antecedents for Charles's use of his 'absolute royal power', see Sánchez Agesta, 'El "poderío real absoluto"', and Owens, *'By my absolute royal authority'*, ch. 2. See also chapter 13 below.
18. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, 488, Corner to the Signory, Corunna, 9 and 23 Apr. 1520.
19. Pérez, *La revolución*, 150, manifesto of the friars of Salamanca, and 232, letter to the king of Portugal.
20. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 225–54, 'Ordine di lo abochamento del Serenissimo re d'Ingaltera, con la Cesarea et Catholica Maestà et con il Cristianissimo re', incorporating much material from ibid., XXVIII, cols 595–7, Corner and Surian to the Signory, 27 May 1520, and XXIX, cols 73–4, report of Lodovico Spinelli, 12 July 1520.
21. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 225–54, 'Ordine'.
22. Bornate, 'Historia', 424–5, secret treaty between Henry and Charles, Canterbury, 29 May 1520, ratified at Calais, 14 July 1520 (Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 179–81; English précis in *CSPSp*, II, 312). See also Gwyn, 'Wolsey's foreign policy', 762.
23. Viciana, *Libro quarto*, 11–17, quoting a speech by Joan Llorenç, a prominent guildsman of Valencia.
24. Ibid., 126–7, and *poderes* issued by Charles to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, count of Mélito, 4 May 1520.

25. Maldonado, *La revolución comunera*, 76; Mexía, *Historia*, 89; Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, I, 165–6.
26. Both Danvila, *Historia*, and Martínez-Peñas, *Las Cartas*, published the cardinal's letters, in whole or in part (the latter with modernized spelling), but both made errors of transcription. Scans of 105 original letters, covering 546 folios, are now available via PARES in a collection entitled 'Correspondencia de Florencio Adriano de Utrecht', with the etiquette 'AGS Patronato Real, leg. 2'. I cite Danvila's transcripts except when they contain errors; in such cases I cite the original.
27. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 373–6, II, 515–16, and III, 31–41, Adrian to Charles, 25 June and 28 Nov. 1520, and 16 Jan. 1521. Pérez, *La revolución*, 121, affirmed that 'the court behaved in Spain as if it were a conquered country', and his section entitled 'La codicia de los flamencos' (pp. 121–6) provided numerous examples.
28. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 373–81, II, 660–2, and III, 11–17, Adrian to Charles, 25 June 1520 (two letters), 15 Dec. 1520, and 16 Jan. 1521 (royal silence since a letter dated 7 Nov. 1520). Although some nineteenth-century historians scrawled summaries and comments on these letters, Charles and his ministers did not.
29. AGS *PR* 2-I-2 (images 5–9), Adrian to Charles, 25 June 1520.
30. Danvila, *Historia*, III, 31–41, Adrian to Charles, 16 Jan. 1521 (it would take Charles another two decades to recognize that 'I cannot be sustained except by my kingdoms of Spain': ch. 10 below); AGS *PR* 2/395–6 (images 347–9), Adrian to Charles, 3 Apr. 1521 (italics added). The nobles' threat resembled that of the towns of Castile in 1517 to assemble without royal warrant unless Charles came at once: chapter 4.
31. Pérez, *La revolución*, 314.
32. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VI/191–5, Spinelly to Wolsey, Brussels, 27 June 1520, 'at five of the clooke at afternoon'; AGS *PR* 2-I-2 (images 5–9), Adrian to Charles, 25 June 1520, incorporating the proposals made by the city of Toledo to the other cities with a vote in Cortes on 8 June (see Pérez, *La revolución*, 169–70).
33. Pérez, *La revolución*, 174 n. 56, documented this error, concerning Pero Laso de la Vega.
34. Gayangos and La Fuente, *Cartas*, 225–6, 'Quejas contra el consejo real', dictated by Cisneros, 28 Sep. 1517; Danvila, *Historia*, I, 386–8, the Constable's instructions to Pedro de Guevara, his envoy to Charles, 24 June 1520.
35. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VI/199–200 and 204–9, Spinelly to Wolsey, 6 and 27 July 1520.
36. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VI/227–8v, Spinelly to Wolsey, undated (but 6 Sep. 1520). Spinelly noted that Chièvres, whose advice Charles normally followed, was 'not in small perplexite' because of 'the general murmure that reigns against hym; and for my parte I thynke he cannot telle whether he would goo or tary, considering that Spayne for hym is loste for ever'.
37. *CDCV*, I, 83–4, Charles *poder* to his governors, Mechelen, 22 Sep. 1520; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VI/ 360–1v, Spinelly to Wolsey, 19 Sep. 1520, citing indiscretions by Audiencier Hanneton, who had attended the council where the accusations flew. Margaret had lived in Castile as princess and maintained many contacts there.
38. *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 1574–7, Spinelly to Wolsey, 24 Jan. 1521. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, 561 and 581, Corner to the Signory, 11 Jan 1521, made the same claim (Charles had already nominated Robert de Croÿ to succeed his brother as archbishop of Cambrai). See Pérez, *La revolución*, 316–49, on Acuña and the struggle for the see of Toledo in 1521.
39. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 161–5 (# 722) to Los Vélez, 7 June 1521.
40. Ibid., IV, 86–9 (# 696) to Los Vélez and Mondéjar, Valladolid, 13 Nov. 1520, enclosing a letter from Marliano to Mártir de Anglería, Aachen, 20 Oct. 1520.
41. Ibid., IV, 102–4 (# 703) to Marliano, Valladolid, 29 Nov. 1520. Marliano was another foreigner whom Charles had appointed to a Spanish see (Tuy). Espinosa, *The empire*, 61–5, noted that the

clerics of Toledo, furious at the appointment of a foreigner as their archbishop, began the city's revolt.

42. *CDCV*, I, 106, 'Capitulaciones matrimoniales de Carlos V e Isabel', 24 Oct. 1526: '50,000 cruzados of gold which King Manuel loaned him during the time of the Comuneros of Castile'.
43. Danvila, *Historia*, II, 777–85, Edict of Charles V, Worms, 17 Dec. 1520, proclaimed in Burgos, 22 Feb. 1521.
44. Details from *RTA*, II, 95–100, including the text of Charles's oath to observe the *Wahlkapitulation*; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 370–9, Corner to the Signory, Aachen, 23 Oct. 1520; and Dürer, *Diary*, 70. Immediately after his proclamation as duke of Burgundy in 1507, Charles had also dubbed some knights as a sign of his new authority: see p. 18 above.
45. Volpi, *Opere*, 282–5, Baldassare Castiglione to Cardinal Bibiena, Cologne, 2 Nov. 1520 (the conclusion of a fine eyewitness account of the coronation); Keniston, *Francisco de Los Cobos*, 57 (the new style); *CDCV*, IV, 489–90 (Charles's *Memoirs*).
46. *LWS*, VI, 174–8, condemnation of Luther's works by the Leuven theologians, 7 Nov. 1519, and Adrian's response, 4 Dec. 1519. The two documents were published together in Feb. 1520.
47. RAH *Salazar* A-45/7–9, Manuel to Charles, Rome, 12 May 1520 (copy made from the partly cyphered original: idem A-19/386–9). No doubt it reached Charles after he had left Spain. For the career of Manuel, a prominent *Felipista*, see Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, III, 264–9, and ch. 2 above.
48. Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, began by addressing Charles ('Der allerdurchläuchtigsten grossmächtigstenen Kaiserlichen Majestät') and rejoiced that 'Gott hat uns ein junges, edles Blut zum Haupt gegeben'.
49. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 620–1, Ordinance of 5 Mar. 1518; Redondo, 'Luther', 113 (other supporters) and 115–17 (testimony of Juan de Vergara to the inquisition of Toledo, summer 1533). Erasmus agreed with Vergara, asserting that at this stage 'even the emperor was sympathetic to Luther's teaching' (*CWE*, X, 452–60 (# 1526), Erasmus to Duke George of Saxony, 12 Dec. 1524). Many have taken two letters written from Charles's court by Alfonso de Valdés to Peter Mártir, dated 31 Aug. and 25 Oct. 1520, as reliable contemporary analyses of the imperial court's assessment of Luther, but internal evidence (notably references in both letters to things that happened afterwards) shows that both must have been written, or at least extensively revised, some months later: see Tubau, 'Alfonso de Valdés', 23 n. 19, and Egido, 'Carlos', 226–7.
50. Hillerbrand, 'Martin Luther'. The bull dealt only with works published by Luther in 1518 and 1519, above all his Ninety-Five Theses.
51. *CWE*, VIII, 68–74 (# 1153), Erasmus to Godschalk Rosemondt, Leuven, 18 Oct. 1520.
52. Ibid., 77–9 (# 1155) and 105–8 (# 1166), Erasmus to Johann Reuchlin, Cologne, 8 Nov. 1520, and to an unknown patron, Leuven, Dec. 1520. Mencke, *Scriptores*, II, col. 604, printed entries from the diary of George Spalatin, Frederick's councillor, about the events of 4 and 5 Nov. 1520; Erasmus, *Erasmi opuscula*, 329–37, published the *Axiomata Erasmi pro causa Martini Lutheri*, which contained his advice to Frederick.
53. *RTA*, II, 466–7, Charles to Frederick, 28 Nov. 1520; Brieger, *Quellen*, 16–22, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici (the future Clement VII), Worms, 14–15 Dec. 1520. Luttenberger, 'La política', 46–9, stresses how the imperial government deliberately chose 'a strategy based on ambiguity' towards Luther until he appeared in person at Worms. Egido, 'Carlos', 240, suggested that it did so 'because there was no other solution'.
54. According to Sandoval, Charles told the monks at Yuste that 'I erred in not killing Luther', and that 'I was not obliged to honour the safe-conduct I had given' because he was a heretic, and one did not keep faith with heretics; but the emperor evidently forgot that he had issued the safe-

conduct to Elector Frederick, and that breaking it would have created a major uproar (Sandoval, *Historia*, 'Historia de la vida que el emperador . . . hizo . . . [en] Iuste', Book X).

55. *RTA*, II, 477–94, account of his meetings with Glapion by Chancellor Brück (characterized by Aleandro as 'Lutheranissimo') in Feb. 1521; and Brieger, *Quellen*, 63–5 and 131–42, Aleandro to Medici, 18 Feb. and 13 Apr. 1521, describing the visit by Glapion and Paul von Armersdorff, Charles's chamberlain, to discuss a settlement of the 'Luther problem' with Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Bucer. As Luttenberger, 'La política', 48–9, observed, it is 'hard to imagine' that Glapion acted without the knowledge and consent of Charles's inner circle.
56. Brieger, *Quellen*, 89–95, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, Worms, 8 Mar. 1521, italics added (also printed in Balan, *Monumenta*, 130–4, with variant readings and under the date 19 Mar. 1521). On the secret treaty between France and the papacy, see Barillon, *Journal*, II, 176–7, and Mignet, *Rivalité*, I, 232–3. Redondo, 'Luther', 112, gave examples of how Juan Manuel, Charles's ambassador in Rome, used Leo's anxiety about the reformer to extort concessions for his master. Tubau, 'Alfonso de Valdés', 25–6, endorsed Aleandro's analysis that the principal councillors who accompanied Charles – Chièvres, Gattinara, Marliano, Valdés – all seriously underestimated Luther.
57. *L&P Henry VIII*, III/1, 428–30, Spinelly to Wolsey, Worms, 2 Feb. 1521; *RTA*, II, 156–68, details on Charles's interactions with other members of the Diet.
58. *RTA*, II, 526–7, Charles to 'dem ersamen unsern lieben andechtigen doctor Martin Luther, Augustiner Orden', Worms, 6 Mar. 1521; Redondo, 'Luther', 118, testimony of Vergara in 1533.
59. *RTA*, II, 632–8, 'Relación de lo que pasó a el emperador en Bormes [Worms] con Lutero, año de 1521' (anonymous, but written from the viewpoint of 'el emperador mi señor'); Brieger, *Quellen*, 144–9, Aleandro to Medici, 17 Apr. 1521.
60. *RTA*, II, 555, 'Doctoris Martini Lutheri Oratio coram Caesere Carolo'.
61. This and the succeeding paragraphs rely on *RTA*, II, 533–94, various accounts in Latin and German (especially 555, 'Doctoris Martini Lutheri Oratio coram Caesere Carolo'), and 632–8, 'Relación'; Brieger, *Quellen*, 149–55, Aleandro and Nuncio Caracciolo to Medici, 19 Apr. 1521; *RTA*, II, 879–82, Corner and Contarini to the Signory, 28 Apr. 1521; and *CSPV*, III, 116–17, Contarini to Mateo Dandolo, 26 Apr. 1521.
62. On Charles's limited understanding of both German and Latin at this stage, see Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 371–2 (Charles needed a German interpreter at Aachen), and Balan, *Monumenta*, 249, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, 26 May 1521 (Charles's reluctance to read documents in Latin). I thank James Tracy for pointing out to me that many theologians, initially including Luther, regarded an ecumenical council as the highest Church authority: questioning the authority of popes was one thing, but rejecting the authority of councils was very different.
63. *RTA*, II, 632–8, 'Relación'. Brieger, *Quellen*, 153, Aleandro and Nuncio Caracciolo to Medici, 19 Apr. 1521, also reported this striking act of defiance: when 'Martino uscitò fuora della sala Cesarea, alzò la mano in alto *more militum Germanorum, quando exultano di un bel colpo di giostra*' (my italics).
64. *LWB*, II, 307–10, Luther to Charles, 28 Apr., 1521, endorsed by Spalatin, 'Hae literae Caesari non sunt redditae, quod in tanta vi procerum ne unus quidem esset, qui redderet'. Luther later became less apologetic and instead took to gloating over his appearance at Worms: see his 'Table Talk' on the subject in Sep. 1533 and autumn 1536 (*LWT*, III, 284–9 # 3357b, and 343–4 # 3474); and summer 1540 (*LWT*, V, 65–8, # 5342a).
65. *RTA*, II, 594–6, printed the document from the French copy 'fait de ma main' on the night of 18–19 Apr. 1521 and sent to Henry VIII (TNA *SP* 1/22/9). Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols 214–16, provided an Italian translation; *RTA*, II, 636, 'Relación', contained a Spanish text (see also Sandoval, *Historia*, Book X, ch. 10).

66. Oberman, ‘The impact’, 21. Figures from Moeller, ‘Luther’, 240, who estimated that by the time of Luther’s death, 682 of his works had appeared either singly or as collections, in 3,897 editions, with some items translated into ten vernacular languages. *LWS*, VII, 814–87, provided full bibliographic information on the publications of the speech.
67. *RTA*, II, 632–8, ‘Relación’; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols 210–14, Contarini to Mateo Dandolo, Worms, 26 Apr. 1521, Latin (English précis in *CSPV*, III, 116–17).
68. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols 210–14, Contarini to Mateo Dandolo, Worms, 26 Apr., 1521; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 161–5 (# 722), to the marquis of Los Vélez, 7 June 1521, with a copy of Alfonso de Valdés’s letter to him from Worms, 13 May 1521.
69. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 244–6, Adrian to Charles, 9 Apr. 1521, French, holograph; Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 71–2, Ordinance of 20 Mar. 1521. See also Danvila, *Historia*, III, 581–3, Adrian and the council to Charles, 12 Apr. 1521, warning him that Lutheran writings were circulating in Spanish, which risked provoking trouble ‘since several cities of this kingdom are in rebellion’.
70. *RTA*, II, 640–9, German text of the Edict of Worms, 8 May 1521.
71. Balan, *Monumenta*, 232–4 and 240–7, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, 22 [*recte* 18] and 24 May 1521.
72. Ibid., 248–55, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, 26 May 1521. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 73–83, edict of 8 May 1521, is a Dutch copy of the Edict of Worms – but Aleandro stated that it was not available for publication in the Netherlands until July: Balan, *Monumenta*, 271–3, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, 16 July 1521.
73. BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula D.VIII /46–7, Wingfield to Fitzwilliam and Jerningham (Henry’s envoys in France), Worms, 29 May 1521 (decoded text of BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula E. III/33–v, the original).
74. Gossart, *Notes*, 55; Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 135–45, Le Sauch to Chièvres, London, 7 Apr. 1520.
75. *RTA*, II, 893–5, Corner and Contarini to the Signory, Worms, 4 May 1521; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 324–6, Relation of Corner, 6 June 1521; *CWE*, VIII, 153–4 (# 1184), Erasmus to Guillaume Budé, 16 Feb. 1521.
76. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 61–3, Corner to the Signory, 14 Mar. 1521; Brieger, *Quellen*, 214–18, Aleandro to Medici, 18 May 1521 (stating that this was ‘the fourteenth day of Chièvres’s fever’).
77. Balan, *Monumenta*, 248–55, Aleandro to Cardinal Medici, 26 May 1521; BNMV *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/22v–23, Contarini to the Signory, 28 May 1521.
78. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, I, 58; *CDCV*, I, 75–8, Charles to Cisneros and Adrian, 7 Sep. 1517 (also printed in *PEG*, I, 89–100).
79. Balan, *Monumenta*, 248–55, Aleandro to Medici, 26 May 1521; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/29–31, Wingfield and Spinelly to Wolsey, 19 June 1521 (italics added); Powell, *The complete works*, I, 127, ‘Note of remembraunce by Sir Thomas Wiat’, Toledo, Dec. 1538.
80. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/102–3, Charles to Wolsey, 7 Aug. 1521; BNMV *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/82, Contarini to the Signory, 22 Aug. 1521; TNA *SP* 1/23/28, Wolsey to Henry VIII, 28 Aug. 1521, holograph, ‘To the king’s grace, ys owne hands onely’ (printed with some errors in Burnet, *History*, III.ii, 11–12).
81. *RTA*, II, 729–43, *Reichsabschied*, and 659–61, Edict of Worms against Luther, both dated 26 May 1521; Sandoval, *Historia*, Book X, ch. 14.
82. Sandoval, *Historia*, Book V, ch. 2.

CHAPTER 6: SNATCHING VICTORY FROM THE JAWS OF DEFEAT, 1521–5

1. *L&P Henry VIII*, II/2, 1293–4, Spinelly to Henry VIII, 20 May 1518; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, col. 166, Antonio Giustinian's report to the Senate after his French embassy, 7 Sep. 1520; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 178, reporting the views of Barrillon's master, Chancellor Duprat of France.
2. Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*, 193, 187 (entry for the year 1518, written between 1537 and 1540).
3. Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, V, 68–70, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 29 June 1519 (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 142); Ellis, *Original letters*, 1st series I, 154–6, Thomas Boleyn, English ambassador in France, to Henry VIII, 4 July 1519.
4. Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 151–62, Francis to the count of Carpi, 31 Jan. 1520, French style (highlights printed in *RTA*, II, 114–18, but with the date 1 Jan. 1521).
5. ANF *série K* 82/1bis, warrant signed by Francis in favour of La Marck and his children, 14 Feb. 1521, granting over 10,000 crowns in cash and 16,000 more in annual pensions; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 177; *RTA*, II, 829–31, Tunstal to Wolsey, 22 Mar. 1521; Brandi, *The emperor*, 153.
6. *RTA*, II, 812–15, Tunstal to Wolsey, 6 Mar. 1521 (italics added).
7. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols 61–3, Corner to the Signory, 14 and 16 Mar. 1521; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 181, statement of Philippe Naturel, 1 Apr. 1521, and letter of Carpi to Francis, Rome, 17 May 1521; Dumont, *Corps*, IV, *Supplément*, 96–9, 'Tabulae Foederis stabiliter inter Carolum V Romanorum Imperatorem & Leonem X Pontificem Maximum contra Gallos', 8 May 1521.
8. Ruscelli, *Delle lettere*, I, ff. 93–5, Lorenzo Aleandri de' Galeazzi to his father, Brussels, 3 July 1521 (English précis in *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 559–61); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols 504–6, 'Edictum imperiale contra regem Gallum', Antwerp, 12 July 1521; *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 1579–80, Fitzwilliam to Wolsey, 6 Aug. 1521.
9. Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 1–9, 'Gutachten' of Gattinara, 30 July 1521 (also printed in Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 473–82; German summary in Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 231–3; English summary in *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 588–90).
10. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 236–42, 'Sur ce que fera l'empereur durant cest hyuer', giving the opinions of nine councillors, followed by Gattinara's recommendation and Charles's resolution.
11. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols 318–19, Contarini to the Signory, 16 Aug. 1521; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/109–19, secret treaty of Bruges, 25 Aug. 1521, original signed by Wolsey and Margaret (printed by Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 244–67, from a copy; English précis in *CSPSp*, III, 365–71, and *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 620–1). Russell, 'The search', 174–5, documented the private meetings between Charles and Wolsey.
12. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 323 and 325, Charles to Gattinara, 15 and 'mid' Sep. 1521. Dunham, 'Henry VIII's whole council', 41, coined the phrase 'pageant politics' for this phase of Wolsey's diplomacy.
13. Weert, 'Cronycke', 88; Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 399, Charles to Gattinara, mid-Oct. 1521; and ibid., 441–3, Margaret to Berghes, 14 or 15 Nov. 1521, holograph minute, relating 'what I heard [the emperor] say today'.
14. *L&P Henry VIII*, III/2, 760–1, treaty between England, the emperor and the Pope, 24 Nov. 1521; Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 496–500, Charles to his envoys in England, 13 Dec. 1521.
15. Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, 24–5, Charles's instructions to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, his envoy to Adrian, 25 Jan. 1522; *LCK*, I, 58–60, Charles to Adrian, 7 Mar. 1522.
16. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 167–9, Charles's ordinance appointing Margaret his regent in the Netherlands, 15 Apr. 1522. Bauer, *Die Anfänge*, 239–64, the agreements between Charles and Ferdinand at Worms (Apr. 1521) and at Brussels (30 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1522).

17. *PEG*, I, 252–6, Testament of Charles V, Bruges, 22 May 1522 (a short document that lacked any provision for his succession beyond Ferdinand). For his father's will, see ch. 1 above.
18. *CWE*, IX, 64–8, Erasmus to Jean Glapion, Charles's confessor, 21 Apr. 1522; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/5–6, Wingfield and Spinelly to Wolsey, 11 Feb. 1522. For other similar complaints see BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VI/188–90, Spinelly to Wolsey, 19 June 1520; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 665–6, Corner to the Signory, 8 Feb. 1521; ibid., LIV, col. 501, Tiepolo to the Signory, 1 July 1531; and LV, col. 258, Tiepolo to the Signory, 30 Nov. 1531.
19. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/12–13, Wingfield and Spinelly to Wolsey, 3 Mar. 1522; BNMV *Ms. Italiani Classe VII* cod. 1009/195, Contarini to the Signory, 5 Mar. 1522.
20. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/305, Wingfield and Spinelly to Wolsey, 14 Apr. 1522 (the letter that caused consternation was sent by the imperial ambassadors in England on 6 Apr., containing the terms for a truce offered by the French: *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 113–16); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VIII/33–4, Charles to Wolsey, 15 Apr. 1522, holograph (copies at AGRB *Audience* 370/37 and HHStA *Belgien DD* Abt. B fasz. 4); BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/187, Charles to Wolsey, 18 Aug. 1523, holograph (the symbol also appears in *Cott. Ms.* Titus B.I/336). European rulers had used special signs to authenticate their letters since at least the 1450s: see Ilardi, 'Crosses and carets'.
21. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/321, Wingfield and Spinelly to Wolsey, 15 May 1522.
22. Piot, 'Correspondance politique', 80–3, Gattinara to Barroso, 13 Jan. 1522 (request for a Portuguese loan); HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/2/13–14, 'Ce que le sieur de La Chaulx debvra dire et declarer à nostre sainct père, sans le comuniquer en Angleterre', undated but presumably 15 Jan. 1522, minute by Gattinara (terms demanded by England).
23. Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', 540, Charles to La Chaux, 9 June 1522; *CSPSp*, II, 434–6 and 438–40, treaty and secret treaty of Windsor, 16 and 19 June 1522; *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 69–73, ambassadors in England to Charles, 5 Mar. 1522, Latin; *CSPSp*, II, 442, Charles warrant of 20 June 1522, promising to repay Henry's loan of 150,000 ducats. See also Robertson, 'L'entrée de Charles-Quint à Londres en 1522'.
24. *RVEC*, 55–9, Salinas to Salamanca, Palencia, 10 Aug. 1522; *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 142–3, Charles to Henry, Palencia, 11 Aug. 1522.
25. HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/2/15–16, Supplementary instructions to Lachaulx, 17 Jan. 1522, minute by Gattinara (about the government of Castile after Adrian departed); Danvila, *Historia*, V, 198–201, Admiral to Charles, Aug. 1522; Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, 104–7, Adrian to Charles, 5 Aug. 1522. See Pérez, *La revolución*, 567–85, on the early stages of the repression. In his *Autobiography*, Gattinara claimed that he was one of the few who 'advocated clemency': Boone, *Mercurino*, 98.
26. BNMV *Ms. Italiani Classe VII*, Cod. 1009/66v–67, Contarini to the Signory, Ghent, 30 July 1521, quoting a conversation with Glapion. The exchange evidently took place at least two months earlier, when Aleandro mentioned it in a letter to Cardinal de' Medici on 26 May 1521: Balan, *Monumenta*, 248–55.
27. *RVEC*, 55–9 and 62–6, Salinas to Salamanca, 10 Aug. and 1 Sep. 1522; HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/4/68, Charles to Margaret, 25 Aug. 1522; Pérez, *La revolución*, 588 (quoting Mexía, *Historia*, I, 320), 585 (total condemnations) and 628 (punishments).
28. *RVEC*, 73–83, Salinas to Salamanca, 4 Nov. 1522. Danvila, *Historia*, V, 239–51, printed the list of *exceptuados*; Pérez, *La revolución*, 474–92 and 585–95, analysed them and their assets (quotation from p. 477).
29. Pérez, *La revolución*, 592–4 (collective sanctions) and 650–65 (reparations).
30. Viciana, *Libro quarto*, 546–56, with additional data from García Cárcel, *Las Germanías*, 141–2, and Ríos Lloret and Vilaplana Sánchis, *Germana de Foix*, 40–9.

31. RAH *Salazar* A-45/25, Manuel to Charles, 31 Dec. 1520; *RVEC*, 66–71 and 221–6, Salinas to Salamanca, 7 Sep. 1522 and 2 Oct. 1524, and 155–7, Salinas to Ferdinand, 16 Dec. 1523; Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, 171–2, Charles to Sessa, 10 Jan. 1523, conveyed the threat.
32. *Causa formada*, 54–9; *RVEC*, 308–14, Salinas to Ferdinand, 27 Mar. and 8 Apr. 1526; *CSPSp*, III/1, 614, 'Bishop Acuña's confession'. See also Pérez, *La revolución*, 629–33: 'Apéndice: la ejecución de Acuña', and p. 160 below (on the spiritual consequences of the execution for Los Cobos, Ronquillo and others).
33. *CDCV*, I, 375–9 and 482, Charles to the empress, 9 Aug. 1532 and 5 Mar. 1536 (about Gonzalo de Ayora); *CDCV*, III, 472–3, Charles to Philip, 18 Sep. 1552. Pérez, *La revolución*, 565–680, analysed the fate of individual Comuneros.
34. Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, 94, Adrian to Charles, 19 June 1522.
35. Anon., *Cartas de Indias*, 482, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro de Charles, Cuzco, 24 Nov. 1542; Charrière, *Négociations*, I, Francis to Ambassador Dinteville, 25 Jan. 1532. Rincón's Genoese associates were Cesare Cantelmo and Cesare Fregoso. I deduce Rincón's presence as a French agent in Poland from *LCK*, I, 98–113, Jean Hannart to Charles, 13 Mar. 1524; in England from TNA *SP* 1/53/144, Rincón to Wolsey, undated but Apr. 1529; and in Hungary from Setton, *The papacy*, III, 312–22. Some historians have doubted that Rincón had a Comunero past, but in 1530 the Spanish ambassador in Venice stated unequivocally that 'Rincón is one of the Comuneros from Medina del Campo': AGS *E* 1308/58–9, Rodrigo Niño to Charles, 18 June 1530.
36. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 66–7 (Vandenesse's 'Journal'). *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 148– 9, Charles to his ambassadors in England, 5 Sep. 1522, also mentioned Bourbon and his 'Great Enterprise'. Crouzet, *Charles de Bourbon*, Part III, provides a good guide to the lawsuit and the conspiracy.
37. TNA *SP* 1/26/51–56, Instructions to Sir Thomas Boleyn and Dr Richard Sampson, signed by Henry VIII (undated but 25 Sep. 1522); *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 190–4, Charles to his ambassadors in England, 8 Feb. 1523.
38. *CLC*, IV, 334–51, prints Gattinara's opening speech, delivered 14 July 1523 (*BKK*, II, 153–4, printed the omitted parts of the draft); ibid., 354–8, petition of the Cortes and Charles's reply, 15 July 1523.
39. *CLC*, IV, 363–402, list of grievances together with Charles's responses, 24 Aug. 1523.
40. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/106–20, Boleyn and Sampson to Wolsey, Valladolid, 8 and 18 Mar. 1523; *RVEC*, 122–30, Salinas to Salamanca, 2 July, and to Ferdinand, 14 Aug. 1523.
41. TNA *SP* 1/28/181–93, Wolsey to Sampson and Jerningham, 30 Aug. 1523. On the English campaign, see Gunn, 'The duke of Suffolk's march'.
42. Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 151–62, Francis to the count of Carpi, 31 Jan. 1521.
43. *CSPSp Further Supplement*, 286–9, Charles to Louis de Praet, Pamplona, 15 Nov. 1523.
44. Claretta, *Notice*, 84–92, 'Deuxième représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l'empereur', in Italian, with passages from the French original in Bornate, 'Historia', 311 n. 4. *BKK*, II, 152–3, convincingly argued that Gattinara prepared this document in April or May 1523.
45. Brandi, 'Aus den Kabinettsakten', 181–222, 'Denkschrift' published in full from the copy in HHStA *Belgien PC* 68/3–30. Brandi argued persuasively that it was composed in early Dec. 1523: p. 215 n. 1. Gossart, *Charles-Quint*, Appendix D, and 'Notes', 110–19, printed an abridged text from AGRB. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 216–17, notes 422–4, published much of Gattinara's original text in AS Vercelli, albeit with some errors.
46. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXV, col. 365, Contarini to the Signory, 11 Nov. 1524; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/171–84, Charles to Sessa, 14 Dec. 1523.

47. Clement signed the treaty on 12 Dec. 1524, and notified Charles on 5 Jan. 1525 (RAH *Salazar* A-34/3, Brief of Clement to Charles); Venice followed suit on 10 Jan. 1525, but tried to keep the treaty secret, although of course Charles soon discovered the truth (Setton, *The papacy*, III, 226 and 228).
48. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/55–7, Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to Wolsey, Toledo, 2 June 1525 (the summary in *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 616, does not do justice to the pungent words of the original – spoken at an audience by Charles himself, quoting Wolsey). Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Buenos hermanos', 450–3, provided an excellent overview of the unfortunate policies pursued by Henry and Wolsey in 1524–5.
49. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVI, col. 419, and XXXVII, col. 661, Contarini to the Signory, 18–23 Mar. 1524 and 10 Jan. 1525; *CSPSp*, II, 691, Charles to his ambassadors in Rome, 10 Jan. 1525; Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 172–9, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 7 Feb. 1525 (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 165–70); Boone, *Mercurino*, 100 (Gattinara's *Autobiography*).
50. AGS *E K* 1639 # 95, Charles to Bourbon, 14 Aug. 1524, copy; *KFF*, I, 250–3, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Feb. 1525; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/239–44, Charles to his ambassadors in Rome, 19 Dec. 1524 (draft partly in Gattinara's hand).
51. *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 347–50, Sampson to Wolsey, 30 Oct. 1524; Brandi, 'Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen', 256–60, original (undated but certainly written before news of the victory at Pavia reached Charles on 10 March 1525, and perhaps prompted by receiving Clement's Brief of 5 Jan. announcing that he had made an alliance with France, Florence, Ferrara and Venice). See similar statements in Charles's letters around this time in *PEG*, I, 427–41.
52. TNA *SP* 1/33/113–14, Pace to Henry VIII, 26 Jan. 1525.
53. Ruscelli *Delle lettere*, I, f. 147v, Giovanni Matteo Giberto to Girolamo Aleandro, Rome, 19 Feb. 1525; RAH *Salazar* A-34/150–63, Sessa to Charles, Rome, 24 and 25 Feb. 1525 (Sessa immediately added, 'I beg Your Majesty to pardon my boldness, which stems from the abundance of affection that I feel for Your Majesty, and the loyal service that I owe you').
54. *CODOIN*, IX, 481–5, marquis of Pescara to Charles, undated but 25 Feb. 1525; Brandi, 'Nach Pavia', 185–7, Lannoy to Charles, 25 Feb. 1525 (also printed in *LCK*, I, 150–1, from an imperfect copy); RAH *Salazar* A-34/133–4, Lannoy to Sessa, 21 Feb. 1525, copy.
55. Valdés, *Relación*, sig. A iii^{v}–A iv, quoting dispatches to Charles from the victors of Pavia; Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 129, Francis to Louise of Savoy, undated but probably 25 Feb. 1525.
56. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.VII/75–7, Russell to Henry, Milan, 11 Mar. 1525, copy; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 47–8, Foscari to the Signory, 13 Mar. 1525. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 85–8, lists the French captives and casualties at Pavia. French sources referred to the captured Henry d'Albret as 'king of Navarre', but after 1512 the rulers of Spain claimed that title. Spanish sources therefore referred to Henry as 'son of the king' – viz. son of the last king of the Albret dynasty whose legitimacy they recognized.
57. Rodríguez Villa, *Italia*, 10, Lope de Soria to Charles, 26 Feb. 1525. Just in case his master missed the point, Soria repeated in a postscript: 'This has been a noble victory, which Your Majesty can now use to lay down the law [*poner ley*] and establish your pre-eminence throughout Christendom.'

CHAPTER 7: SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY, 1525–8

1. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 205–7, Giacomo Suardino to the marquis of Mantua, 15 Mar. 1525 (English précis in *CSPV*, III, 415–17). Fernández de Oviedo, 'Relación', 407, stated that

the courier arrived on 3 Mar., but all other sources say 10 Mar.

2. Brandi, ‘Nach Pavia’, 185–7, Lannoy to Charles, 25 Feb. 1525 (also printed in *LCK*, I, 150–2, from an imperfect copy).
3. Valdés, *Relación*, sig. A vij^{v}; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 205–7, Suardino to Mantua, 15 Mar. 1525 (quoting what Sampson had told him); Ellis, *Original letters*, 1st series I, 260–7, Sampson to Wolsey, 15 Mar. 1525. See the similar accounts of Charles’s modesty on hearing news of Pavia by other diplomats: Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 203–5, Contarini to the Signory, 12 and 14 Mar. 1525 (English précis in *CSPV*, III, 413–15); Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 188–200, Dantiszek to King Sigismund, 16 Mar. 1525 (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 171–2); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, I, 146–8, Castiglione to Piperario, 14 Mar. 1525.
4. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 322, Charles to his diplomats at the conference of Calais, 15 Sep. 1521.
5. BNMV *Ms. Italiani Classe VII*, cod. 1009/410, Contarini to the Signory, 6 Feb. 1525, reporting the emperor’s indiscretions in an audience with Giovanni Corsi, who represented both Florence and the pope (which may explain Charles’s provocative comment about Luther: he intended his ‘remarkable words’ to alarm Clement).
6. RAH *Ms.* 9–4817/249–52, Charles to Sessa, 9 Feb. 1525, minute (with the last phrase struck through; English summary in *CSPSp*, II, 699–701).
7. Redondo, ‘La comunicación’, 260, Charles to Germaine de Foix, 10 Mar. 1525; Villar García, ‘Cartas’, 69, Charles to Rodrigo Mexía, 12 Mar. 1525; Valdés, *Relación*, sig. A vij^{v}–A viij.
8. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.VII/75–7, Sir John Russell to Henry VIII, Milan, 11 Mar. 1525 (printed with errors in Ellis, *Original letters*, 2nd series I, 297–303).
9. BNE *Ms.* 20214/52/9, Sessa to Charles, 26 Feb. 1525, ‘a iiij horas de noche’, holograph; *KFF*, I, 273–6 and 277–81, Ferdinand to Charles, and Instructions to Salinas, Innsbruck, 14 Mar. and 2 Apr. 1525 (also in *LCK*, I, 154–6 and 683–90). Ferdinand quoted the rebuke to Hannibal by one of his generals after Cannae: ‘Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis’ (Livy, *History of Rome*, 22.51). At this point, Ferdinand was his brother’s heir and successor.
10. Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 188–200, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 16 Mar. 1525, quoting Gattinara (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 173).
11. Brandi, ‘Nach Pavia’, 195–211, Position paper prepared by Gattinara for Charles, undated but submitted between 10 Mar. (when news of the victory arrived) and 25 Mar. 1525 (when Charles signed orders implementing his chancellor’s proposals).
12. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 149–59, Charles’s instructions to his ambassadors to Louise of Savoy, 28 Mar. 1525; Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 267–70, Charles to Lannoy, 27 Mar. 1525. The emperor sent a similar message to his brother: *KFF*, I, 277–81, Charles to Ferdinand, 25/26 Mar. 1525.
13. *PEG*, I, 265–6, Charles to Lannoy, undated but probably written on 26 Mar. 1525 (see the similar phrases in *LCK*, I, 157–9, Charles to M. de Praet, his ambassador in England, 26 Mar. 1525).
14. *PEG*, I, 263–5, Charles to Louise, undated but 25 Mar. 1525, followed by her response (date supplied by Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 136 n. 2); TNA *SP* 1/34/153 Sampson to Wolsey, Toledo, 2 May 1525, holograph. Although the report from Beaurain (Charles’s envoy) has apparently not survived, on 10 Apr. 1525 Beaurain informed Margaret of Austria that Louise ‘shows no sign of wishing to surrender anything’: Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 598–9.
15. *LCK*, I, 161–2, Lannoy to Charles, 3 and 6 May 1525; TNA *SP* 1/35/17–18, ‘Ce que don Hughe de Montcade . . . a dit à l’empereur notre seigneur que le Roy de France luy avoit divisé pour la

paix' (translated from Moncada's notes in Spanish into French; cf. the terms printed in Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 170–3).

16. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.VII/146–9, John Clerk to Wolsey, Rome, 14 June 1525 (quoting Clement on Francis's 'eloquens'); Rodríguez Villa, *Italia*, 52, Nájera to Charles, 7 May 1525. See also Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 278–9, Lannoy to Charles, 27 Apr. 1525: 'the thing that [Francis] desires most is to talk to you'. Some suspected that it was Lannoy's idea to bring Francis to Spain, but one of the king's ministers later stated on oath that Francis 'procura envers le vis-roy de Naples d'estre mené en Espagne, et jusques à bailler ses propres gallères pour luy conduyre': Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 432–3, Report of Philibert Babou, 18 Dec. 1525.
17. BNE *Ms*. 20212/43/9, Leyva to Charles, 7 July 1525; BNE *Ms*. 20214/52/10, Sessa to Charles, 12 July 1525.
18. Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 284–7, Charles to Lannoy, 15 June 1525. Some have suggested that Charles knew in advance that Francis was coming to Spain but this letter, written five days before the news arrived at court, proves his ignorance of Lannoy's initiative. See also RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/261, Charles to Sessa, 8 June 1525, ordering the ambassador to consult Lannoy on how to negotiate with the pope – clearly assuming that the viceroy was still in Italy.
19. BL *Cott Ms.* Vespasian C.III/107–27, Tunstal and Sampson to Henry, 2 Dec. 1525, reporting on their audience with Charles on 19 Oct. See also BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/18, Venetian ambassadors to the Signory, 13 June 1525, reporting the statement of one of Charles's Netherlands ministers that 'Burgundy belongs to His Imperial Majesty just as the shirt on your back belongs to you, but King Louis XI of France fraudulently occupied it'. In 1544–5 Charles faced a similar choice of whether to sacrifice part of his heritage or a recent strategic acquisition: see ch. 12 below.
20. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/29v–30 and 69v, Venetian ambassadors to the Signory, 10 July and 5 Oct. 1525 (Francis certainly knew all about the love letters, because in 1519 he cited them while attempting to win Frederick over: p. 91 above); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 9, Castiglione to the archbishop of Capua, papal secretary of state, Madrid, 9 Dec. 1525, postscript (on bribery); BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/97, Navagero to the Signory, 11 Dec. 1525 (on the bungled escape in blackface: English summary in *CSPV*, III, 508).
21. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, IV, 88–92, 'Première protestation' of Francis, 16 Aug. 1525, registered on 22 Aug.
22. Fernández de Oviedo, 'Relación', 418 (an eyewitness account); Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 328, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 1 Nov. 1525 ('Pereant illi, qui inter nos dissidia ista fecerunt. Istene est juvenis tam deformis aut monstrum et sine ingenio balbutiens?'; Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 180). Francis apparently suffered from an abscess that pressed upon his brain: as soon as it burst, he recovered (BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/62v–67, Navagero to the Signory, 24 Sep. 1525: 'una appostema in la testa').
23. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/70v, Navagero to the Signory, 10 Oct. 1525.
24. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/84v, Navagero to the Signory, 4 Nov. 1525. Francis later confirmed that he had used this ruse, explaining to some diplomats 'almost derisively [*quasi irridento*]', that while in Madrid 'the physicians told the emperor that I was consumptive and that it would be well to exchange me for my sons'. And, Francis added with a malevolent smile, 'I was content that he should entertain that opinion': *CSPV*, V, 613–15, Venetian ambassadors in France to the Signory, 17 Feb. 1531.
25. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 363–9, 'Les moyens de paix baillés par le conseil de l'empereur', 9 Oct. 1525, and Francis's rejection the following day; ibid., 384, Francis to Charles, undated but almost certainly the same day; and ibid., 416–25, letters patent, Nov. 1525

(the day left blank). See also Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 650–2, de Praet to Margaret, Lyons, 22 Dec. 1525, passing on the news that Francis 'is absolutely determined to remain in prison rather than return Burgundy'.

26. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/29v, Contarini, Navagero and Priuli to the Signory, 10 July 1525 ('che il re come si sapea da ognuno havea havuto et havea di molto mal francese').
27. Boone, *Mercurino*, 109–10 (*Autobiography*); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLV, cols 616–18, Suardino to Mantua, 12 Dec. 1525; Bornate, 'Historia', 318 n. 1, 478–9 and 482–3, Navagero to the Signory, 11 Dec. 1525, 29 Jan. and 8 Feb. 1526; Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 289–91, Charles's commission to Lannoy, 16 Dec. 1525, specifying the approval of five councillors but omitting the name of the chancellor. Castiglione, who noted that Gattinara 'either cannot or will not conceal his discontent', recorded the verbal duel between the emperor and his chancellor over preparing the treaty: Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 29–33, Castiglione to Capua, 24 Mar. 1526.
28. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, IV, 165–78, Second Protestation, 13–14 Jan. 1526. Although Charles would denounce this as base behaviour unworthy of a gentleman, twenty years earlier Ferdinand the Catholic had used precisely the same legal device, making a 'protest' before notaries when Charles's father extorted concessions from him under threat (ch. 3), and Charles would do the same twenty-five years later when his German opponents forced him to make concessions (ch. 15).
29. Gachard, *Captivité*, 66–70, based on Sandoval, *Historia*, Fernández de Oviedo, 'Relación', and a procès-verbal of the various ceremonies kept by the emperor's secretary of state, Jean Lallemand (the king's oath as a knight printed pp. 66–8); *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, IV, 178–219, treaty of Madrid, 14 Jan. 1526.
30. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols 36–8, Suardino to Mantua, 5 Feb. 1526; *LCK*, I, 192, Charles to Louise, 16 Feb. 1526 (also printed in Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 654–5, and, with an English translation, in Bradford, *Correspondence*, 216–18).
31. TNA *SP* 1/34/118–19, Wolsey to Tunstal and Wingfield, 3 Apr. 1525; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/158–75v, Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to Henry VIII, 2 June 1525; *KFF*, I, 305–11 and 322–6, Charles to Ferdinand, 25 June 1525, and reply, 1 Sep. 1525; *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 621, Charles's ultimatum, delivered in London, 7 June 1525.
32. *CDCV*, I, 100–15, marriage treaty signed 17 Oct. 1525; RAH *Ms.* 9–4817/272–4, Charles to Sessa, 31 Oct. 1525, draft corrected by Gattinara (English summary in *CSPSp*, III/1, 419–23); RAH *Salazar* A-36/176–8, Sessa to Charles, 13 Nov. 1525 (asserting that Clement had delayed in part because of his prior dispensation for Charles to marry Mary Tudor and wanted to avoid offending Henry); *CSPSp*, III/1, 461–3, two versions of the dispensation, 13 Nov. 1525, not received by Charles until 8 Feb. 1526.
33. Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V*, 329–38, notes Charles's procrastination; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/80, Navagero to the Signory, 28 Oct. 1525; *CDCV*, I, 100–15, marriage treaty, 17 Oct. 1525, specified a dowry of 900,000 ducats, minus the unpaid dowry due for Charles's sister Catalina (who had married King John III of Portugal the previous year), and minus the 50,000 ducats loaned by Portugal during the Comunero uprising.
34. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols 171 and 342–5, Suardino to Mantua and Zuan Negro to his father, both 15 Mar. 1526. Gómez-Salvago Sánchez, *Fastos*, documented the adorable couple's ceremonial progress through Seville – and its cost.
35. *RVEC*, 308–14, Salinas to Ferdinand, 27 Mar. 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 33–5, Castiglione to Capua, 30 Mar. and 9 Apr. 1526; RAH *Ms.* 9–4827/299–300, Charles to Sessa and to Clement, 30 Mar. 1526; BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/169, Navagero to the Signory, 8 Apr. 1526. See also BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/239–41v, Lee to Wolsey, Seville 15 Apr. 1526, noting with

approval that the emperor ‘euer sithe wedding and afore Ester hathe patiently absteyned his communion’.

36. *Causa formada*, 61, Los Cobos to Ronquillo, 28 Mar. 1526. Charles received his absolution on 30 Apr. 1526 (BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/182, Navagero to the Signory, 1 May 1526), but Clement delayed for more than a year before commuting the penitence imposed on Los Cobos (‘because they say that he was the first to advise Your Majesty to proceed against the bishop as you did’) and to absolve Ronquillo and his associates: Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 226–8, Secretary Pérez to Charles, Rome, 26 June 1527; and Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 142–3, Castiglione to Capua, 13 Mar. 1527.
37. *KFF*, I, 376–80, Charles to Ferdinand, 30 Mar. 1526; *RVEC*, 308–14, Salinas to Ferdinand, 27 Mar. 1526; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols 342–5, Zuan Negro to his father, Seville, 15 Mar. 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 29–33, Castiglione to Capua, 24 Mar. 1526.
38. Braamcamp Freire, ‘Ida’, 609–12, Antonio de Azevedo Coutinho to the count of Vimiosa, 16 Mar. 1526, and 616, marquis de Vila Real to Antonio Carneiro, 17 Mar. 1526; Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 293–4, Charles to Lannoy, Mar. 1526 (explaining why his hand was too weak to write a holograph letter); ASF *SDO* 58/21, Domenico Canigiani to the Eight, 7 Apr. 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 64–71, Castiglione to Cardinal Salviati, 8 Sep. 1526 (‘troppo diligenza circa l’essere buon marito’).
39. Hauser, *Le traité*, 150–3 ‘Mémoires délibérés au conseil du Roy touchant le traité de Madril’, Bayonne, 17 Mar. 1526; HHStA *Frankreich: Varia*, Konv. D/1, 1526, 14/1 ff. 84–90 and Konv. E, 1526 ff. 24–9, French royal council to Louis de Praet, Bayonne, 20 Mar. 1526; Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 298–9, Charles to Lannoy, 27 Mar. 1526.
40. *CWE*, XII, 266–7 (# 1731), Charles to Erasmus, 4 Aug. 1526, Latin, minute.
41. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/273–v, Lee to Henry, 30 Sep. 1526; Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VIII, 335–64, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 12 Oct. 1526 (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 186).
42. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/239–41v, Lee to Wolsey, Seville, 15 Apr. 1526, decoded original; BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula D.IX/183–5, Taylor to Wolsey, 4 Apr. 1526, narrating what Francis had told him at an audience the week before. See also Le Glay, *Négocations*, II, 656–8, ‘Explications du roi’, on why he had not ratified the treaty, 2 Apr. 1526.
43. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, III, 402 (from Book XVI, ch. 6, written between 1537 and 1540); BAV *Vat*. *Lat*. 6753/183–7, Navagero to the Signory, 14 May 1526. See also Castiglione’s assertion that Francis had bribed most members of Charles’s entourage: p. 156 above.
44. HSA *Ms.* B 2954/8, Louise to Charles, c. 31 Jan. 1526 (a promise repeated in HSA *Ms* B 2954/7, same to same, c. 15 Feb. 1526), and Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 517–18, Francis to Charles, San Sebastián, Mar. 1526, all holograph.
45. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, III, 405; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 9 and 35–9, Castiglione to Capua, 9 Dec. 1525, postscript, and 26 Apr. 1526.
46. *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 881–2, Ghinucci and Casale to Wolsey, Rome, 7 Feb. 1526 (quoting Clement); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.IX/3–4, Wingfield to Wolsey, Antwerp, 9 Feb. 1526, with marginal comments dictated by Wolsey.
47. TNA *SP* 1/37/212, Wolsey to Louise of Savoy, undated (but 20 Mar. 1526), French, copy; BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula D.IX/172–8, Henry’s instructions to Sir Thomas Cheyne, his envoy to France, undated (but 22 Mar. 1526).
48. HSA *Ms.* 2954/1–2, Charles to Francis and Louise, Mar–Apr. 1526, both holograph, replying to their recent letters promising compliance; Guicciardini, *Opere inediti*, IV, 6–8, Guicciardini to Gambara, the pope’s special envoy to England, Rome, 21 Apr. 1526, conveying Clement’s views.

49. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 660–4, Lannoy to Charles, 16 and 25 May, and to Margaret, 18 May 1526.
50. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, IV, 238–52, text of the 'Sainte Ligue', Cognac, 22 May 1526. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XL, cols 613–14, Navagero to the Signory, 11 Dec. 1525, gives the total claimed by England.
51. *LCK*, I, 217, Clement to Charles, undated but 23 June 1526, probably incomplete; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/183–7, Navagero to the Signory, 14 May 1526.
52. HHStA *Belgien PA* 65/4/122–31v, Moncada and Sessa to Charles, 20/24 June 1526.
53. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 16–18, Lope de Soria and Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to Charles, 20 and 28 June 1526.
54. Op. cit., 20–1, Pérez to Charles, 9 Sep. 1526; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLII, cols 582–3, Suardino to Mantua, 9 Aug. 1526; Bornate, 'Historia', 489–96, Gattinara's 'Relación' to the royal council, and response.
55. *LCK*, I, 213–16, Charles's instructions to Moncada, Granada, 11 June 1526, italics added.
56. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 18–19, Pérez to Charles, 9 July 1526.
57. *KFF*, I, 407–21, Charles to Ferdinand, 27 July 1526, draft with extensive corrections; Bornate, 'Historia', 503, 'Discorso del gran Cancelliere' (undated, but composed just before 27 July 1526 because Charles repeated entire passages from this document in his letter to Ferdinand on that date: Brandi, 'Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen', 248).
58. *RVEC*, 323–7, Salinas to Ferdinand, 4 Aug. 1526.
59. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 41–2, Charles to Secretary Pérez in Rome, 16 Nov. 1526. Compare with Charles's instructions to Moncada on 11 June 1526, above.
60. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/257–66, Lee to Henry, 7 Sep 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 64–85, Castiglione to Cardinal Salviati and to Capua, both dated 8 Sep. 1526. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/203v–15, Navagero to the Signory, 6 Sep. 1526, also summarized this exchange, although he confessed that 'I did not understand it then, since I understand little of the French language, but later some councillors explained it to me'. The audience took place on 17 Aug. In his *Memoirs* Charles recalled this as a formal challenge issued by France, England, Venice and the pope: *CDCV*, IV, 493.
61. *CSPSp*, III/I, 905–22, Charles to Clement, 17 Sep. 1526; *LCK*, I, 219–21, Charles to Clement, 18 Sep. 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 90–2, Castiglione to Capua, 20 Sep. 1526. *BKK*, II, 178–9, provided a concordance of the public exchanges between Charles and Clement and the drafts prepared by Gattinara, Valdés and others at this time.
62. Headley, *The emperor*, ch. 5, provided a detailed discussion of *Pro Divo Carolo eius nominis Quinto Romanorum Imperatore invictissimo, pro felice semper Augusto, Patrepatriae* and its dissemination.
63. *KFF*, I, 486–92, Charles to Ferdinand, 23 Nov. 1526 (also in *LCK*, I, 224–8); *CDCV*, I, 117–19, *consulta* of the council of state on what to do after news of Mohács, undated, but shortly after Ferdinand's letter arrived on 13 Nov. Charles told his brother that he had received reports of the disaster earlier, but had not believed them (cf. *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/2, 1153, Lee to Henry, 1 Nov. 1526, containing a full account).
64. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/232, Navagero to the Signory, 2 Dec. 1526, reporting indiscretions from the nuncio about his recent audience (English summary in *CSPV*, III, 620–3). Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 125–7, Castiglione to Capua, 2 Dec. 1526, omitted these self-abasing comments.
65. RAH *Salazar* A-40/147–8, Pérez to Charles, 14 Feb. 1527.
66. *KFF*, II/1, 26–8 Charles to Ferdinand, 6 Mar. 1527. RAH *Salazar* A-40/212–20, Nájera to Charles, Rome, 3 Mar. 1527, noted Bourbon's use of the 'strada Romana andando hazia

Bolonia'.

67. AGS *E* 847/180–1, Francisco de Salazar to Gattinara, 18 May 1527.
68. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 165–7, Soria to Charles, 25 May 1527; *KFF*, II/1, 81–3 and 85–8, Ferdinand to Charles, 30 and 31 May 1527.
69. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.IV/166–8v, Lee to Wolsey, 27 June 1527 (describing an imperial audience two days before). See also Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, IX, 216–17, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 17 Aug. 1527, describing Charles's claim at the same audience with similar disbelief (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 201–6).
70. ASF *SDO* 58/49, Domenico Canigiani to the Eight, Valladolid, 31 May 1527.
71. HHStA *Belgien PA* 66/3/281, Charles to Bourbon, 7 June 1527, minute, italics added. (Mignet, *Rivalité*, II, 330–1, followed by Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 203, both quoted parts of this letter, but they linked together passages that are separate in the document, and gave an incorrect date.) Several other sources reveal that the emperor had planned for his army to capture – though not to sack – Rome, and to take the pope prisoner. (i) Charles himself repudiated the truce concluded by Lannoy with the pope (Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 319–20, Charles to Lannoy, 12 May 1527); (ii) on the same day, Navagero claimed that Charles had ordered Bourbon to attack Rome (BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/260v–3v, to the Signory, 12 May 1527); (iii) HHStA *Belgien PA* 94/446, Gattinara to Charles, 28 May 1527, written at Palamos on the Catalan coast, stated that 'if before I embark [for Italy] certain news should arrive that the pope has come to Barcelona, I will remain here'; (iv) Charvet, *Lettres et documents*, 131–2, Agrippa von Nettesheim to Bourbon, Lyons, 30 Mar. 1527, revealed that the duke had already confided his plan to 'bring down those proud walls after a few days' siege', a revelation that came from Eustache Chapuys, who served as a courier between Bourbon and Charles (ibid., 132–4) – one more indication that Bourbon had been following Charles's orders; (v) Don Juan Manuel informed the Florentine ambassador that Charles's council had 'discussed many times what to do with His Holiness – whether to bring him here or leave him in Italy – and many were of the opinion that he should be brought here' (ASF *SDO* 58/52, Canigiani to the Eight, 12 July 1527). Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 202–3, presented yet more evidence regarding Charles's complicity in the capture of Rome.
72. Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 321–7, Charles's instructions to Lannoy, 30 June 1527, and to Veyré, 21 July 1527.
73. *LCK*, I, 248–56, Veyré to Charles, Naples, 30 Sep. 1527.
74. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, V, 87–99, treaty of Amiens, 18 Aug. 1527 (confirming the terms of earlier treaties agreed at the More in August 1525 and at Westminster in Apr. 1527).
75. *LCK*, I, 235–48, Leyva to Charles, 20 July 1527, with postscripts down to 4 Aug.
76. RAH *Salazar* A-41/1–3, Instructions of Hernando de Alarcón to Alonso Gayoso, his envoy to Charles, Rome, 1 Dec. 1527 (printed in Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 229–34, but incorrectly dated June 1527); Muratori, *Delle antichità*, II, 341–52, 'Capitoli della Lega . . . per la liberazione d'esso Papa Clemente', 15 Nov. 1527.
77. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/283, Navagero to the Signory, 1 Aug. 1527 (English summary in *CSPV*, IV, 81); *KFF*, II/1, 119–23, Charles to Ferdinand, 8 Sep. 1527.
78. Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II y su tiempo*, 621–2, Charles to the magistrates of Úbeda and Barcelona, 21 and 23 May 1527; *RVEC*, 359–60, Salinas to Ferdinand, 29 May 1527.
79. *RVEC*, 363–71 and 387–9, Salinas to Ferdinand, 19 Aug. and 23 Nov. 1527.
80. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.IV/145–52, Ghinucci, Poyntz and Lee to Wolsey, 17 July 1527; and BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/295–7v and 300, Navagero to the Signory, 25 Oct. and 17 Nov. 1527

(English summary in *CSPV*, IV, 102–5). See also BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.IV/94–6v, Ghinucci to Wolsey, 16 Apr. 1527: Charles 'visus est ultra solitum tristis, turbatus et asper'.

81. Boone, *Mercurino*, 127 (*Autobiography*: see the original in Bornate, 'Historia', 355).
82. Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, X, 61–5, Dantiszek to Sigismund, 29 Jan. 1528, quoting Cicero, *De inventione*, I, 71. The key word in the Latin original was *'diffidatio'*. (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 207–10.)
83. Loc. cit., Dantiszek to Sigismund, 29 Jan. 1528; *PEG*, I, 310–21, 'Declaration de Guerre', 22 Jan. 1528 (quotation from pp. 319–20).
84. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVIII, cols 149–50, Zuan Negro, secretary of the Venetian ambassador, to his father, 1 June 1528; RAH *Salazar* A-42/80, Charles warrant to the governor of Cerdeña and Rossellon, 22 Jan. 1528, minute. On the heartless treatment of the princes, see Pascual Barroso, *Dos niños príncipes*.
85. *KFF*, II/1, 176–85, Charles's instructions to William of Montfort, his envoy to Margaret and Ferdinand, 31 Jan. 1528.
86. Arfaioli, *The black bands*, 36 and 99–100 (quoting Giovio, *Delle historie*). Proof that his enemies had correctly discerned Charles's strategic priorities at this time comes from *KFF*, II/1, 148–52, Charles to Ferdinand, 21 Nov. 1527, copy of holograph: if both Milan and Naples are 'en eminent peril, j'aime mieulx secourir et remedier en Naples, qu'est du patrimoine de noz predecesseurs, que non pas ledit Millan que n'est de nostre heritage'.
87. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVII, cols 26–7, Ludovico Ceresara to the marquis of Mantua, 25 Feb. 1528; ibid., XLVII, col. 389, Pompeo Colonna to Lorenzo Campeggio, Gaeta, 1 May 1528. Arfaioli, *The black bands*, 198–203, provided the best account of the battle and its impact.
88. *PEG*, I, 349–50, Charles to Jehan de Calvymont, ambassador 'estant à présent à Poza en Castille', 18 Mar. 1528.
89. *PEG*, I, 350–9, 'Audience de congé' granted by Francis to Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, 28 Mar. 1528 (also printed in *LCK*, I, 265–70), and ibid., 372–4, Cartel of Francis, delivered in French and Spanish.
90. Bornate, 'Historia', 362 (Boone, *Mercurino*, 131, mistranslates 'Catellanis' as 'Castilians' instead of 'Catalans'); *RVEC*, 392–8, Salinas to Ferdinand, 4 Feb. 1528. García Martínez, 'Estudio', 130–1, noted that the Valencian chronicler Martí de Viciana allocated 'almost half the space devoted to imperial matters' for 1528 to the 'chivalric challenge to Francis, unequivocal proof that the affair fascinated contemporaries'.
91. *RVEC*, 404–10, Salinas to Ferdinand, 8 July 1528.
92. AGS *E* 8815/24–6, *consulta* of the royal council to Charles, 20 June 1528, and f. 29, Tavera, president of the council to Charles, 12 June 1528. This volume contains forty-two letters of advice sent to Charles by individual nobles, towns and prelates of Castile, as well as by its council, almost all holograph; *CODOIN*, I, 47–95, printed copies of most of them. Villar García, 'Cartas', 85, Charles to Rodrigo Mexía, 79–81, 10 Nov. 1528, revealed that the process of securing opinions concerning the cartel was far wider, involving councils, prelates, nobles 'and other gentlemen *[caballeros]* with whom we shared it'.
93. *PEG*, I, 384–7, duke of Infantado to Charles, 20 June 1528. The merchant community strongly disapproved, considering the resort to single combat to decide affairs of state, 'something almost unheard of, and truly unworthy of such princes': *CWE*, XIV, 258–61 (# 2024), Schets to Erasmus, Antwerp, 14 Aug. 1528.
94. *LCK*, I, 405–11, Cartel of Charles V, and instructions to his herald 'Bourgogne', 24 June 1528; BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* I/149, Charles to Baron Montfort, 19 July 1528, holograph postscript ('N'obliez d'amener Colman avec estouffe et ouvriers, si d'auenture il me failloit combattre'. Presumably Helmschmid and his team would work on 'fitting' one of the garnitures they had

already made for Charles, since they would not have time to create a new one). Bond, 'Costume albums', 72–87, documented Helmschmid's journey to the imperial court in 1529.

95. BNF *F. f.* 3001/15, Francis to Anne, duke of Montmorency, Fontainebleau, 28 July 1528.

CHAPTER 8: CHAMPION OF THE WESTERN WORLD, 1528–31

1. ASMa *AG CE* Napoli e Sicilia 810/125, Lautrec to the marquis of Mantua, 'From the camp before Naples', 1 June 1528. I thank Maurizio Arfaioli for this reference.
2. Robert, 'Philibert de Châlon', XXXIX, 174–81, Charles to the prince of Orange, 19 July 1528; Cadenas y Vicent, *El Protectorado*, 85–8, Articles agreed with Doria on 19 July, approved by the royal council on 10 Aug. and signed by Charles the following day (English summary in *CSPSp*, III/2, 765–8). Apparently, Charles had delegated full powers in this way only once before: to those handling his election as king of the Romans in 1519.
3. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVIII, cols 478–80, 'Capitoli et conventione afirmati' between the prince of Orange and the marquis of Saluzzo, Aversa, 30 Aug. 1528.
4. Arfaioli, *The black bands*, 165. Arfaioli's account of the siege ('See Naples, then die': ibid., 115–62) is the best available.
5. *CDCV*, IV, 495 (*Memoirs*); Salonia, *Genoa's freedom*, 141; Keniston, *Memorias*, 171 (Sancho Cota). For Doria's other motives, see Pacini, *La Genova*, 42–5.
6. *KFF*, I, 277–81, Charles to Ferdinand, 26 Mar. 1525; BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/264–5v, Navagero to the Signory, 23 May 1527; Firpo, *Relazioni*, III, 60, Relation of Federico Badoer, Feb. 1557; ASF *MdP* 4301/209–13, Ricasole to Duke Cosimo, 27 Sep. 1543; Bornate, 'Historia', 545–8, Leyva to Charles, 7 Jan. 1529.
7. AGS *E* 848/64–5, Praet and Mai to Charles, Rome, 12 Aug. 1529; *NBD*, *2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 102–7, Aleandro to Sanga, 25 Mar. 1532; *NBD*, XIII, 116–21, Nuncio Camaini to Cardinal del Monte, 16 Sep. 1552, coded postscript (italics added to all quotations). For a broader consideration of Fortune's role in human affairs during the Renaissance, see Buttay-Jutier, *Fortuna*, and Crouzet, *Charles de Bourbon*, 154–62 and 191–9. I thank Maurizio Arfaioli for reminding me of the importance of 'Fortuna Caesaris'.
8. Boone, *Mercurino*, 132 (Gattinara's *Autobiography*, apparently quoting his holograph instructions to the prince of Orange, 29 Dec. 1528: 'If God is pleased to give us victory . . . let us not lose the fruit, as we have done with past victories': HHStA, *Belgien PA* 66/4/379–82v); RAH *Salazar* A-43/184–9, Alonso Sánchez to Charles, 21 Sep. 1528.
9. AGS *E* 848/36, Mai to Charles, Rome, 11 May 1529, reporting on his audience on 24 Apr. (partly printed, with some errors, by Heine, *Briefe*, 520–1); *LCK*, I, 296–8, Charles to Clement, Apr. 1529, copy of holograph original; AGS *E* 848/14, Mai to Charles, Rome, 8 June 1529 (reporting Clement's declaration).
10. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 1–7, 'Tractatus confoederationis inter Carolum V . . . & Clementem VII', Barcelona, 29 June 1529; AGS *E* 848/5–6, Brief of Clement VII, 6 Aug. 1529; *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/3, 2583–4, English ambassadors in Rome to Wolsey, 16 July 1529. Gattinara became a cardinal by Clement's declaration on 13 Aug. 1529.
11. *PEG*, I, 427–32, Charles's instructions to Baron Balançon, Sep. 1528, copy of holograph; *KFF*, II/1, 295–308 and 335–46, Charles's instructions to Baron Montfort, 8 and 28 Nov. 1528 (the latter superseded the former); Sanuto, *I diarii*, L, cols 279–81, ambassador Malatesta to the marquis of Mantua, 24 Feb. 1529; *RVEC*, 424–30, Salinas to Ferdinand, 3 Apr. 1529. On the efforts of his Spanish ministers to sabotage his trip to Italy, see pp. 206–7 below.
12. Sanuto, *I diarii*, L, cols 63–4, letter from Giovanni Battista Grimaldi to the Grimaldi company in Genoa, 10 Feb. 1529. *CDCV*, I, 137–54, printed various instruments and instructions signed

by Charles on 8 Mar. 1529. No copy of the will he signed that day has survived: its existence is known only because his aunt Margaret acknowledged receiving a copy. It is impossible to provide a precise date for the creation and reform of most councils, since Charles often reorganized them several times: see, for example, Carlos Morales, *El consejo*, 25–34, for the gradual reorganization of the council of finance between mid-1522 and 16 Jan. 1525, the date when Los Cobos administered an oath to all council members. Espinosa, *The empire*, 281, provides a brilliant organogram of Charles's central government at this time.

13. RAH *Salazar* A-44/37–41, Charles to Leyva, 16 Feb. 1529, draft in Gattinara's hand, heavily corrected.
14. AGS *E* 267/161–3, 'Traslado de los capítulos que se enviaron a Don Ugo de Moncada, y después de su fallecimiento al príncipe de Oranges' in Naples, originally dated 19 Apr., but revised 16 May 1529, minute. Charles sent similar instructions to Leyva and other ministers in Lombardy.
15. Boone, *Mercurino*, 136, Gattinara's *Autobiography*, apparently written as he and Charles waited in Barcelona; Headley, 'The emperor', 35 note 20, quoting a German pamphlet: 'Keyser/Keyser/for uber/for uber/herre der weldt!'.
16. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LI, cols 399–403, 'Raporto', 20 Aug. 1529; Boom, 'Voyage', 62. A glance at 'Austria, Carlo di' in the index of Sanuto, *I diarii*, vol. 50, covering March–June 1529, reveals that the Venetian ambassadors were obsessed with when and whether Charles would come to Italy, and the possible consequences.
17. *KFF*, II/I, 315–17, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Nov. 1528 (also printed in *LCK*, I, 291–2, and Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 675–6); RAH *Salazar* A-44/37–41, Charles to Leyva, 16 Feb. 1529 (albeit with a postscript a week later stating that if he happened to encounter Francis in Italy, 'perhaps we can deal with his challenge'). HSA *B* 2854, Charles to Henry VIII, 31 Oct. 1528 (draft in AGS *E* 16/285), is one of the letters sent to other 'kings and princes'.
18. *L&P Henry VIII*, IV/2, 1918, treaty of Hampton Court, 15 June 1528 (summary); Dumont, *Corps*, IV/1, 514–15, Treaty of Gorcum, 3 Oct. 1528 (partial).
19. Gachard, 'Charles Quint', 567 note, Charles to Margaret, 15 Oct. 1528; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.IX/220–1, Charles's appointment of Margaret as his 'procuratrix générale, spéciale et irrévocable' in the peace talks, 8 Apr. 1529, notarized copy (printed text in *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, V/2, 253–4, followed by the parallel power granted by Francis to Louise, 2 June 1529).
20. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, V/2, 221–56, and Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 7–17, peace of Cambrai, 5 Aug. 1529, with the treaty of Madrid inserted (but not printed).
21. AGS *GA* 2/29–30, Charles to the empress, Genoa, 30 Aug. 1529; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 693–7, Praet to Granvelle, 31 Aug. 1529.
22. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, V/2, 276–8, and Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 52–3, 'Protestation' of Francis against the peace of Cambrai before the Parlement of Paris, 16 Nov. 1529.
23. AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.457 D.43, 'Sentencia del Condestable' on Juan de Jalón, who tried to help the princes to escape, 28 May 1529 (Jalón was executed the next day); AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.26, Charles to the Constable of Castile and marquis of Berlanga, Palamos, 1 Aug. 1529; *CDCV*, I, 186, Margaret to the empress, 15 Dec. 1529; AGS *GA* 2/29–30, Charles to the empress, 30 Aug. 1529; and AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.27, empress to Berlanga, 27 Sep. 1529 (passing on verbatim her husband's orders).
24. AGS *CMC* 1a/590/1, 'Cuenta de Álvaro de Lugo' for the 'ransom received for the sons of the King of France', records the extra coins. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 344–5, Andrea Corsoni to

Guido Rangon, Bayonne, 2 July 1530, recorded the 'endless assaying' of the coins before the hostages were released. A visit to Pedraza de la Sierra today reveals why Henry II never forgave or forgot his internment there.

25. *KFF*, II/2, 484–9, Charles to Ferdinand, Voghera, 5 Sep. 1529; and 473–6, Ferdinand's instructions to Count Noguerol, Linz, 18 Aug. 1529 (also printed in *CDCV*, I, 159–61).
26. *CWE*, XVIII, 19–22 (# 2481), Erasmus to Bernard Boerio, 11 Apr. 1531. Six decades later, the Portuguese chronicler Diogo do Couto added to this 'twins' conceit by claiming that Suleiman 'succeeded to the Ottoman empire on the same day that the invincible emperor Charles V was crowned' – but in fact Suleiman succeeded on 1 Oct. 1520, whereas Charles's coronation as king of the Romans took place on the 23rd: Lima Cruz, *Diogo do Couto*, I, 191–2 (década VIII, libro III ch. 1). My thanks to Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Jane Hathaway for these data.
27. *LCK*, I, 66–8, Charles to La Chaulx (his special envoy to Rome), and *BKK*, II, 151, Charles to Margaret, both from Palencia, 25 Aug. 1522.
28. Gachard, 'Charles Quint', 573, Charles to Margaret, 23 Sep. 1529; *KFF*, II/2, 499–509, Charles's instructions for Noguerol, returning to Ferdinand, 23 Sep. 1529.
29. AGS *E* 1555/130 and 131, Charles to de Praet and Mai, 16 and 20 Sep. 1529; AGS *E* 848/7, Charles's instructions to the archbishop of Bari, going to the pope, 9 Oct. 1529.
30. Gachard, 'Charles Quint', 575 n. 1, Charles to Margaret, 16 Nov. 1529. See also AGS *E* 1454/171, Gattinara to Charles, 1 Nov. 1529, written as soon as the good news arrived from Vienna: 'Since the Turks have now retreated, so that Your Majesty's journey to Germany is less urgent' the emperor should first 'arrange the affairs of Italy'.
31. Details from Giordano, *Della venuta*, 24–37 ('Carlo, Carlo, Imperio, Imperio, Vittoria, Vittoria!'), and Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 180–1, Gasparo Contarini to the Signory, Bologna, 5 and 6 Nov. 1529 (also in *CSPV*, IV, 234–5). Sanuto, op. cit., cols 182–99, contains other eyewitness accounts of the 'triumph'. Stirling-Maxwell, *Entry*, reprinted with commentary a set of sixteen images of Charles's entry published in 1530. In 1515, Francis and Leo X had also cohabited when they met in Bologna after Marignano.
32. Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2nd series III, 255–74, Relation of Gasparo Contarini, 4 Mar. 1530 (quotations from 264 and 269); AGS *PR* 16/96, 'Las cosas que Su Magestad ha de tener memoria para hablar y suplicar a Su Santidad son las siguientes', undated but late 1529 (*BKK*, II, 248–9, printed this text with some errors, and without Charles's annotations; *CSPSp*, IV, 239, provided a summary that contains major inaccuracies and the wrong call number). Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble coronación*, 96, Clement to Charles, 29 Oct. 1529, revealed another discussion topic, promising that 'we will discuss further in person' plans to attack the Turks. Ibid., Part XI, listed the dates of the secret meetings between pope and emperor.
33. Laurent, *Recueil*, III, 3–4, papal grant, Bologna, 20 Feb. 1530; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 53–8, treaty of alliance, and Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 422–32, Charles's treaties with Sforza and with Venice, both Bologna, 23 Dec. 1529. Florence remained unreconciled for the time being because its republican leaders refused to readmit Medici rule.
34. BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,579/288–91, Los Cobos to the empress, 28 Dec [1529]; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 308–9, letter of Federico, secretary to the papal legate in Venice, to his master, 20 [*recte* 26] Dec. 1529.
35. *KFF*, II/2, 549–63, Charles to Ferdinand, Bologna, 11 Jan. 1530, minute with holograph corrections (also printed in *LCK*, I, 360–73). All the following quotes come from this document.
36. AGS *E* 1454/170, Gattinara to Charles, 29 Oct. 1529. (*CSPSp*, IV, 319–20, asserted that Gattinara referred to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, but this is not correct: see Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 622–4, 'Copia de una lettera' about the coronation of Frederick III in 1452 – the Frederick to whom Gattinara referred.)

37. Details from Stirling-Maxwell, *The procession* (reproducing commemorative prints by Hogenberg). Other details from Boom, 'Voyage', 92; and the sources printed in Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble coronación*, part IX.
38. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 603–79 (folios 423–48 of his annual compilation); and Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal* (especially the 'Repertorio iconográfico' at 247–375).
39. Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal*, 32–4 (projects proposed but never realized); Bodart, *Tiziano*, 209, ambassador Leonardi to the duke of Urbino, 18 Mar. 1530, reporting the complaint of his Mantuan colleague (at ibid., pp. 61–5, Bodart discussed this statement, which might merely reflect disappointment that Charles had not suitably honoured the marquis of Mantua, but concluded that other complaints about the emperor's 'extreme avarice' support the ambassador's claim); *RVEC*, 483–5, Salinas to Ferdinand, 28 Mar. 1530.
40. *RVEC*, 492–4, Salinas to Ferdinand, 24 Apr. 1530. Bodart, 'Algunos casos', 18, prints an engraving of the monument (which apparently no longer exists). Soly, *Charles*, 488, printed a replica in rock crystal of the imitation of Trajan's column erected at Mantua.
41. *LWB*, II, 306–10 (# 401), Luther to Charles, 28 Apr. 1521 (with a similar letter on the same day, in Latin and German, to the 'Electors, princes and Estates' at pp. 310–18, # 402); Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 578–83, Ordinance published 14 Oct. 1529 (the list of condemned Reformers included Wyclif and Hus, who had both been dead for more than a century: perhaps Charles felt that one can never be too cautious where heretics are concerned); Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 1–9, Charles V's 'Reichstag Ausschreiben', Bologna, 21 Jan. 1530.
42. *LWB*, V, 366–70 (# 590), Justas Jonas to Luther, 18 June 1530, and Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 318–19, Paxin Berecio to Thomas Tiepolo, 16 June 1530, describing the processions. The 'Protest' was lodged at a meeting of Lutheran rulers on 19 Apr. 1529.
43. Boone, *Mercurino*, 69.
44. Heine, *Briefe*, 355–7, Loaysa to Charles, 6 July 1530 (also printed in *CODOIN*, XIV, 36–9). Nieva Ocampo, 'El confesor', 661–2, documented the rivalry between Gattinara and Loaysa; Martínez Pérez, *El confesor*, 207–38, and Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 34–59, chronicled the life and times of Loaysa. It seems noteworthy that ambassador Salinas had realized a year earlier that Granvelle would become a powerful minister, and advised his master to start courting him: *RVEC*, 435–7, Salinas to Ferdinand, 22 June 1529.
45. Heine, *Briefe*, 357–9, Loaysa to Charles, 18 July 1530 (also printed in *CODOIN*, XIV, 43–5).
46. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530–1531*, 60–1 and 63–74, Campeggio to Salviati, 14 and 26 June 1530; *LWB*, V, 383–4 (# 1598), Andreas Osiander to Luther, 21 June 1530. (Osiander wrote in Latin but used German – and Black Letter – for Charles's reassuring words to Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach: 'Cesarem respondisse, "Nicht kopf abhauen! Nicht kopf abhauen!")
47. *CWE*, XVI, 343–5 (# 2333), Simon Pistoris to Erasmus, Augsburg, 27 June 1530; *LWB*, V, 453–9 (# 1633), Luther to Elector John of Saxony, 9 July 1530; Spalatin quoted by Roper, *Martin Luther*, 314.
48. Heine, *Briefe*, 359–62, Loaysa to Charles, 31 July 1530 (also printed in *CODOIN*, XIV, 52–5); *CR*, II, cols 245–6, Brenz to Isenmann, 4 Aug. 1530 – though see the dissenting view in *LWB*, V, 426–9 (# 1618), Jonas to Luther, c. 30 June 1530: 'Satis attentus erat Caesar', during the reading of the Augsburg Confession.
49. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 384 and 504–5, Marco Antonio Magno to Marco Contarini, 20 July 1530 (on the feasting) and 9 Aug. 1530 (on the threats); and ibid., cols 474–5, Paxin Berecio and Niccolò Tiepolo to Thomas Tiepolo, 7 and 10 Aug. 1530. According to Magno, Charles wrote his response in French, which was translated into German before being read out to the Diet.

50. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 428–9, Benedeto de Rani to Francesco di Contissi da Faenza, 2 Aug. 1530; Heine, *Briefe*, 377–8, Loaysa to Charles, 8 Oct. 1530 (also printed in *CODOIN*, XIV, 88–91); AGS *E* 1558/62, Charles to Loaysa, 20 Oct. 1530, minute (with the last pathetic phrase struck through, and replaced with 'in addition, the situation is very unfavourable'); Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 715–25 and 839–41, *Reichsabschied*, Augsburg, 13 Oct. and 19 Nov. 1530.
51. Roper, *Martin Luther*, 339.
52. *CDCV*, I, 247–50, Charles to Clement, undated (but 20 Oct. 1530), copy of holograph sent with Pedro de la Cueva; AGS *E* 849/6, La Cueva to Charles, Rome, 17 Nov. 1530.
53. AGS *CMC* 1a/590, 'Cuenta de Álvaro de Luna', warrant dated Augsburg 4 Aug. 1530, authorizing payment of 200,000 ducats to Ferdinand's special agent (*CDCV*, I, 256–9, Charles to the empress, 6 Dec. 1530, explained the purpose); Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 50–3, calculated the probable cost of the election, undated (but late 1530). Kohler, *Antihabsburgische Politik*, 132–59, listed the total payments, almost 500,000 florins, made to the electors.
54. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols 268–72, Sigismondo de la Torre, Mantuan ambassador, to the duke, 11 Jan. 1531.
55. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 378–9, Margaret to Charles, 30 Nov. 1530; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 73, Codicil to Margaret's Will, 28 Nov. 1530.
56. Gachard, *Collection de documents*, I, 293–4, Charles to Count Hoogstraeten, 3 Dec. 1530, and 296–9, Hoogstraeten and the archbishop of Palermo to Charles, 8 Dec. 1530.
57. *CMH*, I, 15–20, Charles to Marie, 3 Jan. 1531, holograph (also printed in Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 381–6). Charles apologized for not asking her to serve while they were together at Augsburg, but he apparently erred: the queen's summary of the letter mentions '*les ofres que luy ay faites à Augsburg*' (ibid., 20), and she also told Ferdinand, on hearing of Margaret's death, 'J'ay en bonne memoire *l'ofre que ay fait* tant à l'empereur que à vous' at Augsburg 'que vous voroie servir et obéir' (*KFF*, II/2, Marie to Ferdinand, 26 Dec. 1530, italics added).
58. AGS *E* 496/94, Dr Escoriaza to the empress, Brussels, 29 Jan. (endorsed '1530', but evidently 1531); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols 430–2, La Torre to the duke of Mantua, 26 Apr. 1531.
59. AGS *E* 8335/109, Marie of Hungary to Philip II, 4 Sep. 1558, copy, looking back on the situation in 1531; Tracy, *Emperor*, 90, quoting the Resolutions of the States of Holland, 29 Mar. 1531.
60. *KFF*, III/2, 280–95, Charles to Ferdinand, 1 Oct. 1531. I thank James Tracy for suggesting that 'hauteur' is best translated here as 'sovereignty'. Charles claimed that some of his officials '*cryent le murdre sur moy*' – a very strong statement – and concluded his letter: 'I did not wish these details to be written by any hand but mine, nor to anyone except you. I therefore beg you to keep this letter somewhere where it cannot be seen by anyone else.'
61. *CMH*, II, 28–33, Charles to Marie, 1 Feb. 1533. Laurent, *Recueil*, III, 236–54 and 260–79, contain the numerous commissions and instructions concerning the regency government of the Netherlands signed by Charles between 27 Sep. and 7 Oct. 1531. Henne, *Histoire*, V, ch. 18, reviews Charles's achievements in the Netherlands in 1531–2.
62. *KFF*, III/1, 89–100, 129–35 and 152–6, Charles to Ferdinand, 3 Apr., 16 and 21 May, and 14 June 1531, all holograph (also printed in *LCK*, I, 429–36, 456–7 and 479–84); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols 501, Tiepolo to the Signory, 1 July 1531, and 566–8, La Torre to the duke of Mantua, 7 Aug. 1531.
63. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530–1531*, 399–404, Aleandro to Salviati and Sanga, 14 Nov 1531 (two letters); *KFF*, III/1, 152–6 1 and 183–90, and III/3, Charles to Ferdinand, 14 June and 7 July 1531 (also printed in *LCK*, I, 479–84 and 490–4), and 3 Jan. 1532, all holograph.

1. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 375–6, a précis of the deliberations of the 20th Chapter of the Order held at Tournai in Dec. 1531, compiled by its Greffier.
2. Brandi, 'Aus den Kabinettsakten', 190–2, paper of advice submitted by Gattinara in late 1523, together with comments by the royal council and by Charles (Gossart, *Notes*, 100–19, also printed this important document, but from an imperfect copy); Boone, *Mercurino*, 112–13 (from Gattinara's *Autobiography* for 1526); BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/260–3v, Navagero to the Signory, 12 May 1527.
3. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 441–3, Margaret to Berghes, 14 or 15 Nov. 1521, holograph minute; BNMV *Ms. Italiani, Classe VII*, cod. 1009/399, Contarini to the council of Ten, 4 Dec. 1524, communicating the report of a spy concerning Charles's exchange with the nuncio.
4. AGRB *MD* 156/126, La Roche to Margaret, 17 Jan. 1524; *CMH*, I, 89–92, Charles to Marie, 18 Feb. 1532, holograph (the rejected minister, Jean de Le Sauch, did indeed have a mind of his own: see p. 126 above). Cauchies, '"No tyenen"', 128, noted the death in the 1520s of almost all those who might have restrained Charles: Chièvres and Marliano in 1521, La Roche in 1524, Lannoy in 1527, Gorrevod in 1529, and Lachaulx, Margaret and Gattinara in 1530.
5. *CWE*, IX, 441–52, Erasmus to Udalricus Zasius, [23 Mar.] 1523; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/106–20, Boleyn and Sampson to Wolsey, 8 and 18 Mar. 1523.
6. Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 11–17, 29–33, Castiglione to the archbishop of Capua, papal secretary of state, 19 Jan. and 24 Mar. 1526 (also noting that Charles 'is tenacious in his opinions'); *CWE*, XV, 255–61, Valdés to Erasmus, 15 May 1529. Valdés was exonerated and Charles banished his principal accuser, Secretary of State Jean Lallemand.
7. BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* I/151–5, Charles to Montfort, 16 Nov. and 23 Dec. 1528, both holograph, and idem, ff. 172–7, Instructions to Balançon, Sep. 1528, copy of holograph (printed with some errors in *PEG*, I, 427–47). Stirling-Maxwell, *The chief victories*, 76–7, printed a facsimile of the first letter together with an imperfect transcription. Charles appointed Perrenin secretary of state in 1528.
8. BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* I/153–60, Charles to Montfort, 23 Dec. 1528 and 24 Jan. 1529, both holograph (printed with some errors in *PEG*, I, 441–7).
9. Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2nd series III, 255–74, Relation of Gasparo Contarini, 4 Mar. 1530 (quotations from pp. 269–70); Walser, 'Spanien und Karl V', 167–73, Tavera to Charles, Jan. 1535 (italics added); Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 203–4, Relation of Niccolò Tiepolo, 23 Aug. 1533.
10. Gachard, 'Notice des archives de M. le duc de Caraman', 243–4, describing a Register kept by Baron Boussu, 1 Aug. 1530–31 Jan. 1532, signed by Charles in person at the end of each month (the volume is now apparently lost).
11. *CMH*, I, 12–13, Charles to Marie, Augsburg, 18 June 1530, holograph; *KFF*, IV, 240–6, Charles to Ferdinand, Galapagar, 28 May 1534.
12. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 104–29 (a list of the 653 books owned by Charles in May 1536); Dolce, *Le vite* (1561), f. 525v. In 1533, Charles granted a privilege to print *Los quatro libros del Cortesano . . . traducidos en lengua castellana por Boscán* (Barcelona, 1534); and in 1550, 'knowing that for our relaxation we sometimes read from a book entitled *The discourses* of Nicolas Machiavelli', he granted a licence to print a Spanish translation (Howard, *Discursos*). Diego Gracián dedicated several of his translations of Plutarch to the emperor: Morales Ortiz, *Plutarco*, 199–200.
13. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 14–16, van Male to Praet, 13 Jan. 1551, stated that Charles had translated *Le chevalier délibéré* into Spanish the previous year; Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 253–62, discussed the Books of Hours.

14. Firpo, *Relazioni*, III, 52–3. Relation of Federico Badoer, June–July 1557; Sandoval, *Historia*, III, 565–6 (prayers at bedtime).
15. In 1598, Philip asked to see the box containing his father's crucifix and a scourge. A monk at El Escorial noted traces of blood and asked the king whether they were his. He said no, they came from his father: Sigüenza, *Historia*, 184–5. A few years later, Sandoval began the section of his *Historia* entitled 'Virtud católica y cristiana del emperador' with the same story but cited as his source the king's valet, Juan Ruiz de Velasco.
16. Boone, *Mercurino*, 135 (*Autobiography*); Poumarède, 'Le voyage', 265, quoting a complaint by the ambassador of Ferrara, whom Charles refused to see; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/181v–3, Navagero to the Signory, Seville, 1 June 1526.
17. BNE *Ms.* 18,634 no. 58 (formerly ff. 260–2), 'Lo que el Comendador Mayor scrivió a Su Magestad desde Gante con Ydiáquez, estando Su Magestad en Grumendala, [Groenendaal] y su respuesta.' Although undated, internal evidence showed that Los Cobos wrote during Holy Week, and the only year in which he and Charles were together in the Netherlands at Easter was 1531. Los Cobos wrote on 'Tuesday', which was 4 Apr. 1531; Charles stated in his reply that he was about to leave for Leuven, and Foronda, *Viajes*, showed that he got there on 13 Apr.; so he probably replied on 11 or 12 Apr. 1531. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols 384–5, the Mantuan ambassador to the duke, Ghent, 4 Apr. 1531, reported that Charles had just entered Groenendaal and would remain there for a week. *CDCV*, I, 260–3, published this fascinating *consulta*, but with numerous errors of transcription and no firm date.
18. *CWE*, IX, 137–41, Erasmus to Pierre Barbier, [14 July] 1522, recorded Erasmus's contacts with Glapion (see also *CWE*, IX, 64–8, Erasmus to Glapion, [21 Apr.] 1521, the only one of several such letters to survive). Godin, 'La société', 344–59, and Lippens, 'Jean Glapion', XLV, 50–7 and 66–9, summarized his Lenten sermons in 1520 and 1522. Bujanda, *Index*, 186–7, noted the prohibition in 1546 of the Dutch translation of a book on pilgrimages 'gemaect by broeder Jan Glappion vander minrebroeder oorden, *der Keyserlijcker maiesteyt Biechtvader*' (my italics).
19. *RVEC*, 347–55, Salinas to Ferdinand, 11 Mar. 1527.
20. Heine, *Briefe*, 381–2, 450–3 and 494–5, Loaysa to Charles, 16 Oct. 1530, 2 Oct. 1531 and 8 May 1532 (the second also published in *CODOIN*, XIV, 221–3).
21. Heine, *Briefe*, 350–2, Loaysa to Charles, 26 May 1530 (also in *CODOIN*, XIV, 25–8).
22. Heine, *Briefe*, 403–5, 462–5 and 444–5, Loaysa to Charles, 20 Dec. 1530, 1 Sep. 1531 (also in *CODOIN*, XIV, 203–5), and 9 Nov. 1531 (also in *CODOIN*, XIV, 242–7).
23. AGS *E* 25/211, Loaysa to Charles, 7 Mar. 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, 495–500, same to same, 17 May 1532.
24. Heine, *Briefe*, 390–5, Loaysa to Charles, 30 Nov. 1530 (also in *CODOIN*, XIV, 104–11); *CODOIN*, XIV, 134–6, same to same, 27 Mar. 1531; Heine, *Briefe*, 494–5, same to same, 8 May 1532.
25. AGS *E* 1558/60 and 66, Charles to Loaysa, 2 Aug. 1530 and 16 Feb. 1531. For more on Loaysa, see Nieva Ocampo, 'El confesor'.
26. *CMH*, I, 399–401, Charles to Marie, 13 Aug. 1532, holograph.
27. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Charles V and the dynasty', 56.
28. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 136 (account of Vital). Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, 890–3 (by Miguel Ángel Zalama) and 3,017–18 (by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend), documented Charles's disgraceful behaviour from contemporary testimony: in 1524, Charles 'mandó sacar muchas joyas de oro e joyas e piedras que estaban en la cámara de la reina nuestra señora . . . y de allí tomó lo que su majestad quiso, así para su majestad como para la reina de Portugal [Catalina]' (891–2). Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 160–3, notes that after 1524 many of Joanna's books appeared in the inventories of Catalina's possessions. Two years later Charles

repeated the exercise: he removed tapestries and other items from his mother's depleted collection and gave them to his wife as wedding presents.

29. Tamalio, *Ferrante*, 213–18, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola to Isabella d'Este, 7 Nov. 1524.
30. HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/2/1–12, Charles's instructions to M. de Lachaulx, 15 Jan. 1522; *KFF*, I, 322–6 and 366–8, Charles to Ferdinand, 1 Sep. 1525 and 2 Feb. 1526.
31. *CDCV*, I, 292–4, Charles to Isabella, 13 June 1531 (the emperor did not even write these words himself: they came in an official letter drafted by Los Cobos, amid a list of the political problems that would keep the emperor away from Spain for the foreseeable future); AGS *E* 30/113, Tavera to Charles, 24 June 1535. On how the death of her son Fernando devastated Isabella, see *RVEC*, 499–502, Salinas to Ferdinand, 14 Sep. 1530.
32. *CDCV*, I, 186, Margaret to Isabella, 15 Dec. 1529 (italics added).
33. *CMH*, I, 221–2 and 447–8, Charles to Marie, 7 May and 4 Sep. 1532, holograph. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, published letters from the empress to her husband, and observed (pp. 102–3) that internal references to other correspondence suggests that 'there cannot be many letters missing from this series', but it did not include Charles's holograph epistles such as the one that took him two hours to write in Sep. 1532, which does not seem to have survived. By contrast, the archives of Simancas preserve a host of letters about patronage. Alvar Ezquerra, 'El gobierno', analysed 1,099 surviving warrants issued by the empress in 1531 and 1532, noting the abundant evidence of Charles's involvement in her decisions.
34. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 99–101 and 262, Isabella to Charles, 25 Jan. 1530; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.XIII/258, John Brereton to Wriothesley, Valladolid, 23 June 1537. We only know of the empress's present because an English diplomat recorded that the authorities in Zaragoza 'insisted upon searching the bearer'. The diplomat also recorded that the gift, when examined, 'was not worth a cople of ducketts' – but, as always, it's the thought that counts.
35. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Charles V and the dynasty', 74.
36. AGS *E* 644/107, Charles to Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, 21 Aug. 1547. Details on the emperor's last days in ch. 16 below.
37. Tamalio, *Ferrante*, 259–63, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola to Isabella d'Este, 9 Aug. 1526 (Charles went out riding every evening 'and when he returns His Majesty goes to visit his sister'); HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/2/1–12, Charles's instructions to M. de Lachaulx, 15 Jan. 1522; GRM, II, 365, Charles to Philip, 31 Mar. 1558. On Eleanor's secret letter to Charles in 1536, see ch. 10.
38. Piot, 'Correspondance', 109–10, Charles to Eleanor, 18 Dec. 1522; GRM, II, 334–5, Charles to Quixada, 19 Mar. 1558 (italics added). On Eleanor and Frederick see ch. 3 above, and Moeller, *Éléonore*; on the marriage negotiations with Bourbon and Francis, see ch. 8 above. Eleanor's feelings about the enforced four-year separation from Francis may be judged from indiscreet remarks by the king's sister a few years later: Francis, she told an ambassador, complained that 'when he doth lie with [Eleanor], he cannot sleep; and when he lieth from her, no man sleepeth better. I said "Madam, what should be the cause?" She said, "She is very hot in bed, and desireth to be too much embraced"' (*L&P Henry VIII*, VI, 308–11, Lord Norfolk to Henry VIII, 19 June 1533).
39. Brandi, 'Die Testamente', 104–5, Charles's codicil signed on 21 June 1544, clause 9; *CMH*, I, 15–20, Charles to Marie, 3 Jan. 1531, holograph. Gorter-van Royen, 'María', 197–8, noted the contrast between the powers granted to Marie and Isabella.
40. *CMH*, I, 399–401, Charles to Marie, 13 Aug. 1532; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVIII, cols 71–2, Giovanni Bassadonna (ambassador to Milan) to the Signory, 14 Apr. 1533 (reporting Granvelle's account of the emperor's mistake and his solution); Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 96–8, marriage contract between Christina and Sforza, Barcelona, 10 June 1533.

41. *CMH*, II, 244–61, 282–5, and 293–4, Charles to Marie, 31 July 1533; Marie to Charles, 25 Aug. 1533, and his reply 11 Sep. 1533 (the last two also in *LCK*, II, 87–9). Cartwright, *Christina*, published many holograph letters from Christina to her husband, suggesting cordial relations during their brief marriage. When she returned to the Netherlands in 1537, an ambassador reported that 'she is bothe widow and mayd' (*SP*, VIII, 6–7, John Hutton to Thomas Cromwell, 9 Dec. 1537). Four years later, Charles arranged her marriage to the duke of Lorraine, with whom she had three children. She died in 1590.
42. AGS *E* 8335/109, Marie to Philip, 4 Sep. 1558, copy sent to Charles (GRM, I, 341–52, printed the letter from an inferior copy, incorrectly dated 7 Sep.); GRM, II, 495–9, Garcilaso de la Vega to Philip, 7 Sep. 1558; GRM, I, xliv, Charles to Joanna, 27 Aug. 1558 (describing the letter he had sent to Marie, now apparently lost, to overcome her resistance. I have changed the third person to first person.)
43. *CDCV*, I, 79–80, Charles to Cisneros, 27 Sep. 1517; Keniston, *Memorias*, 151; Fagel, 'Don Fernando', 270, Ferdinand to Charles, Feb. 1519.
44. *KFF* I, 407–21, Charles to Ferdinand, 27 July 1526.
45. *KFF* I, 216–19 and 250–3, Charles to Ferdinand, 7 Sep. 1524 and 4 Feb. 1525.
46. *RVEC*, 667–84, Salinas to Ferdinand and Secretary Castillejo, 6 Dec. 1535. Laferl, 'Las relaciones', 112–14, provides further examples of Charles rebuking his brother.
47. *KFF*, I, 312–17, Charles to Ferdinand, 20 July 1525 (with postscript dated 31 July). When Sforza died a decade later Charles annexed the duchy of Milan, once again dashing Ferdinand's hopes.
48. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 120–1, Relation of Contarini, 16 Nov. 1525. See also the hostile evaluation of Contarini's predecessor, Vicenzo Quirino, in 1506: see p. 14 above.
49. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 378–9, Margaret to Charles, 30 Nov. 1530; GRM, II, 113, Eleanor to Charles, Nov. 1556; *PEG*, IV, 469, Marie to Charles, Aug. 1555; Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2–3, relating conversations with Ferdinand in 1563–4. In 1536 the will of Germaine de Foix, Charles's step-grandmother, likewise testified to 'el sobrado amor que tenemos' towards 'la Magestad del Emperador, mi señor e hijo': AGS *PR* 29/59, notarized copy.
50. Viaud, *Lettres*, 107 and 176, Catalina to Charles, 21 Aug. 1528 and 31 Jan. 1532.
51. Details from Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, III, 3,018–19 (by Jordan Gschwend). Catalina seems to have defied the emperor only once: after her husband's death in 1557 she ensured that she, rather than Charles's daughter Joanna, became regent of Portugal (see ch. 16).
52. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 215–16 and 318–19, Paxin Berecio to Thomas Tiepolo, Innsbruck, 9 May 1530, and Augsburg, 16 June 1530; idem, LIV, cols 384–5, La Torre to the duke of Mantua, 4 Apr. 1531; idem, LV, cols 68–9, copy of a letter from Brussels, 7 Oct. 1531.
53. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, 133; Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 629 (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 272).
54. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 212, Relation of Tiepolo, 23 Aug. 1533; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 209–10, 'L'ordine del mangiar de l'imperatore' (undated but 1529–30).
55. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 205–7, Suardino to Mantua, 15 Mar. 1525; idem, LIII, col. 505, Camillo Ghilini to the duke of Milan, 28 July 1530. Perhaps Ghilini exaggerated: Los Cobos reported that Charles 'felt the loss deeply' and 'carried with him a portrait of the late Infante': AGS *E* 635/89, Los Cobos to the empress, 1 Aug. 1530.
56. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 95–6, Antonio Zorzi to his brother, Vicenza, 30 Mar. 1530; ibid., LII, cols 209–10, 'L'ordine del mangiar de l'imperatore' (undated but 1529–30).
57. Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, II, 37–40. Redondo, *Antonio*, 330, demonstrated that Santa Cruz lifted the passage from the unpublished *Crónica* composed by Guevara between 1527 and 1536.

58. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 83–150, Final Relation of Contarini, 16 Nov. 1525. See also Bodart, 'Il mento "posticcio"', and the similar observations in Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols 203–5, Contarini to the Signory, 26 Mar. 25; and LVII, cols 212–14, report of Marco Minio and other diplomats to the Signory, undated but Nov. 1532.
59. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LI, cols 369–72, letter from Genoa to the cardinal of Mantua, 17 Aug. 1529.
60. Giordano, *Della venuta*, 35 (from a contemporary *Cronaca*). Giordano, op. cit., Tavolo XII, reproduced commemorative medals of the coronation, all showing Charles with a beard and short curly hair. Bodart, 'Algunos casos', reproduced and discussed images of Charles at this time; Civil, 'Enjeux et stratégies', 107–8, compared the written descriptions with the portraits of Charles c. 1530.
61. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (1528 edition), prologue. Fifty-two chapters of the *Libro áureo* appeared among the 144 chapters of the *Relox de príncipes*, so in effect they became a single work. Part III, chs 3–4 and 12–16, concerned war.
62. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (1528 edition), prologue (the presentation copy of the *Libro áureo* is today BSLE *Ms*. g-II-14, with a bizarre error in the dedication, which reads 'don Carlos *sexto*'); Guevara, *Relox de príncipes* (1529 edition), prologue; Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 176–7, on the transfer to Simancas (part of a section dedicated to 'Guevara, Charles's favourite author').
63. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (1528 edition), prologue. Redondo, *Antonio*, 693–4, quoted passages from Charles's instructions to his son in 1543 and 1548 that resemble those in *Relox*, and claimed that they prove the emperor had read and digested Guevara; but all these passages are generalizations found in many other Renaissance books of advice for princes.

CHAPTER 9: THE LAST CRUSADER, 1532–6

1. *CMH*, I, 41–2 and 57–60, Charles to Marie, 18 and 28 Jan. 1532, both holograph.
2. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, col. 597, Tiepolo to the Signory, 25 Feb. 1532; *CMH*, I, 89–92, Charles to Marie, 18 Feb. 1532, holograph; Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 397–9 (description of the imperial cadaver).
3. *CMH*, I, 110–12 and 126–8, Charles to Marie, 8 and 12 Mar. 1532, holographs; *CDCV*, I, 334–5, Dr Escoriaza to the empress, undated (but 6 Apr. 1532); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, cols 658–9 and 671, Mantuan ambassador to the duke, and Venetian ambassadors to the Signory, Regensburg, 5 and 12 Mar. 1532.
4. *CMH*, I, 151–7 and 211–17, Charles to Marie, 24 Mar. and 3 May 1532, holograph; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols 109–10, Tiepolo and Contarini to the Signory, 18 Apr. 1532, and 364–5, Contarini on 21 May 1532; Beltrán de Heredía, *Cartulario*, II, 450–1, Escoriaza to the empress, 22 Apr. 1532.
5. Pocock, *Records*, II, 259–62, Augustus Augustinus to Thomas Cromwell, Regensburg, 16 May 1532; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols 250 and 261–3, Contarini to the Signory, 3 and 11 May 1532; *CMH*, I, 221–2, 295–9 and 347–50, Charles to Marie, 7 May, 19 June and 15 July 1532, all holographs.
6. *CSPV*, V, 619–21, Giovanni Antonio Venier to the Doge, 8 May 1531, relating an audience with King Francis. Necipoglu, 'Suleiman', described Suleiman's Venetian tiara and other insignia.
7. Von Gévay, *Urkunden*, I, part V, 87–9, Suleiman to Ferdinand, Esseg (Osijek), 12 July 1532, Latin with imperfect Italian translation – the latter also in Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols 784–5, from a copy brought to Venice by Rincón.
8. *CMH*, I, 281–2, Charles to Marie, 12 June 1532, minute. *RTA*, X, 149–55, discussed the inflated population of Regensburg during the Diet.

9. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 102–7 and 179–86, Aleandro to Sanga, 25 Mar. and 30 Mar./23 Apr. 1532 (narrating an audience with Charles on the 20th, changing the third to the first person).
10. *CODOIN*, XIV, 201–2, Loaysa to Charles, 31 July 1531 (also in Heine, *Briefe*, 369–70, but misdated 1530); AGS *E* 25/207, 'Relación de las cartas' of Loaysa to Charles, 15 Feb. 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, 500–1, Loaysa to Charles, 8 June 1532; *CDCV*, I, 375–9, Charles to the empress, 9 Aug. 1532 (with news of the peace of Nuremberg concluded with the German Lutherans on 27 July). More than a year earlier Charles had instructed his brother to 'offer concessions to the Lutherans and other deviants from the [Catholic] faith to make them more inclined and willing to repel the Turks': *KFF*, III/1, 49, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Mar. 1531.
11. *LWT*, II, 182 (# 1687) and III, 233 (# 3245), two sources on the same dinner conversation in June–July 1532.
12. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols 656–7, 717–18, 757–9, 812–13, Contarini to Doge, 18 July and 2, 4 and 10 Aug. 1532.
13. Ibid., cols 864–5 and 989–90, Contarini to Doge, 17 Aug. and 16 Sep. 1532, and cols 1,023–4, muster of the imperial fleet, 1 Sep. 1532; Turetschek, *Die Türkenpolitik*, 364–8, 'Überblick über das Kriegsvolk des Kaisers, König Ferdinands und des deutschen Reiches', 16 Aug. 1532.
14. *CDCV*, I, 375–9, Charles to the empress, 9 Aug. 1532.
15. *CDCV*, I, 345–8, Charles to Álvaro de Lugo and to the empress, 6 Apr. 1532; ibid., 361, Charles to the empress, 11 June 1532; AGS *CMC* 1a/590, 'Cuenta de Álvaro de Lugo'. Tracy, *Emperor*, 149–54, details how Charles funded the 1532 campaign.
16. Contarini recorded in some detail the advice given to (and accepted by) Charles both by Antonio de Leyva (skirmish, but avoid battle) and by the duke of Alba (break up the camp before supplies become exhausted): Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols 865–7 and 989–90, letters of 21 Aug. and 16 Sep. 1532.
17. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 559–80, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici to Charles, Vienna, late Sep. 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, 512–15, Loaysa to Charles, Rome, 31 Oct. 1532. Earlier that month, Loaysa reproached Charles for his decision not to pursue the sultan as he retreated, because doing so would have redounded to 'God's glory and your perpetual honour' (Heine, ibid., 510, letter of 5 Oct. 1532); while Ferdinand declared that 'the loss of such a fine opportunity to serve God' caused 'me such regret that I don't know what future joy would be sufficient to make me forget it' (*KFF*, III/3, 628, Ferdinand to Marie, 21 Oct. 1532).
18. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols 165–6, Venetian embassy with Charles to the Signory, 28 Oct. 1532, and 171–2, description of the imperial host by the podestà of Conegliano the following day.
19. Ibid., cols 284–6 and 309–10, Contarini and Basadonna to the council of Ten and the Signory, 24 Nov. and 1 Dec. 1532. Foronda, *Viajes*, 368, followed by many others (e.g. Keniston, *Francisco de Los Cobos*, 153), stated that Charles spent only the night of 7 Nov. 1532 in Mantua, entering Bologna on 13 Nov., but this is incorrect: he remained in Mantua for a month and did not enter Bologna until 13 Dec.
20. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols 332–5, Contarini to the Signory, 7 and 18 [*recte* 8] Dec. 1532.
21. Ibid., cols 308–9, Contarini and Basadonna to the Signory, Mantua, 27 Nov. 1532. Rosenthal, *The palace*, 57 and 266–7, demonstrated that work on the new palace began in May 1533, with a budget of 50,000 ducats payable over six years. Brothers, 'The Renaissance reception', 91–2, and Tafuri, *Interpreting*, ch. 6, both noted the similarities between Charles's palace at Granada and the architecture of Mantua but seemed unaware that the emperor initiated construction while he resided in the city. Rosenthal, 'The house', 343, noted that 'the house of Andrea Mantegna' was 'the first Renaissance villa retonda actually constructed', and in 1532–3 it formed part of the Gonzaga 'Palazzo della Pusterla', so Charles would certainly have seen it.

22. Bodart, ‘Frédéric Gonzague’, 28. Other artists doing portraits of the emperor at this time included Parmigianino, Vermeyen, Amberger and Behaim.
23. TNA *SP* 1/71/154–5, Ambassador Nicholas Hawkins to Henry, 24 Dec. 1532, holograph; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols 368–9, 383–5 and 388, Marco Antonio Venier (ambassador to the pope) to the Signory, 16, 18, 21 and 26 Dec. 1532; TNA *SP* 1/74/18–19v, John Hackett to the duke of Norfolk, 8 Jan. 1533. On the subjects discussed, see ch. 8 above.
24. Pocock, *Records*, II, 365–6, Clement to Henry, 2 Jan. 1533; *L&P Henry VIII*, VII, 7, Clement to Francis, 2 Jan. 1533, together with a rationale for the council (also sent to Henry); ibid., 70–2, Augustus Augustinus to Thomas Cromwell, 13 Feb. 1533; *KFF*, IV, 89–92, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Mar. 1533.
25. *CDCV*, IV, 500, Charles’s *Memoirs*; TNA *SP* 1/71/154–5, Hawkins to Henry, 24 Dec. 1532.
26. *PEG*, II, 1–19, secret treaty between Charles and Clement, 24 Feb. 1533, and defensive league, 27 Feb. 1533 (Sanuto made a copy of the latter, even though Venice did not join: *I diarii*, LVII, cols 600–10).
27. Hamy, *Entrevue*, CCLXXXV–CCXCVI, Francis’s instructions to Cardinals Grammont and Tournon, 10 Nov. 1532, and CCLXXX–CCLXXXI, Francis’s project for a secret treaty with Clement, holograph, Mar. 1533.
28. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVIII, cols 196–9, Contarini to the Signory, 26 and 29 Apr. 1533, provided a detailed account of the galley journey from hell (noting bitterly that the sailing ships completed the same journey in four days); Girón, *Crónica*, 30, tallied Charles’s hours in bed with his wife.
29. AHN *Inquisición* libro 101/695–7, Licenciado Hernando Arenillas de Reynoso to Philip II, 4 Dec. 1594, with rescript.
30. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 292–5, 262, 301–5 and 329–31, the empress to Charles, 16 Sep. 1530, 25 Jan. 1530, 12 Jan. and 16 Dec. 1531. For more examples of the empress’s growing independence, see ibid., 119–38.
31. TNA *SP* 1/76/174–174v and 1/78/1, Hawkins to Henry VIII, 11 June and 16 July 1533; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVIII, cols 472–4, Contarini to the Signory, 23–24 June 1533; Foronda, *Viajes*, 377 n. 1 (Charles’s speed of travel).
32. *RVEC*, 545–7, Salinas to Castillejo, 12 Oct. 1533. Girón, *Crónica*, 41–4, and Foronda, *Viajes*, 388–90, provided the itinerary.
33. González de Ávila, *Historia*, 475–6; Girón, *Crónica*, 42–4, reported the debate; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.XIII/327–8v, Mason to Starkey, 3 July 1534, recorded the topic.
34. *RVEC*, 604–7 and 614–17, Salinas to Ferdinand, 15 July and 4 Sep. 1534; BNE *Ms.* 3825/337 (showing the heavy editing: see also Girón, *Crónica*, 44). Since Princess Joanna was born 23 June 1535, I assume the pregnancy began in Oct. or Nov. 1534.
35. *KFF*, IV, 121–5, Charles to Ferdinand, 23/28 May 1533.
36. BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,586/191, Dr Ortiz to Charles, 24 Mar. 1534; and BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,586/223, ‘Los puntos que se consultaron con su Magestad en Toledo a xij de Abril 1534 para responder a Roma sobre la sentencia de Inglaterra’.
37. According to a newsletter dated 14 Dec. 1536, ‘all the grete men’ of Spain had asked Charles’s permission to ‘assemble an armye at theyr cost and charges to sayle into England, there to revenge the injuryes don to Quene Kathryn, his aunt’ (TNA *SP* 1/238/162). Salvador, ‘El hablar’, 80–1, recorded several insulting uses of ‘anabolena’ in twentieth-century Spain; and a wooden ‘tarasquilla’ representing the late queen still sits atop the fearsome dragon drawn through the streets of Toledo in the annual Corpus Christi procession. Did Charles perhaps remember that he had met Anne Boleyn when she spent a year at Mechelen (ch. 2)?
38. *KFF*, IV, 227–36 and 314–22, Charles to Ferdinand, 24 Apr. and 3 Sep. 1534. Nevertheless, Brandi, *The emperor*, 330–1, was surely right to marvel that ‘the imperial dynasty, which was

prepared to fight a whole generation for Milan, accepted the loss of Württemberg so philosophically'.

39. TNA *SP* 1/86/48–9, Sir Gregory Casale to Lord Rochford, Rome, 15 Oct. 1534; *CDCV*, I, 405–6, Charles to Soria, 4 Sep. 1534.
40. Poumarède, 'Le voyage', 267, papal secretary of state to Nuncio Poggio in Spain, 4 Mar. 1535.
41. *PEG*, II, 206–21, 'Arraisonnement sur ce à quoy le roy de France parsiste pour parvenir à establissement de paix' by Granvelle, Oct. 1534 (see ch. 4 for earlier arguments based on the escalation of potential disasters); Walser, 'Spanien' 167–71, *consulta* by Tavera, undated but mid-Jan. 1535, holograph. The Cardinal had presided over the council of Castile since 1524.
42. *KFF*, V, 161–72, Charles to Ferdinand, 3 Feb. 1535; Girón, *Crónica*, 49; *RVEC*, 631–2, Salinas to Ferdinand, 21 Feb. 1535 – although he also noted that Los Cobos 'has not smiled since they announced the departure' and wondered why (ibid., 632–4, to Castillejo, that same day).
43. *KFF*, V, 211–12, Marie to Ferdinand, 12 Apr. 1535, italics added (see Ferdinand's reply, full of anger that Charles had deceived him: ibid., 223–7). The will has not survived. Charles also sent Marie a copy of his instructions to the empress as regent of Castile, dated 1 Mar. 1535, but they stated that he was going to Aragon, not to Africa: *CDCV*, I, 408–19.
44. March, *Niñez*, II, 224, Doña Estefanía de Requesens to her mother, Madrid, 3 Mar. 1535.
45. BNE *Ms*. 1937/102v and 104v, from Fray Alonso de Sanabria's *Comentarios y guerra de Túnez*. Girón, *Crónica*, 56, lists the nobles; so does BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.XIII/334 'The nobles as well Spanyards as Italiens that went with th'emperour to the conquest of the citie of Tunez in Africque.'
46. AGS *E* 1458/102–8, 'Lo que se consultó en Barcelona', Apr. 1535; *LCK*, II, 177–9, Charles to Nassau, 10 May 1535; *KFF*, V, 161–72, Instructions to Roeulx, Charles's special envoy to Ferdinand, 1 Feb. 1535, and letter to Ferdinand, 3 Feb. 1535.
47. BNE *Ms*. 1937/103v, Sanabria, *Comentarios*; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.VII/43–4, 'Anno 1535. La Armada que o emperador leva de Barcelona'.
48. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 7–8. Licenciado Arcos, another eyewitness, provided a very similar account of the same event in his *Conquista de Tunez por el emperador Carlos* (BNE *Ms.* 19,441/33).
49. BNE *Ms.* 1937/108, from Sanabria's *Comentarios* (the author, a Franciscan, paid special attention to Charles's devotions); total size from TNA *SP* 1/239/188, 'Minuta de l'armata e gente Cesariane'.
50. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 21. The fleet first arrived off Ghar el Mehl (formerly known as Utica and Porto Farina) but sailed on.
51. Ibid., II, 24, 37, 43; BNE *Ms.* 1937/150v–1 (Sanabria); TNA *SP* 1/97/32–3, Peter Rede to Geoffrey Loveday, 27 Sep. 1535 (a particularly vivid account).
52. Gachet, 'Expédition' 37–40, Charles to Marie, 26 July 1535 (Sanabria also noted that the night after the sack of La Goletta 'en el consejo de guerra secreto ouo diversidad de opiniones': BNE *Ms.* 1937/160v.)
53. Foucard, *Ferrara*, 24–30, Alfonso Rossetti to the duke of Ferrara, 22 July 1535; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 61–2; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 58.
54. Giovio, *Delle historie*, 377 (book XXXIV: an anecdote supplied by Vasto, which adds to its credibility); Guyon, *Mémoires*, 63–4; TNA *SP* 1/97/32–3, Rede to Loveday, 27 Sep. 1535. See also the accounts of the sack cited in Nordman, *Tempête*, 253–6.
55. Foucard, *Ferrara*, 28–9, Rossetti to Ferrara, 22 July 1535; Gachet, 'Expédition', 37–40, Charles to Marie, 26 July 1535. *PEG*, II, 368–77, prints part of the treaty between Charles and Muley Hasan, 6 Aug. 1535.

56. AGS *E* 1311/20–3, Soria to Charles, 21 May 1535; *CDCV*, I, 441–4, Charles to Soria, ‘data en nuestra galera, cerca de La Goleta de Túnez’, 16 Aug. 1535; *LCK*, II, 200, Charles to Jean Hannart, 16 Aug. 1535; BL *Cott. Ms.* Nero B.VII/115, Bernardino Sandro to Thomas Starkey, Venice, 19 Aug. 1535.
57. TNA *SP* 1/94/173–8v, Sir Gregory da Casale to Thomas Cromwell, Ferrara, 27 July 1535, severely damaged Italian and Latin texts, augmented by the English translation in *L&P Henry VIII*, VIII, 439–40; Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 272–5, Virginio Orsini, count of Anguillara, to ‘Monsenor Pietro’, La Goletta, 28 July 1535.
58. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 410–11, the empress to Charles, 24 Sep. 1535. Vidal, ‘La defensa’, 562–80, describes the loss of Mahon and its consequences.
59. Walser, ‘Spanien’, 167–71, *consulta* by Tavera, undated but mid-Jan. 1535, holograph.
60. Morales Foguera, ‘El viaje’, 100, 106 (Psalm 112:3 in the Vulgate reads ‘a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini’).
61. Rosso, *Istoria*, 63 (about Charles in Naples); Di Blasi, *Storia*, 174 (about Charles in Palermo); *L&P Henry VIII*, IX, 146, Granvelle to Eustace Chapuys, Palermo, 26 Sep. 1535.
62. Rosso, *Istoria*, 66, 70; Poumarède, ‘Le voyage’, 282, Fabio Arcella to Secretary of State Ricalcati, 5 Feb. 1536 (Arcella wrote ‘si stette in danze et festa fin alle X hore’, which according to the Italian system of calculating time then in use, meant ten and a half hours after sunset). Charles received news of his aunt’s death on 27 Jan.
63. Cernigliaro, *Sovranità*, 299, Charles’s opening address to the parliament of Naples on 8 Jan. 1536; *CDCV*, I, 469–73, Charles to the empress, 18 Feb. 1536; Gilliard, ‘La política’, 229, Antoine Perrenin to Leonard de Gruyères, special envoy to the Swiss, 31 Dec. 1535.
64. Rabelais, *Lettres*, 33–64, to Geoffroy d’Estissac, 30 Dec. 1535 and 28 Jan. 1536; *KFF*, V, 452–8, Charles to Ferdinand, 18 Apr. 1536.
65. *L&P Henry VIII*, X, 265–74, Richard Pate to Henry VIII, Rome, 14 Apr. 1536; Cadenas y Vicent, *Discurso*, 35–7; *RVEC*, 714–19, Salinas to Castillejo, 22 Apr. 1536.
66. Brandi, *The emperor*, 371; Scheurl, *Einritt*, title page, quoting II Samuel 3:21.

CHAPTER 10: YEARS OF DEFEAT, 1536–41

1. Scheurer, *Correspondance*, II, 140–4, Jean du Bellay and Hémard de Denonville to Francis I, Rome, 12 Nov. 1535.
2. AGS *E* 1368/105, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to the empress, Genoa, 13 Nov. 1535. *SP*, VIII, 6–7, John Hutton to Thomas Cromwell, Brussels, 9 Dec. 1537, reported that Christina of Milan, now aged sixteen, had returned to Brussels ‘both wedowe [and] mayd’. Her aunt Marie’s fears about the consequences of marrying young (p. 215 above) were thus not realized. Chabod, *Storia*, 6–9, described the steps taken by Charles and his ministers in 1534–5 to secure Milan in case Francesco died childless.
3. *CDCV*, I, 451, Charles to the empress, Naples, 18 Jan. 1536; AGS *E* 1180/86, Leyva to Charles, Milan, 27 Nov. 1535; *RVEC*, 667–71, Salinas to Ferdinand, 6 Dec. 1535, after a meeting in which Granvelle ‘gave his opinion for and against three options’ concerning the fate of Milan. The ‘opinion’ to which Salinas referred is surely Granvelle’s ‘Discours fait incontinent après le trespass du duc François-Marie Sforce sur la disposition de l’estat de Milan’, printed in *PEG*, II, 395–410.
4. AGS *E* 1180/86, Leyva to Charles, 27 Nov. 1536. On the death of Giovan’Paolo Sforza on 12 Dec. 1535, perhaps by poison, see Leva, *Storia*, III, 153, and Scheurer, *Correspondance*, II, 141 note.

5. *BKK*, II, 254–5, Leyva to Charles, 3 Dec. 1535; BL *Cott. Ms.* Nero B.VII/113, Bernardino Sandro to Thomas Starkey, Venice, 14 Nov. 1535.
6. Rosso, *Istoria*, 65.
7. AGS *E* 1311/11 and 34–7, Soria to Charles 22 Aug. 1535 (see a similar verdict on Venice's ambiguous attitude towards Charles in Soria's letter of 9 Aug. 1535: AGS *E* 1311/40–2). RAH *Salazar* A-40/446–7, Soria to Charles, 25 May 1527, noted that 'I have been in Italy for 28 years'.
8. *PEG*, II, 427, Charles to Hannart, 23 Jan. 1536. See also Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 430, the empress to Charles, 4 Dec. 1535, and *LCK* II, 657, Marie to Charles, 8 Feb. 1536, both complaining that they had no money.
9. Gilliard, 'La política', 233, Gruyères to Granvelle, 22 Dec. 1535; AGS *E* 1024/26, 'Lo que ha sido acordado, so el buen placer de Su Magestad, en lo que toca a los negocios de estado generalmente y a otros particulares deste reyno' of Naples, 31 Dec. 1535 (defective English translation in *CSPSp*, V, 304–8, incorrectly dated 26 Dec. 1536).
10. *L&P Henry VIII*, X, 40, 'Copie de la deffiance et lettres patentes mandées au duc de Savoye par ung herault d'armes, de la part de la seigneurie de Berne', 27 Jan. 1536; *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, VIII, 18–22, mobilization of the ban and arrière-ban, and 'Pouvoir' to invade and 'recover' Bresse, Bugey and Valromey, both dated 11 Feb. 1536; ibid., p. 65, edict incorporating these areas into France, Mar. 1536.
11. *PEG*, II, 445–50, 'Mémoire remis à l'empereur sur la question de la guerre et de la paix', undated but Mar. 1536. The intelligence failure reflected in part Gruyères's absurdly over-optimistic reports from Switzerland, insisting that 'everything here continues uneventfully, with no word of any trouble' (Gilliard, 'La política', 231, Gruyères to the empress, 22 Dec. 1535); and in part explicit assurances from Francis that 'he would not attempt or do anything against the duke of Savoy' (*LCK*, II, 226, Charles to Hannart, 17 Apr. 1536).
12. *CDCV*, I, 455–64, Charles to the empress, 1 Feb. 1536.
13. Leva, *Storia*, III, 163–4, citing 'Minuta de las condiziones que se dieron al papa del parte de Su Magestad cerca de tratar del estado de Milan para el duque de Angouleme, en Roma, año de 1536'.
14. *PEG*, II, 414–18 and 431–6, Charles to Hannart, 14 Dec. 1535 (summarizing Eleanor's secret letter) and 21 Feb. 1536 (with 'ung billet apart ziffré').
15. *CDCV*, I, 473–6, Charles to the empress, 20 Feb. 1536, holograph; *PEG*, II, 443, Granvelle to Hannart, 30 Mar. 1536.
16. *CDCV*, I, 485–90, Charles to the empress, 18 Apr. 1536. Leva, *Storia*, III, 164–5, argued plausibly that the arrival of French ambassador Vély with powers only to negotiate the cession of Milan to Orléans triggered the emperor's speech.
17. Cadenas y Vicent, *Discurso*, 35–7, contemporary account.
18. *RVEC*, 712–14, Salinas to Ferdinand, 22 Apr. 1536, summarized the speech and forwarded 'a text that can be circulated, and if necessary printed', which was probably the version published by Morel-Fatio, 'L'espagnol', 212–14 (reprinted in Cadenas y Vicent, *Discurso*, 61–3). See also the text in *LCK*, II, 223–9, Charles to Hannart, his ambassador in France, 17 Apr. 1536; and the version reconstructed from memory by the French ambassadors in Rome: Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 304, Macon (who could not understand Spanish) and Vély to Francis, 19 Apr. 1536 (both of them reprinted in Cadenas y Vicent, *Discurso*, and in Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, Beilage 4 and 5). The ambassadors recorded that the emperor spoke from notes ('lisoit en ung billet qu'il avoit à la main'), just as he would do in his farewell address in 1555 (ch. 15).

19. *RVEC*, 712–14, Salinas to Ferdinand, 22 Apr. 1536; Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 304, Macon and Vély to Francis, 19 Apr. 1536.
20. AGS *E* 1564/40, Charles to the count of Cifuentes, 4 May 1536 (see also *PEG*, II, 459, Charles to French ambassador Vély, 7 May 1536, asking the same question); Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, II, 402–12, Francis to Paul III; *Recueil d'aucunes lectres*, unfol., Charles to Paul III, 19 May 1536.
21. *RVEC*, 707–9, Salinas to Castillejos, 21 May 1536 (and not 31 Mar. as the editor suggested); and ibid., 726–30, Salinas to Ferdinand, 30 May and 10 June 1536.
22. *LCK*, II, 658–9, Charles to Marie, 2 Mar. 1536; *KFF*, V, 495–9, Marie to Ferdinand, 25 May 1536.
23. *KFF*, V, 514–20, Charles to Ferdinand, 9 June 1536; TNA *SP* 1/103/120–1, Richard Morison (later English ambassador to Charles) to Thomas Starkey, 12 Apr. 1536.
24. AGS *E* 1367/46–7, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to Charles, 8 July 1534, conveying the results of separate interviews with Doria and Leyva (copy at f. 48); *RVEC*, 751–5, Salinas to Ferdinand, 17 July 1536. For the debate about the merits of Charles's participation, see BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,589/3–5v, 'Las dificultades que ocurren que ay en la pasada de Su Majestad en Francia', 13 July 1536. Sherer, *Warriors*, 60, provides an excellent campaign map.
25. *RVEC*, 756–72, Salinas to Castillejo and to Ferdinand, 17 July 1536, 4 and 5 Aug. 1536; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 151, 157–8.
26. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, 271, Montmorency (who had superintended the defence of Provence) to Francis, 1 Aug. 1536.
27. *KFF*, I, 99, Charles to Ferdinand, 23 Jan. 1524 (proposing the recovery of Arles, Provence, Dauphiné); Leva, *Storia*, III, 169 (on whether or not Charles intended to annex Provence in 1536). *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François I^er^*, VIII, 29–37, printed the Protocol between Francis and Suleiman agreed in Feb. 1536; Setton, *The papacy*, IV, 401 nn. 20–1, demonstrated its authenticity.
28. *LCK*, II, 657–67, summary of letters exchanged between Marie and Charles in 1536.
29. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 160.
30. *PEG*, II, 480–1, 'Substancial' of a report by the papal nuncio, c. 11 Aug. 1536; BNF *F. f.* 3008/144, Montmorency to M. de Humières, 2 Sep. 1536 (casualties); *LCK*, II, 248–52, Charles to Nassau, 4 Sep. 1536.
31. On Fregoso in 1536, see Pacini, *La Genova*, 588–90.
32. BNF *Ms. Dupuy* 265/297, Jean de Breton, royal secretary, to Jean du Bellay, Arles, 20 Sep. 1536; Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, II, 299, by Martin du Bellay, who emphasized that 'I write what I saw'.
33. *RVEC*, 772–86, Salinas to Castillejo, 14 Sep. 1536; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 195–8; Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida*, 64. For an example of the emperor's affectionate relationship with the poet see BNE *Ms.* 20212/7/2, Garcilaso de la Vega to Charles, Genoa, 20 May 1536, signed just 'Garcilasso' (one of the last letters he wrote).
34. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, 286 (estimate of damage by the Venetian ambassador); Bourrilly, *Histoire*, I, 295 (prediction of Honoré de Valbelle of Marseilles); Guyon, *Mémoires*, 71.
35. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, III, 118–19; Holanda, *De la pintvra*, 181–2 (reporting a conversation with Michelangelo); Bourrilly, 'Charles-Quint', 277–80 (rejoicing in Provence and Rome).
36. *RVEC*, 789–99, Salinas to Ferdinand, 14 Nov. 1536 and 18 Mar. 1537.
37. Girón, *Crónica*, 99–100. On the consequences of Duke Alessandro's murder see ch. 12 below.
38. March, *Niñez*, II, 337, Doña Estefanía de Requesens to her mother, 18 May 1537; *RVEC*, 794–9 and 820–2, Salinas to Ferdinand, 18 Mar. 1537, and to Castillejo, 18 Nov. 1537; Girón, *Crónica*,

110.

39. Girón, *Crónica*, 125.
40. HHStA *Belgien PA* 27/5/227, Charles to Marie, 6 Oct. 1537.
41. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 431–2, Idiáquez to Los Cobos and Granvelle, and to Los Cobos alone, 15 Jan. 1538. Ambassador Serristori of Florence, normally well informed, complained that Charles kept the entire diplomatic corps 'in the dark [*al bujo*]' about his intentions: Serristori, *Legazioni*, 47–8, dispatch to Cosimo, 29 Dec. 1537.
42. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 433–7, 'Las pláticas que el emperador passó con el señor de Pressiu por la misma forma y palabras syn dejar nada', sent by Idiáquez to Los Cobos and Granvelle, Feb. 1538.
43. BNF *F. f.* 3015/123, 'Double des lettres' sent from Aigues Mortes, probably to Cardinal du Bellay, 15 July 1538; TNA *SP* 3/17/49–v, report sent by Sir Francis Bryan, English ambassador in France, 16 July 1538; *LCK*, II, 284–9, Charles to Marie, 18 July 1538.
44. Le Person, 'A moment', 20 (from an eyewitness account); *LCK*, II, 284–9, Charles to Marie, 18 July 1538; TNA *SP* 3/17/49–v (as in the preceding note). *RVEC*, 869–71, Licenciado Gamiz to Ferdinand, 18 July 1538, another eyewitness description, provided an almost identical account of the exchange of oaths and rings. Henry of Orléans became dauphin in 1536, after the death of his older brother: both had been Charles's prisoners in Spain from Mar. 1526 to June 1530. On the harsh treatment they received, see ch. 8 above.
45. *LCK*, II, 284–9, Charles to Marie, 18 July 1538; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 69–70, Francis to Châtillon, 18 July 1538.
46. AGS *E* 867/64, Charles to the marquis of Aguilar, his ambassador in Rome, 7 Sep. 1538; *BKK*, II, 273, Charles to Ferdinand, 22 Sep. 1538.
47. Preveza and its significance is discussed by Guilmartin, *Gunpowder*, 42–56 (with a valuable map at p. 49); and in Colin Heywood's review of Guilmartin in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVIII (1975), 643–6, which cites Ottoman sources on the battle.
48. *CLC*, V, 46–95, provides a transcript of the nobles' debates, after which only five peers followed the duke of Alba in approving the new tax.
49. Sepúlveda, *Historia*, XVIII, 18 (the chronicler said that the conversation took place 'in Madrid some years later', which can only mean the winter of 1542–3). See the admirable discussion of the Cortes of Toledo in Fortea Pérez, 'Las últimas Cortes', 245–60; but see also p. 290 below on Charles's injunction to Philip in 1543 to demand an excise in his own name if necessary.
50. *RVEC*, 879, Salinas to Ferdinand, 28 Oct. 1538; and 887–95, to Castillejo, 26 Nov. 1538 (two letters); idem, 897, Salinas to Ferdinand, 4 Feb. 1539 (two months later, once again, 'el emperador se va a holgar a la caza por algunos días': ibid., 903–6, same to same, 18 Apr. 1539).
51. *BKK*, II, 288, Charles to Ferdinand, 21 Apr. 1539. *RVEC*, 903–6, Salinas to Ferdinand, 18 Apr. 1539, stated that 'en este mes de Mayo que viene, entra [the empress] en el noveno mes de su preñado', so she had conceived the previous Sep.
52. *BKK*, II, 289, Charles to Ferdinand, 2 May 1539; *RVEC*, 913–15, Salinas to Ferdinand, 3 May 1539.
53. AGRB *Audience* 868/110–14v, 'Estat' of expenditure 'procédent des guerres de France, de Dennemarcke et d'Overyssel'; Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 617, Charles to the magistrates of Ghent, 31 Jan. 1538.
54. Arnade, 'Privileges', provided an excellent short account of the revolt of Ghent, noting that the magistrates also allowed the city's Chambers of Rhetoric to stage plays with an openly Lutheran theme.

55. Ribier, *Lettres*, I, 368–70, Ambassador Tarbes to Montmorency, 6 Feb. 1539; *RVEC*, 920–4, Salinas to Ferdinand, 11 July and 7 Aug. 1539.
56. Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 625n, Marie to Charles, 9 June 1538. *SP*, VIII, 203–5, Stephen Vaughan to Henry, Brussels, 19 Nov. 1539, brilliantly analysed the situation, discerning three reasons why Charles would risk travelling to the Netherlands through France: 'the mutyny of certeyn cities in these parties'; Henry's 'allyance . . . with the howse of Cleve, whiche he greatly stomakithe'; and his 'confederacie (as they here call it) bytwene His Majeste and th'Almayns'. Vaughan then predicted (correctly) that after he had crushed his domestic opponents, Charles would 'sett upon Gelderlande' and afterwards the German Lutherans.
57. AGS *PR* 45/6–7, Charles's instructions to Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, 24 and 26 Oct. 1539. (Both documents name Luis de Zúñiga, but subsequent correspondence proves that the envoy was Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga.)
58. Gachard, *Relation*, 249–51, Los Cobos and Granvelle to François Bonvalot, imperial ambassador in France, 27 Sep. 1539. Gachard, *Relation*, 258–62, printed the letters of invitation from Francis and several others, dated 7 Oct. 1539; Paillard, 'Voyage', 517–18, listed all the senders.
59. *CDCV*, II, 32–55, printed the instructions for Philip, and for Tavera and Los Cobos, both dated 5 Nov. 1539, with a French text of the former in *PEG*, II, 549–61. Manuel Fernández Álvarez plausibly argued that Charles composed his instructions for Philip in French, perhaps aided by Granvelle, and that the Spanish version is an imperfect translation.
60. *PEG*, II, 542–8, codicil dated 5 Nov. 1539, French copy of the Latin original, with two signed copies in Spanish – all of which, like the will made by Charles in 1535, have apparently perished.
61. Guicciardini, *Opere inedite*, X, 324–5, letter to Roberto Pucci, Florence, 29 Nov. 1539; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 143–4, Marillac to Francis, London, 14 Nov. 1539. Charles's entourage included both the duke of Alba and Luis de Ávila.
62. Gachard, *Relation*, 653–8, Charles to Tavera, Paris, 6 Jan. 1540, and 'Relation du voyage'. Wetter, 'The year-long unprecedented European heat and drought of 1540', 357, and 'Supplementary Information', documents the warmth and the absence of snow and rain in the winter of 1539–40.
63. ASF *MdP* 4297/7, Alessandro Giovanni Bandini to Agnolo Niccolini, 7 Dec. 1539, from Loches, the day Charles and Francis met. Paillard, 'Voyage', and Knecht, 'Charles V's journey', provided useful overviews (p. 154 of the latter included a map of Charles's itinerary).
64. Gachard, *Relation*, 662–3, Charles to Tavera, 21 Jan. 1540. BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,592/1–2, Granvelle to Los Cobos, 6 Jan. 1540, confirmed that 'there has been no discussion of marriages or other business'.
65. Gachard, *Relation*, 668, Charles to Tavera, Ghent, 14 Feb. 1540.
66. Henne, *Histoire*, VII, 62–5 and 88–95 (lists of those punished in Ghent and elsewhere in Flanders); Gachard, *Relation*, 156–60, from a contemporary account of the 'amende honorable' on 3 May 1540. The submission is re-enacted in the streets of Ghent each July as part of the 'Gentse Feesten'. Boone, 'From cuckoo's egg', notes that Charles chose the site of the citadel after studying the plans drawn up for Charles the Bold in 1469 as well as for Maximilian in 1492. See *Recueil des ordonnances*, IV, 170–91, for the edicts condemning Ghent (30 Apr. 1540); 198 and 200, for those concerning the citadel (5–6 May 1540); and 206–7 and 211–16, for those condemning Oudenaarde (June 1540) and Kortrijk (17 July 1540) for rebellion. *SP*, VIII, 339–41, Dr Wotton to Thomas Cromwell, 30 Apr. 1540, noted the commemoration of the empress.
67. *PEG*, II, 562–72, Charles's instructions to Bonvalot, Ghent, 24 Mar. 1540.

68. *CDCV*, IV, 509 (*Memoirs*); Ribier, *Lettres*, I, 514–16, ambassadors de Selva and Hellin to Montmorency, Ghent, 11 Apr. 1540; Powell, *The complete works*, I, 246–59, Wyatt to Cromwell, Ghent, 5 and 12 Apr. 1540 ('not now, not ever' translated from Latin).
69. *PEG*, II, 597–9, Charles to Bonvalot, 9 June 1540, accepting Francis's proposal 'de laisser ainsi les choses pour maintenant'; and 599–604, codicil to Charles's will, 28 Oct. 1540; *NBD*, VI, 338–41, Charles to Ferdinand, 2 July 1540 (see p. 110 above for an identical view expressed by Adrian of Utrecht in 1521). Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 200–2, printed Charles's deed investing his son with Milan, 11 Oct. 1540.
70. *Catalogue des Actes*, IV, 106 (nos 11,485–6), warrants to Rincón, 1 May 1540; Setton, *The papacy*, III, 456 (Turkish original).
71. *Recueil des ordonnances*, IV, 229–30, 232–8 and 240–53, edicts enacted by Charles in Oct. 1540; AGS *E* 49/81–5, Los Cobos (alcaide of Simancas) to Juan Vázquez de Molina, 26 June 1540 (ordering his nephew to ensure that the emperor signed 'la orden para que se haga en Simancas' a new archive); AGS *CC*, 247/1, royal warrant, Brussels, 16 Sep. 1540.
72. *NBD*, VI, 319–23, Charles to Ferdinand, Brussels, 9 June 1540, sharing the advice of Pedro de Soto, his confessor.
73. Martin Luther, *Von den Conciliis und Kirchen* (Strasbourg, 1539).
74. Schultze, 'Dreizehn Depeschen', 150–6, Contarini to Cardinal Farnese, 13 Mar. 1541.
75. *CSPV*, V, 96–8, Francesco Contarini to the Signory, Regensburg, 6 Apr. 1541.
76. Schultze, 'Dreizehn Depeschen', 159–61, Gasparo Contarini to Cardinal Farnese, 18 Mar. 1541 (the nature of the Eucharist 'era già stato determinato' by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215); Pastor, 'Correspondenz', 388–90, Contarini to Farnese, 15 May 1541; Dittich, 'Nuntiaturberichte', 465–72 and 620–3, Morone to Farnese, 29 May and 21 June 1541.
77. *CSPV*, V, 105–6 and 107–8, Francesco Contarini to the Signory, 22 June and 26 July 1541. In fact, by sleight of hand the Lutherans managed to gain more by the Regensburg Recess than they had enjoyed under the peace of Nuremburg: p. 228–9 above.
78. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 67–76, Tiepolo, Corner, Contarini, Venier and Mocenigo to the Doge, Nice, 24 May 1538.
79. Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 263–8, memorandum by Marie, [10] Aug. 1538. See also Marie's letter to Charles on the same day on the same subject: *LCK*, II, 289–90.
80. ASF *MdP* 652/256, Agnolo Niccolini to Lorenzo Pagni, 1 Aug. 1541. He later found that the *Reichsabschied* that he signed differed from the one approved by his ministers, granting extensive concessions to the Lutherans: see p. 506 below.
81. Gachard, *Collection*, II, 189–90, Journal of Jean Vandenesse for Aug. 1541, shows that Charles reached Cremona, only 150 kilometres from Genoa, on 18 Aug. He then turned north for Milan, and away from Genoa.
82. Nordman, *Tempête*, 451. For evidence that Charles believed that attacking Algiers would reduce the pressure on Hungary, see ibid., 239–40. See also Guyon, *Mémoires*, 87, for another evaluation by an eyewitness of campaigning so late.
83. *CDCV*, IV, 511 (*Memoirs*); Friedensburg, 'Aktenstücke', 38–42, two documents about 'things to be discussed in Lucca', one by the papal nuncio travelling with Charles (which listed 'le cose private et particolari') and the other by Granvelle.
84. AGS *E* 53/67–8, Vázquez de Molina to Los Cobos, 15 Oct. 1541. The two instructions appear to have perished, but presumably they resembled the campaign plan that Charles provided for his son in May 1543: see p. 289 below.
85. Nordman, *Tempête*, 493 and 495 (Magnalotti); 356–7 and 381–3 (Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon); and 225–7 (Christian and Muslim sources on the number of horses eaten); Sandoval, *Historia*, 347; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 90; *CDCV*, IV, 512.

86. ASF *MdP* 4298, unfol., Alessandro Giovanni Bandini to Duke Cosimo, Bougie, 4 Nov. 1541 (quoting Giannettino Doria); Nordman, *Tempête*, 456 (Gómara), 493 (Antonio Magnalotti) and 358 (Villegaignon); Guyon, *Mémoires*, 92; and 'P. P.', 'L'expédition', 187.
87. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 434–6, Francesco Giustiniani to the council of Ten, Bougie, 10 Nov. 1541; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 87 ('néantmoins').
88. *CDCV*, IV, 511 n. 105, Charles to Cortes of Castile, 1542; and ibid., 511 (*Memoirs*); Nordman, *Tempête*, 564, quoting an Algerian eyewitness; and 212–13, the imam. Idem, 248–60, presents convincing evidence that success at Tunis 'tempted' Charles to behave rashly.
89. Nordman, *Tempête*, 178; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 91; Anon., *Warhafftige und gewise newe Zeytung*, unfol. (I thank Alison Anderson for this translation).
90. Nordman, *Tempête*, 381–3, Villegaignon to du Bellay, 25 Oct. 1541.
91. Op. cit., 497, Antonio Magnalotti, quoting Doria.
92. Giovio, *Opera*, I, 269–71, Giovio to Cardinal Pio di Carpi, 17 Sep. 1541.
93. *CSPSp*, VI/2, 105, Charles to Eustache Chapuys, his ambassador in England, 12 Aug. 1542 (apologizing that he could find few relevant documents 'ayant esté les aultres perdues au voyage d'Algey'); *CDCV*, II, 453–8, Charles to Prince Philip, 17 Mar. 1546 (mules instead of horses); Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 522–4, 'Rapport d'un agent à François I^{er} sur l'expédition d'Alger', Dec. 1541.

CHAPTER 11: SETTLING SCORES, PART I: GUELDERS AND FRANCE, 1541–4

1. Details from AGS *E* 638/106, Vasto to Charles, 7 July 1541, copy; AGS *E* 1374/167, Vasto to Los Cobos, 6 July 1541, and f. 238, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to Charles, 8 July 1541; Ruble, *Le mariage*, 149–51, Charles de Boisot to Marie of Hungary, 12 Aug. 1541; and Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 361–3, Guillaume Pellicier, French ambassador in Venice, to Georges d'Armagnac, French ambassador in Rome, 23 July 1541; and ibid., 434–8, Pellicier to Francis, 6 Oct. 1541.
2. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, col. 781, entry for 20 Aug. 1532, recording the presence in Venice of 'three Spaniards who sought to murder' Rincón. In 1541 both Vasto and Henry VIII attested that Charles had offered a 'grosse rescompense à ceulx qui le luy livreroient' Rincón: Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 349–53, Pellicier to Francis, 9 July 1541 (quoting Vasto), and Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 326–8, Marillac to Francis, 12 Aug. 1541 (quoting Henry).
3. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 349–53, Pellicier to Francis, 9 July 1541; Alba, 'Correspondencia', 83–6, Charles to Vasto, Regensburg, 23 June 1541.
4. Alba, 'Correspondencia', 119–20, Vasto to Charles, 9 July 1541; AGS *E* 638/106, same to same, 7 July 1541, with postscript on 9 July (incomplete copy in Alba, 'Correspondencia', 117–19). The messenger was Pirro Colonna, sent to Regensburg by Vasto on 5 July.
5. AGS *E* 52/359, 'Lo que paresce que se deve screvir al marqués del Gasto', *consulta* prepared for Charles by Secretary Idiáquez, undated but mid-July 1541 (italics added); Alba, 'Correspondencia', 93, Charles to Vasto, Regensburg, 19 July 1541 (not 1542, as the text states).
6. Alba, 'Correspondencia', 93–4, Charles to Vasto, 20 July 1542 (see also the equally reproachful letter written one week earlier: ibid., 91–3).
7. *LCK*, II, 315–18, Charles to Bonvalot, 23 July 1541; *NBD*, VII, Contarini to Cardinal Farnese, 2 Aug. 1541; Alba, 'Correspondencia', 120–1, Charles's commission to Charles de Boisot, 23 July 1541. See also Ruble, *Le mariage*, 149–51, Boisot to Marie, 12 Aug. 1541, reporting on his mission.
8. Alba, 'Correspondencia', 94–6, Charles to Vasto, 8 Aug. 1541 (the printed version dates this letter 1542, but it refers to another letter sent 'yesterday from Innsbruck' and Charles was at

Innsbruck on 6 and 7 Aug. 1541; he spent all of 1542 in Spain). This letter was (as a later age would say) a 'smoking gun', because it revealed that although the emperor may not have ordered the murder of the ambassadors himself, he certainly approved of the deed and did his best to protect the principal perpetrator. On Fregoso's role as leader of the anti-Doria exiles of Genoa, see Pacini, *La Genova*, 591–3.

9. Albicante, *Trattato del'intrar in Milano*, fourth and last engraving, shows the arch. See also Mitchell, *The majesty*, 175–6; and Venturelli, 'L'ingresso trionfale'. Chabod, *Storia*, 412, noted the destructive storms.
10. *Catalogue des Actes*, IV, 198 (no. 11,914) and 203 (no. 11,935), warrants to Rincón; Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 353–4 and 379–80, Pellicier to d'Armagnac, 9 and 30 July 1541; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 322–3, Francis to ambassador Marillac, 26 July 1541; and *LCK*, II, 324–6, Bonvalot to Charles, 3 Aug. 1541 (the chancellor spoke of 'le droit de la société des hommes').
11. AGS *E* 1374/167, Vasto to Los Cobos, 6 July 1541; Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 398–403, Pellicier to Francis, 22 Aug. 1541.
12. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 439–41, Pellicier to Captain Polin, 6 Oct. 1541; *LCK*, II, 326–7, Charles to Marie, 26 Sep. 1541; Giovio, *Opera*, I, 269–71, Giovio to Cardinal Pio di Carpi, 17 Sep. 1541.
13. Lestocquoy, *Correspondance*, 99–102, Niccolò Ardinghello to Cardinal Farnese, 1 and 3 Dec. 1541; *SP*, VIII (part V, vol. 3), 639–44, Ambassador William Paget to Henry, 7 Dec. 1541 (repeating what Francis had told Ardinghello in French, translated here); Lestocquoy, op. cit., 95–8, Nuncio Capodiferro to Farnese, 27 Dec. 1541.
14. *LCK*, II, 683–4, Marie to Charles and his reply, July 1538, and 289–90, Marie to Charles, 10 Aug. 1538. *SP*, VIII, 307–15, Wotton to Henry, 9 and 15 Apr. 1540, and to Cromwell, 27 Apr. 1540, are full of details on the duke of Cleves's efforts.
15. Powell, *The complete works*, I, 163–70, 182–201 and 201–12, Wyatt to Henry, 12 Dec. 1539, 7 Jan. 1540 and 3 Feb. 1540.
16. *SP*, VIII, 374–6, Pate to the duke of Norfolk, 4 July 1540; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 196, treaty between France and Cleves, 17 July 1540.
17. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 216–17 and 228–30, treaties between France and Denmark, 29 Nov. 1541, and France and Sweden, 1 July 1542; *SP*, VIII, 635–44, Paget to Henry, 21 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1541 (see 'Articles agreed upon by certain capitaines of Almayn, entreteined by the French king' at p. 640 n. 1); Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 327–31 and 347–51, Marillac to Francis, 12 Aug. and 12 Oct. 1541. Francis signed powers for Marillac to finalize terms for the marriage on 10 Feb. 1542: ibid., 388.
18. *PEG*, II, 628–31, 'Cry de la guerre ouverte', 12 July 1542 (English translation in *CSPSp*, VI/2, 62–3; Guiffrey, *Cronique*, 392–6, printed the same document from another copy, dated 10 July 1542); Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 431, Instructions to L'Aubespine, 8 July 1542, included the declaration of war. One year later, Francis still used the murder of his ambassadors to justify a demand for new taxes for his war against Charles: BL *Eg. Ms.* 38, Mandement to raise the *taille* in Quercy, 31 Aug. 1543.
19. Williams, 'Re-orienting', 21–2, Suleiman to Ferdinand, 12/21 Sep. 1541, and Jerome Laski to Ferdinand, Nov. 1541; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 340–1, Rustem Pasha to Laski, forwarded to Francis by an agent in Belgrade, 18 Aug. 1541, and forwarded in turn to Ambassador Marillac in England. On the rich afterlife of the murder of Fregoso and Rincón, which remained a diplomatic *cause célèbre* until the 1790s, see p. 509 below.
20. Friedensburg, 'Aktenstücke', 45–57, Granvelle's position paper, beginning 'Affinque l'empereur se puisse mieulx determiner et mander son intencion', Siena, 28 Nov. 1541. The

minister had obviously received copies of letters addressed to the emperor by his siblings (e.g. Árpad, 'Kiadatlan', 490–3, Ferdinand to Charles, 20 Oct. 1541; and *BKK*, II, 434, and plate 6, Granvelle's advice on how to reply to Marie's letters of 15 Oct. 1541).

21. Árpad, 'Kiadatlan', 497–9, Charles to Ferdinand, and *BKK*, II, 430–3, Charles to Marie, both dated 29 Dec. 1541
22. HHStA *Belgien PA* 32/1/7–10, Charles to Marie, Tordesillas, 26 Jan. 1542, a heavily corrected draft, mostly holograph (fair copy, perhaps a decrypt made for Marie, at *Belgien PA* 32/1/11–14). Charles mentioned the plan to recover Guelders 'that I prepared when I left Germany', that is in July 1541. As early as Nov. 1539, an English diplomat predicted that once Charles had travelled from Spain to the Netherlands he would first suppress 'the mutyny of certeyn cities in these partes', then attack Guelders and afterwards the German Lutherans: *SP*, VIII, 203–5, Stephen Vaughan to Thomas Cromwell, Brussels, 19 Nov. 1539.
23. Árpad, 'Kiadatlan', 514–18, Charles to Ferdinand, 10 [not 19] May 1542.
24. HHStA *Belgien PA* 32/4/332–4v, and *BKK*, II, 323, Charles to Marie, 13 May and 10 June 1542, both holograph.
25. HHStA *Belgien PA* 32/3/242–7v, Marie to Charles, 30 June 1542, minute, sent 'tout en cyffre forte'.
26. *SP*, IX, 157–63, Bonner to Henry, 9 Sep. 1542; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/38–40v, Charles to Ferdinand, 9 Oct. 1542, register copy; *LCK*, II, 364–7, M. de Praet to Charles, 24 Sep. 1542.
27. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/44–5, Charles to Ferdinand, 3 Nov. 1542, holograph, register copy (published with some errors in Árpad, 'Kiadatlan', 537).
28. BL *Addl. Ms*. 28,706 contains all the major documents concerning the Portuguese marriage treaty; HHStA *Belgien PA* 38/2/183–87v, Charles to Marie, 12 Apr. 1543, mentioned the advance payment of 150,000 ducats of the dowry for his future daughter-in-law, which Charles planned to use 'to sustain me' in arranging 'my trip' out of Spain.
29. For examples of the intelligence provided by Jehan de Hons, see *CSPSp*, VI/1, 341–3, and VI/2, 8–9, Chapuys to Charles, 16 July 1541 and 7 May 1542. For his identity, idem VI/2, 427, Chapuys to Marie, 5 July 1543. As David Potter astutely noted: 'The mystery is how de Hons was able to find the time to copy out so many ciphered despatches of his master' (Potter, *Henry VIII*, 67–8).
30. *CSPSp* VI/2, 236–8, Charles to Chapuys, 23 Jan. 1543; Rymer, *Foedera*, XIV, 768–80, treaty between Charles and Henry 'contra Franciscum cum Turcha confoederatum, de guerra indicenda & Franciae invadenda', 11 Feb. 1543 (Roman style).
31. *CSPSp* VI/2, 236–8, Charles to Chapuys, 23 Jan. 1543.
32. *SP*, IX, 355–60 and 374–6, Bonner to Henry, 15 Apr. and 14 May 1543.
33. *SPs*, IX, 374–6, Bonner to Henry, 14 May 1543; Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 149–59, from which this and all other quotations from the instructions of 4 and 6 May 1543 are taken.
34. The emperor's use of 'us' and 'our' is notable: perhaps for the first time, he saw himself and his son as a 'team'.
35. For vindication of this warning, see the evidence of factions among Charles's ministers revealed in Tellechea Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé*, I, the testimony of over fifty courtiers during the recusal phase of Carranza's trial in 1559–62.
36. The emperor spent longer evaluating Los Cobos than anyone else. Regarding his faults, Charles informed his son 'I have warned him and I believe he will mend his ways'.
37. Antoine Perrenot (1517–86), Cardinal Granvelle after 1561, would serve the emperor and his son in Germany and the Netherlands until 1564 and in Italy from then until 1579, when he returned to Spain as chief minister. As Charles had predicted, 'he will serve you well'.

38. Fernando de Valdés Salas (1488–1568) served as president of the chancery of Valladolid (1535–9) and president of the council of Castile (1539–46); and as archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General from 1546 until his death. He had accompanied Charles to England, the Netherlands and Germany in 1520–2: see Colón de Carvajal, 'Don Fernando de Valdés'. See ch. 15 for his later interaction with the emperor.
39. *Bibliographie nationale de Belgique*, III (Brussels, 1872), col. 666, Gachard's entry on Charles; *SP*, IX, 355–60, Bonner to Henry, 15 Apr. 1543.
40. AGS *E* 60/193–4, Loaysa (a survivor of the 'summits' between pope and emperor in Bologna in 1530 and 1533) to Charles, 28 Sep. 1543, holograph; AGS *PR* 16/75, Charles's instructions to Juan de Vega, his new ambassador to the pope, 5 July 1543, with a full account of what he had discussed with Paul III at Busseto. Chabod, *Storia*, 84–7, discusses the pope's offer to buy Milan from Charles, pointing out the emperor had just accepted 150,000 ducats from Duke Cosimo of Florence in return for two fortresses occupied by imperial troops.
41. Giovio, *Delle Istorie*, 693 (book XLIII; at Busseto in June 1543); Gachard, 'Notice historique', 45–6, Charles to the Estates of Flanders, 13 June 1543 (HHStA *Belgien PA* 38/3 contains minutes of twelve similar letters).
42. *SP*, IX, 450–2, Nicholas Wotton to Henry, Brussels, 21 July 1543, holograph; ASF *MdP* 4301/104–10 and 141, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, Speyer, 2 Aug. 1543, and Mainz, 11 Aug. 1543.
43. *SP*, IX, 484–7, Bonner to Henry, Cologne, 24 Aug. 1543; Gachard, *Analectes historiques*, I, 246–57, Charles to Philip, 25 Sep. 1543; Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 97. Arfaioli, 'A clash of dukes', notes that although Düren was not an artillery fortress, its fortifications had been partially modernized (like those of Florence in 1529–30 and Metz in 1552).
44. Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, II, 4; Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 96; ASF *MdP* 4301/179, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, from the imperial camp, 30 Aug. 1543.
45. ASF *MdP* 4301/182, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, from the imperial camp, 12 Sep. 1543; *PEG*, II, 669.
46. *SP*, IX, 505–7, Wotton to Henry, 9 Sep. 1543 (quoting Caesar in Latin); AA 4/95, Charles to Alba, 27 Oct. 1543, holograph postscript (copy at f. 46).
47. ASF *MdP* 4301/182–5, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 12 Sep. 1543; *SP*, IX, 505–7, Wotton to Henry, 9 Sep. 1543; *PEG*, II, 678–82, Charles's instructions to Baron Chantonnay, his special envoy to Henry to propose a joint Anglo-imperial invasion of France 'next year', 12 Sep. 1543.
48. *SP*, IX, 522–5, Sir John Wallop, commander of the English expeditionary force, to Henry, 21 Oct. 1543, after visiting Charles the previous day; Gachard, *Analectes historiques*, II, 216–19, Granvelle to Marie, 29 Oct. 1543 (placing the minister's reported speech into the first person).
49. ASF *MdP* 4301/280–1, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 27 Oct. 1543, quoting the marquis of Marignano ('batterla era una *obstinatione* di Sua Maestà;); *SP*, IX, 527–9 and TNA *SP* 1/182/39–41, Wallop to Paget, 22 and 26 Oct. 1543 (describing in great detail the 'artficiall boulets' fired by the mortars 'spowting fyer on every syde', which suggests that they were new); AGS *E* 60/193–4, Loaysa to Charles, 9 Sep. 1543, holograph.
50. Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 105–6 (the advance) and 109 (the rebuke); Gachard, *Trois années*, 22, Navagero to the Signory, 2 Nov. 1543; *SP*, IX, 538–42, Wallop to Henry, 6 Nov. 1543.
51. *SP*, IX, 538–42, Wallop to Henry, 6 Nov. 1543; ibid., 543–5, Wallop to Paget, 7 Nov. 1543 with a postscript on 10 Nov.; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/57, Charles to Ferdinand, 19 Nov. 1543; Gachard, *Trois années*, 23, Navagero to the Signory, 28 Nov. 1543, with an addition overheard by his Florentine colleague: ASF *MdP* 4301/357, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 10 Dec. 1543. See also Gachard, *Analectes historiques*, II, 34–8, Charles to Marie, 4 and 5 Nov. 1543.

52. Isom-Verhaaren, '"Barbarossa"', 419, quoting a letter from Barbarossa to Suleiman, 22 Mar. 1544.
53. TNA *SP* 1/182/157–64, 'Articles concluded between the viceroy [Gonzaga] and the king's highness commissioners for ye invasion of France', heavily corrected draft in several hands, but mainly Paget's (parts in French), undated but sent to Wallop on 4 Jan. 1544: *SP*, IX, 576–81. See also AGS *E*, 806/79, Chapuys to Prince Philip, 18 Jan. 1544, summarizing and updating the agreed terms.
54. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, IV, 236; TNA *SP* 1/187/86–8, Wotton to Henry, 7 May 1544; Gachard, *Trois années*, 36–7, Navagero and Morosini to the Signory, 26 Apr. 1544, after an audience with Charles.
55. ASF *MdP* 4301/464, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 1 Mar. 1544, decrypt, quoting the nuncio; *PEG*, III, 21–5, Response of the Diet to the emperor's proposition, Speyer, 10 June 1544. For the Danish dimension see Bregnsbo, 'Carlos V', 494–5.
56. Brandi, 'Die Testamente', 96–107, codicil witnessed and signed 21 June 1544, and sent sealed to Ferdinand; AGS *E* 500/73, Charles to Los Cobos, 7 July 1544.
57. BNE *MR*/43/283, 'Descripció de parte de Francia por donde entró el emperador', 56 x 107 centimetres, undated but from 1544.
58. ASF *MdP* 4301/503, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 14 Mar. 1544; Rozet and Lembey, *L'invasion*, 545–6, Ambassador Heironymo Feruffino to the duke of Ferrara, 7 July 1544; ibid., 539, same to same, 23 June 1544; ibid., 666–8, Navagero to the Signory, 22 June 1544. Rozet and Lembey, op. cit., 511–743, printed substantial extracts from almost 200 campaign dispatches written by envoys from Venice, Ferrara and Mantua to their home governments. *SP*, IX and X include those of the English ambassador.
59. HHStA *Belgien PA* 40/3/293–8, Charles to Marie, 20 July 1544. Charles concluded his campaign at Cambrai on 23 Sep. two days short of his target date.
60. HHStA *Belgien PA* 40/3/363–8, Charles to Marie, 31 Aug. 1544; *CDCV*, IV, 522 (*Memoirs*). Rozet and Lembey, *L'invasion*, 574–6, Feruffino to Ferrara, 4 Sep. 1544, and 638–48, Camillo Capilupo to the regents of Mantua, 19 Sep. 1544; both give excellent accounts of the moonlight march.
61. Rozet and Lembey, *L'invasion*, 713–15, Navagero to the Signory, '16 leagues from Paris', 6 Sep. 1544; ibid., 638–48, Capilupo to the regents of Mantua, 19 Sep. 1544.
62. TNA *SP* 1/192/36 Wotton to Paget, 6 Sep. 1544; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 109; Giovio, *Opera*, I, 348–50, Giovio to Cardinal Farnese, 23 Sep. 1544. France's military collapse in 1544 was thus almost as rapid and as complete as that in 1940, when another enemy mounted a surprise invasion from the east.
63. *CDCV*, IV, 523–4 (*Memoirs*); Rozet and Lembey, *L'invasion*, 574–6, Feruffino to Ferrara, 4 Sep. 1544; von Druffel, 'Kaiser Karl V', 266–70, Charles's instructions to Perrenot, 7 Sep. 1544.
64. AGS *E* 64/95, Los Cobos to Charles, 17 Sep. 1544; BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* III, 166–8, Granvelle's advice on making peace, undated but submitted to Charles on 14 or 15 Sep. 1544, a heavily edited draft (text in *PEG*, III, 26–9, without indicating the edits). Granvelle's analysis was correct: no sooner had his troops taken Boulogne than Henry started to plan his return to England.
65. Rozet and Lembey, *L'invasion*, 577–8, Feruffino to Ferrara, 11–14 Sep. 1544.
66. AGS *E* 64/95, Los Cobos to Granvelle, 17 Sep. 1544; AGS *E* 64/197, Loaysa to Charles, 5 Jan. 1544; *CDCV*, II, 282–4, Philip to Charles, 28 Sep. 1544 (an interesting articulation of the view of the theologians of the School of Salamanca, who argued that victors should not destroy the vanquished but instead offer them peace); *CDCV*, IV, 523–4 (*Memoirs*).

67. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 279–87, treaty of Crépy, 18 Sep. 1544.
68. Hasenclever, 'Die Geheimartikel', 420–2, text signed 19 Sep. 1544.
69. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/69v–72, Charles to Marie, 19 Sep. 1544, register copy (parts printed in von Druffel, 'Kaiser Karl V', 270–1).
70. Giovio, *Opera*, I, 352–4, letter to 'a friend', Rome, 14 Oct. 1544; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 197.

CHAPTER 12: SETTLING SCORES, PART II: GERMANY AND ITALY, 1545–8

1. *SP*, X, 178–87 and 202–7, Hertford, Gardiner and Wotton to Henry, 7, 9 and 17 Nov. 1544.
2. *SP*, X, 71–2, Henry to Wotton, [15] Sep. 1544 (thus written just before the peace treaty); Gachard, *Trois années*, 43, Chapuys and Corrières to Charles, 16 Sep. 1544, relaying the same message. The only error in Henry's reasoning was that 'the Lowe Countrey, being the certaine inheritance of th'empereurs succession, out of all doubt and question', would be 'gardable without any greate charges' if it remained joined to Spain.
3. TNA *SP* 1/194/39–40, Wotton to the Privy Council, 21 Oct. 1544 (describing Idiáquez and his mission); *CDCV*, II, 300–1, Philip to Charles, 14 Dec. 1544 (not the 24th, as stated in ibid., p. 311).
4. Chabod, 'Milán o los Países Bajos?', 244–51, 'Los puntos que se apuntaron por los del consejo de Estado en las dos comunicaciones que se tuvo sobre la alternativa que ofreció Su Magestad', undated but Nov. 1544. Chabod also provided a brilliant analysis of the debate, situating it in the changing context of imperial grand strategy: ibid., 211–44.
5. *CDCV*, II, 299–311, Philip to Charles, 14 Dec. 1544 (misdated 24 Dec.). Just as Charles had predicted in May 1543, Los Cobos sided with Alba, and Zúñiga sided with Tavera: Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 117.
6. *PEG*, III, 67–87, 'Ce que l'on doibt considérer sur la déclaration de l'alternative contenue au traité de Crespy', followed by 'Discours et arraisonnement des considérations que l'on peult prendre sur l'Alternative', undated but before 17 Feb. 1545, when Charles informed his son that 'las personas más principales y aceptas a Nos destos Stados' had 'dado por scripto' their preference concerning the Alternative: *CDCV*, III, 336–43, 17 Feb. 1545.
7. *SP*, X, 236–7, Wotton to Henry VIII, 27 Nov. 1544; AGS *E* 872/129, Charles to Juan de Vega, undated but 17 Feb. 1545 (with orders to inform the pope).
8. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 288, printed Charles's declaration. Other details from Gachard, *Trois années*, 68–9 and 71, Navagero to the Doge, 22 Jan. and 27 Mar. 1545; ASF *MdP* 4302, unfol., Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 14 and 22 Feb., 1, 6 and 22 Mar. 1545; *PEG*, III, 55–8, Charles to Ferdinand, 1 Feb. 1545; *CDCV*, III, 336–43, Charles to Philip, 17 Feb. 1545. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 306 (Vandenesse's journal), stated that the emperor also took 'palo de Indias' between 10 Feb. and 15 Mar. 1545; see also the vivid accounts of Charles's illness in ASF *MdP* 4302, unfol., Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 3 and 23 Jan. and 8 Feb. 1545 – just as the emperor wrestled with the Alternative.
9. *CDCV*, IV, 527 and 538. In summer 1543, Granvelle informed the nuncio that Charles would attack the German Lutherans as soon as he had defeated Guelders and France: *NBD*, VII, 441–4, Poggio to Farnese, 10 July 1543.
10. Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, III, 91–6, printed the treaty between Charles and the landgrave, 21 June 1541.
11. Close, 'City-states', 214–15, Ulm to other cities in the League, 18 June 1544.
12. Winckelmann, *Politische Correspondenz*, III, 504–7, Jacob Sturm to Strasbourg, Speyer, 18 Mar. 1544, noted the emperor's proposal to sequester Brunswick 'in eine dritte hand'. *RTA* XVI,

1474–94, documented the attempts by the imperial Diet to solve the Brunswick question; Brady, *Protestant politics*, 260–72, provided a clear and concise account of the Brunswick war.

13. Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, I, 564–6, Christoph von Carlowitz's report to Maurice on his meeting with Granvelle, 28 Feb. 1543; HHStA *Belgien PA* 37/1/120–3, Granvelle to Charles, 1 May 1543, reporting on his talks with Carlowitz.
14. Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 37*–40*, Charles to Philip, 16 Feb. 1546; Gachard, *Trois années*, 83–4, Navagero to the Doge, 20 May 1545.
15. *LCK*, II, 435–45, Instructions to Gerhard Veltwyck, 22 May 1545; *NBD*, VIII, 170–7, Fabio Mignanello to Cardinal Santa Fiora, 28 May 1545, and 231–6, cardinal of Augsburg to Farnese, 6 July 1545.
16. AGS *E* 641/2, 'Relación de los negocios que embía el secretario Idiáquez' to Los Cobos, undated but c. 20 June 1545, with the request that the document 'be burned after it has been read' (luckily for historians, Los Cobos did not comply: English translation in *CSPSp*, VIII, 225–7). *NBD*, VIII, 221–6, Nuncio Verallo to Farnese, 1 July 1545, mentioned that Granvelle 'mi mostrò una carta con più di cinquanta capituli, tutti concernenti la impresa' against the Lutherans, that he was about to discuss with Charles; *NBD*, VII, 685–6, Granvelle to Marie, 8 July 1545, reported the decision to delay. *RTA*, XVII, 1201–1375, contained the religious debates at Worms, in which Ferdinand took a leading part until Charles arrived on 16 May, after which Granvelle acted as the principal imperial spokesman.
17. *NBD*, VIII, Mignanello and Verallo to Farnese, 9 July 1545 ('non per altro che per esser Sua Maestà quanto a Dio sicura *in conscientia*'). Gachard, *Trois années*, 98, provided more detail on Charles's testy interview with the archbishop.
18. *CDCV*, IV, 529–30 (*Memoirs*); TNA *SP* 1/208/38–40, Fray Gabriel de Guzmán to Charles, 20 Sep. 1545, reporting on his mission to reassure Francis; *SP*, XI, 19–20, Mont to Henry VIII, Frankfurt, 17 Jan. 1546, transmitting the African rumour (which he did not believe). See also *PEG*, III, 186–204, Granvelle's arguments for maintaining the peace despite the death of Orléans, using the parallel that the treaty would still stand even 'if God allowed an earthquake to destroy one of the towns specified for restitution'.
19. *CSPSp*, VIII, 229, Los Cobos to Charles, undated but 3 Sep. 1545; *CDCV*, II, 418–22, Philip to Charles, 3 Sep. 1545; *BKK*, II, 356–7, Marie to Granvelle, undated minute, late 1545. Marie's advice may of course have been coloured by the Lutherans at her court, and her contact with Luther himself, in the 1520s.
20. *CDCV*, II, 453–8, Charles to Philip, 17 Mar. 1546.
21. *CDCV*, IV, 532 (*Memoirs*); von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 1–24, 'Protokoll der Verhandlung des Landgrafen Philipp mit Kaiser Karl zu Speier', 28 and 29 Mar. 1546 (parts also printed in *RTA*, XVII, 64–78).
22. Bernays, *Urkunden*, IV, 93 note 1, Sebastian Erb to Heinrich Bullinger, 1 May 1546 (in Latin, but with German for the reported speech); *NBD*, VIII, 623–4, Serristori to Duke Cosimo of Florence, 29 Mar. 1546.
23. Brady, *Protestant politics*, 273, 276; Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, II, 437–46, landgrave to Martin Bucer and Jacob Sturm, 15 May 1546.
24. *CDCV*, II, 471–4, Charles to Philip, 20 May 1546. For Barbara Blomberg, see chs 14 and 16.
25. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/103–4, Charles to Ferdinand, 18 Apr. 1546.
26. For details, see *LCK*, II, 648–52, secret treaty signed by Charles, Ferdinand and Bavaria, 7 June 1546; and Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, II, 660–4, secret treaty signed by Charles, Ferdinand and Maurice, 19 June 1546.
27. Kannengiesser, *Karl V*, 199–201, Charles to Buren, 9 June 1546; *LCK*, II, 486–91, Charles to Marie, 9 June 1546; *SP*, XI, 219–21, Thirlby to Paget, Regensburg, 15 June 1546; AGS *CMC*

1a/1455, Accounts of García Portillo, patents signed at Regensburg, 21 June 1546.

28. *SP*, XI, 223–7, Mason to Paget, 25 June 1546, reporting on a meeting with Frederick at Heidelberg. On Mason's service at the imperial court, see *ODNB* s.v.
29. Brandi, *The emperor*, 541; *CDCV*, IV, 531, n. 144.
30. *CDCV*, II, 336–43, and Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 37*–40*, Charles to Philip, 17 Feb. 1545 and 16 Feb. 1546 (three letters). For an example of advance planning, see *CSPSp*, VIII, 183–4, Juan de Vega to Philip, Rome, 20 July 1545.
31. For the unsuccessful negotiations in the 1546 Reichstag at Regensburg, see the documents in *RTA*, XVII, 433–89. See also the uncompromising rationale in favour of war submitted to Charles by his confessor, Pedro de Soto, in Feb. 1546, printed in Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 29*–32*, with an English translation in *CSPSp*, VIII, 353–6.
32. TNA *SP* 1/123/100–3, Vaughan to the Privy Council, Antwerp, 12 Aug. 1546; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 605, Relation of Mocenigo, 1548. Mariotte, 'Charles Quint', 379, called the emperor's decision to open hostilities before concentrating his forces 'un coup de poker'. *RTA*, XVII, 484–9, printed the letters from the League members recalling their procurators from the Diet; Brady, *Protestant politics*, 299, lists the members of the League who mobilized in 1546 and their contributions to the war.
33. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 10v.
34. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 610, Relation of Mocenigo, detailed the flawed command structure of the League's army. A campaign plan prepared for Charles in May or early June 1546 deemed the league's fragmented command structure to be the emperor's greatest advantage in the approaching war: Friedensburg, 'Am Vorabend', 142–3.
35. *NBD*, IX, 158–66, Verallo to Cardinal Farnese, 30–31 July 1546; BL *Addl. Ms.* 28,595/42–4, Charles to Juan de Vega, 31 July 1546.
36. *CDCV*, II, 489–92, Charles to Philip, 10 Aug. 1546; AGS *E* 73/239, Charles to Los Cobos, 11 Aug. 1546, decoded holograph.
37. Núñez Alba, *Diálogos*, 48 (Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 13, provided a similar account). *RTA*, XVII, 567–74, prints the 'Absagebrief', dated 11 Aug. 1547 and signed by eight princes and the representatives of five cities; Sleidan, *De statu*, 533 (book XVII), recorded the Elector's reluctance to address Charles as 'emperor'; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/104–6, Charles to Ferdinand, 17 Aug. 1546 (partially printed in von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 14–15), reported that the declaration arrived 'sur ung baston fendu, qu'est la forme de défíance que l'on a accoustumé user en Allemaigne', known as a *Fehdebrief*. Spanish sources refer to it as a 'desafío'.
38. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 13 (similar account in Núñez Alba, *Diálogos*, 48). *RTA*, XVII, 552–62, printed the edict dated 20 July 1546 but not published until 14 Aug. Von Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch*, 54, recorded 'Advenit Italicus exercitus' on 13 Aug., and 'Litterae ab lantgravio cum trompeta, quibus renunciabant jus vasallagii et fidelitatis' on 14 Aug.
39. Greppi, 'Extraits', 123–4, Stroppiana to the duke of Savoy, 6 Sep. 1546; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 662–3, Mocenigo to the Doge, 1 Sep. 1546. Núñez Alba, *Diálogos*, 72–8, also stressed the bastions and 'cavaliers' attached to the camps' defences; and the Lutheran commanders noted how 'by night and by day, the emperor fortified his camp': Schertlin von Burtenbach, *Leben*, 46. See the map of the siege in Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, 39.
40. Greppi, 'Extraits', 125–31, Stroppiana to the duke of Savoy, 6 Sep. 1546; Mugnier, 'Les faictz', 279–80; Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 21; Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 60.
41. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/106–7v and 108v–9v, Charles to Ferdinand, 2 and 19 Sep. 1546, holograph postscripts (partly published in von Druffel, *Beiträge*, I, 19 and 21). Others also reproached Charles for risking 'his person, on which alone the fate of Christianity depends':

Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 127, Stroppiana to the duke, 6 Sep. 1546. Even Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 31v, doubted whether it was wise that the emperor ‘se ponga en estos peligros como vn capitan o soldado particular’.

42. *NBD*, IX, 226 n. 4, Serristori to Duke Cosimo, 4 Sep. 1546 (Lutherans’ motives for retreat); Schertlin von Burtenbach, *Leben*, 46; Möllenberg, ‘Die Verhandlung’, 49–50, and Duller, *Neue Beiträge*, 60–1, Philip of Hesse to his wife Margareta, 11 and 21 Sep. 1546, both holograph.
43. Mogen, *Historia*, 291–2 § 89 (from the diary of the landgrave’s secretary); Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 673–7 and II, 66–7, Mocenigo to the Doge, 7/8 Sep. and 24 Oct. 1546 (Hesse’s insults reported by a diplomat who had been detained in the Lutheran camp).
44. Kannengiesser, *Karl V*, 207–9, Buren to Charles, Roermond, 24 July 1546 (Kannengiesser provided an excellent account of this operation, including transcripts of Charles’s correspondence with Buren). *SP*, XI, 256–9, Carne to Paget, 27 Aug. and 14 Sep. 1546, provided a vivid account of how Buren got his army across the Rhine; ibid., 299–300, Wotton to Paget, 17 Sep. 1546, assessed the risks.
45. Busto, *Geschichte*, 112; *CDCV*, IV, 550 (*Memoirs*). On the changing strength of the two armies, see the figures in Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, 88–94.
46. Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, II, 872–7, Defensive and offensive alliance between Ferdinand and Maurice, Prague, 14 Oct. 1546; Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser*, II, 506–8, ‘Abschiedt zu Giengen gemacht, den 16 Novembris 1546’ regarding the ‘Abzug und Winterlager’ of the League’s army.
47. Bernays, *Urkunden*, IV/1, 494–7, Sturm to the landgrave, 21 Nov. 1546, and the landgrave’s reply the following day, with holograph corrections. On the campaign, see Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, based on personal reconnaissance of the terrain as well as printed sources, with seven maps; and Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, ch. 15.
48. *SP*, XI, 350–1, Thirlby to Paget, Dillingen, 21 Nov. 1546.
49. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, ff. 35–6; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 10–14 and 19–22, Mocenigo to the Doge, 22 and 27 Sep. 1546 (quoting Charles’s doctor, Cornelis van Baersdorp); Mugnier, ‘Les faictz’, 290–1 (entry for 4 Oct. 1546).
50. Núñez Alba, *Diálogos*, 173–4. Soly, *Charles*, 305, reproduces a painting done in 1551 by Matthias Gerung of Charles receiving the submission of the city of Lauingen five years before.
51. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, ff. 61v–2v; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 125–6, Mocenigo to the Doge, 19 Dec. 1546; von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 26–8, Charles to Marie, 23 Nov. 1546. On Charles’s earlier dealings with Elector (formerly Count Palatine) Frederick, see chs 2, 3 and 4 above.
52. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 326–7, treaty between Charles and Duke Ulrich, 3 Jan. 1547; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 151–2 and 156–60, Mocenigo to the Doge, 29 Jan. and 2 Feb. 1546.
53. *LCK*, II, 524–7, Charles to Ferdinand, 9 Jan. 1547 (copy at HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/117–19v). Four years later, Maximilian indiscreetly revealed to a Venetian diplomat how much Ferdinand resented his brother’s failure to give him Württemberg: Friedensburg, ‘Karl V.’, 72–81, Giovanni Michele to the council of Ten, Dec. 1551.
54. *LCK*, II, 529–31 Charles to Ferdinand, 2 Feb. 1547 (copy at HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/126–7v); von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 39–46, Charles to St. Mauris, 19 Jan. 1547; *LCK*, II, 539–41, Charles to Ferdinand, 19 Feb. 1547 (copy at HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/131–3v). See also *LCK*, II, 34–7, Marie to Charles, 10 Jan. 1547, warning that the French might mount a surprise attack ‘as they did in 1542’. Glagau, ‘Landgraf Philipp’, 37–44, documented the negotiations between France and Hesse.

55. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 85. Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, ch. 16, provides the best modern account of the campaign.
56. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 234–42, Mocenigo and Lorenzo Contarini to the Doge, 25 and 26 Apr. 1548.
57. ASP *CF* 510/1, 'Avvisi mandati da Mr. Valerio Amano', 25 Apr. 1547; Mugnier, 'Les faictz', 341–2; Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 90v; Núñez Alba, *Diálogos*, 210. See also the description of this incident in Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 242–3, Mocenigo and Contarini to the Doge, 27 Apr. 1547. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 16 (*Social Germany*, 196), attributed the ominous phrase to Ferdinand, but Sastrow had not yet arrived at the imperial camp; on the other hand, Sastrow alone recorded the Elector's salutation in German: 'Allergnedigster Keyser und Herr'. Crouzet, *Charles Quint*, ch. 18, provided a good modern account of Charles's triumph on the Elbe.
58. Kohler, *Quellen*, 373–5, published the debate at the imperial council; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 332, printed the *Todesurteil* of Charles against John Frederick, 10 May 1547. See also von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 58, Perrenot to Marie, 'from the field of victory on the Elbe', 25 Apr. 1547: 'From what I can tell, His Majesty now wants to cut off John Frederick's head'.
59. TNA *SP* 1/226/152, Christopher Mont to Walter Bucler, 24 Nov. 1546; Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 22 (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 200). Junghans, 'Kaiser Karl', 102, quoted the exchange first printed in 1707 by Johann Georg Neumann, a professor of theology at Wittenberg, along with other sources (though not the testimony of Mont and Sastrow), and concluded that we may accept oral traditions on the subject. A celebrated painting of the incident, done in 1845 by Adolf Friedrich Teichs, hangs in the Lutherhalle in Wittenberg. See pp. 34–5 above for another snapshot of a benign emperor as he awaited the surrender of Wittenberg.
60. Benavent Benavent and Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 41–7, 'Artículos acordados con el prisionero Juan Federico de Saxonia debaxo de los quales el emperador a moderado la pena que avía meresçido por aver sido rebelde', Halle, 19 May 1547.
61. Petritsch, 'Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag', 68–70, printed the text of the truce, concluded in Istanbul on 19 June 1547 and ratified by Charles on 1 Aug. 1547; Pánek, 'Emperador', 143–8, covered the Bohemian dimension of the Schmalkaldic war.
62. Glagau, 'Landgraf Philipp', 42, Philip to Maurice of Saxony, 30 Apr. 1547; von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 231–2, Philip to his regency council, 28 May 1547.
63. Von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 248–53, printed the terms of the capitulation dated 19 June 1547, the day Philip signed but almost certainly drawn up on 3 or 4 June. See also a Spanish text in Benavent Benavent and Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 50–2, 'Capitulación dada al Landgrave de Hessen sobre su libertad, sumisión y perdón'.
64. Preuschen, 'Ein gleichzeitiger Bericht', 148 (an anonymous account sent to the Elector of Mainz stating that Philip had 'mit den Churfürsten etwas geredt vnnd gelechelt'); Sastrow, *Herkommen* II, 29–30 (stating that the landgrave 'lachede gar schimpfflich', and that the emperor threatened him: 'Wel, ik zal u leeren lachgen'). See also the accounts in *NBD*, X, 24–7, Nuncio Verallo to Cardinal Farnese, 20 June 1547; and *LCK*, II, 585–95, Perrenot to Marie, 20 and 21 June 1547.
65. *LCK*, II, 585–95, Perrenot to Marie, 20 and 21 June 1547, and 'Touchant le prinse du landtgraue' (Spanish translation in Benavent Benavent and Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 52ff); Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, III, 443–5, Maurice's instructions to his envoys going to Ferdinand, 21 June 1547.
66. Stumpf, *Baierns politische Geschichte*, I, part 2, 287, note, Seld's account 'ubers Fursten von Baiern Tafel' of Perrenot's ruse at the meeting with the Electors in June 1548 (correct date from Mariotte, 'Charles-Quint', 401). Von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 235–6, printed both words –

'einiger' and 'ewiger' – in his edition of the text of the landgrave's submission. The deception was mentioned in 1552 in Rabelais, *Les cinq livres*, book IV: at the end of ch. 17, Pantagruel sailed by 'les isles aussi de Enig et Evig, des quelles par avant estoit advenue l'estafillade au Langrauff d'Esse' (Black Letter in the original; published while the landgrave languished in prison). Roger Ascham recorded the same story in July 1553: Giles, *The whole works*, III, 51–2. Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 258–64, provides an excellent analysis of whether or not Charles had intended to deceive.

67. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/144v–5, Charles to Ferdinand, Halle, 15 June 1547, register copy (partially printed in Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 458 n. 88, and von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 427–8); HHStA *Hs. Blau* 597/2/251v–3, Ferdinand to Charles, 17 June 1547, with the interesting observation that since John Frederick was too dangerous to remain in Germany, he should be moved under Spanish guard to Tyrol and then sent to Spain (partially printed in Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 460 n. 89, and von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 428–9).
68. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/148v–51, Charles to Ferdinand, 28 June 1547, register copy (see also the heavily corrected minute at HHStA *Belgien PA* 5/2/70–5, revealing the care that Charles took in drafting his account. Parts printed in von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 63–8, and in von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 429–33, but with several errors of transcription and the wrong date).
69. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 597/2/254v–5v, Ferdinand to Charles, 14 July 1547 (parts printed in von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 433–4); Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 48 (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 217).
70. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 31 (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 206).
71. Tracy, *Emperor*, 223–8; AGS *CMC* 1a/1189, accounts of Alonso de Baeza, and *CMC* 1a/1491, accounts of García Portillo. Several heavy guns cast before 1546 by Gregor Löffler of Augsburg sailed on the Spanish Armada in 1588: see ch. 17 below.
72. Busto, *Geschichte*, 185 (Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, f. 92, related the same anecdote). Military dispositions from *NBD*, X, 377–80, Santa Croce to Farnese, 15 June 1548.
73. *LCK*, II, 599–602, Perrenot to Marie, 11 July 1547.
74. Rabe, *Reichsbund*, remains the classic study of the 'Armed Diet' of 1547–8; but see also Press, 'Die Bundespläne', 71–85. *RTA*, XVIII, published the relevant documents, including the 108 articles of the *Reichsabschied* (Recess) on 30 June 1548 (pp. 2,651–94). For more on the creation of the Burgundian Circle, see ch. 14 below.
75. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 349–71, printed Vandenesse's Journal between 1 Sep. 1547 and 30 June 1548: see the relevant chronological entries. Rabe, *Reichsbund*, 197, noted that Maximilian presided at the solemn opening of the Diet in the Fugger residence on 1 Sep. 1547, even though Charles was present.
76. *NBD*, X, 76–9, Nuncio Verallo to Cardinal Farnese, 11–12 Aug. 1547; idem 185–9, Mignanelli to Farnese, 4 Nov. 1547; ASF *MdP* 3101a/1085, Francesco di Paolo Vinta to Duke Cosimo, 2 Apr. 1548; von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370–1, 'Sommaire de l'Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l'empereur Charles V, en l'année 1550'. Charles took a German sauna with him to Yuste: see ch. 16 below.
77. AGS *E* 644/77, Charles to Diego de Mendoza, 11 Feb. 1547.
78. AGS *E* 643/32, Charles to Francisco de Toledo, 11 Apr. 1547. On Philip II's use of the same equation, see *FBD*, ch. 5.
79. *LWS*, LIV, 208, in *Wider das Babstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft* (Wittenberg, 1545); AGS *E* 644/99, Granvelle to Mendoza, 29 Aug. 1547.
80. Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 212–17 and 221–30, demonstrated how Piacenza determined the fate of the general council as well as papal-imperial relations until the death of Paul III.

81. Rein, ‘Faith and empire’, 51, translated from the Interim, and 54. My summary of the Interim owes much to Rein’s analysis. *RTA*, XVIII, 1910–48, printed the Latin text of the document, whose full title was revealing: *Der Römischen Keyserlichen Maiestat Erklärung, wie es der Religion halbe, imm heyligen Reich, biss zü Ausstrag dess gemeynen Concilii gehalten warden soll, auff dem Reichsstag zü Augspurg, den XV Maij im M.D.XLVIII Jar publiciert und eröffnet und von gemeynen Stenden angenommen*. Interestingly, until his death Philip II kept by his desk the copy of the Interim that he inherited from Marie. It is now San Lorenzo de El Escorial library 102-III-43.
82. *NBD*, X, 327–33, Nuncio Sfondrato to Cardinal Farnese, Augsburg, 16 May 1548. In a letter to Marie that same day, Perrenot was more candid: ‘Since the pope had not done what he should have done, we persevered’ (ibid., 329 n. 1).
83. *NBD*, XI, 15–18, Bertano to Farnese, Augsburg, 2 Aug. 1548 (the audience had taken place that morning).
84. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 335–46, the view of an eyewitness (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 247–52). *NBD*, XI, 29–32, Bertano to Farnese, 10 Aug. 1548, confirmed the harsher treatment of John Frederick.
85. Naujoks, *Kaiser Karl*, 57–8 (Augsburg); Dobras, ‘Karl V’, 215–21 (Konstanz).
86. Naujoks, *Kaiser Karl*, 61–4 (Ulm); Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 345–7 (the author travelled the same route as Charles a few days later; for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 249–50). See Naujoks, op. cit., xxiii and 169–99, on the twenty-five cities whose charters Charles remodelled.
87. Fürstenwerth, *Verfassungsänderungen*, 101, 34; Reinhard, ‘“Governi stretti”’, 160; von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 180–2, Charles to Ferdinand, 10 Dec. 1548. The treatment of Ghent alarmed some German cities: the magistrates of Strasbourg resolved in 1540 to ‘reflect on the example of Ghent. In every way we should be more careful’ (quoted by Brady, *Protestant politics*, 354).
88. Cavalcanti, *Trattati*, 231, from a treatise addressed to Henry II of France in 1552, but not printed until 1571 (the key phrase was ‘*governi stretti e tirannici*’).
89. Details in Hewlett, ‘Fortune’s fool’. Burlamacchi would later be seen as a heroic herald of Italian unity: see Carlo Minutoli, *Il primo martire dell’unità italiana* (1844), and the statue in his honour erected in Lucca in 1863.
90. Levin, ‘A failure of intelligence’ (quotation from p. 20); Pacini, *La Genova*, 595 (Fieschi’s study of *The prince*).
91. Ha-Kohen, *Sefer divre ha-yamin*, II, 421–32; Spinola, ‘Documenti’, 30–2, Figueroa to Prince Philip, 6 Jan. 1547. Like Burlamacchi, Fieschi would later be seen as a herald of Italian unity: see the introduction to a recent edition of an opera about him by cardinal de Retz, *La congiura* (1655/1990).
92. Castaldo, *Historia di Napoli*, 113. Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla*, 311–12, demonstrated that the inquisitorial initiative originated when the viceroy asked his brother, a senior inquisitor in Rome, to secure a brief from the pope. It did not originate, as Sandoval and other historians have claimed, with a request from Charles.
93. Vigo, *Uno stato nell’ impero*, 14, quoting Guicciardini (‘*dove non ci fusse principe che potesse dare le leggi agli altri*’).
94. See Pacini, *La Genova*, 596–7, on Fieschi’s opposition to Charles and Doria in 1536 and his pardon in 1541; and 603–4, Figueroa to Charles, 7 Dec. 1545 and 7 May 1546.
95. Spinola, ‘Documenti’, 11–13, Gonzaga to Charles, 2 Jan. 1547.
96. Spinola, ‘Documenti’, 40–4, Gonzaga to Charles, 9 Jan. 1547; idem, 47–8 and 55–7, Charles to Figueroa, 10 and 14 Jan. 1547; AGS *PR* 45/71, Gonzaga’s instructions to Juan Gallego, his emissary to Prince Philip, about ‘hazer una fortaleza en la ciudad’ of Genoa, 1548.

97. Spinola, ‘Documenti’, 57–60, Charles to Gonzaga, 14 Jan. 1547.
98. Ibid., 64–5, Juan de Vega to Charles, 17 Jan. 1547; idem, 121–3, Charles to Gonzaga, 11 Feb. 1547.
99. Bertomeu Masiá, *La guerra secreta*, 458–9, Gonzaga to Charles, 13 June 1547; Podestà, *Dal delitto*, 90 n. 34, Charles to Gonzaga, 28 June 1547. Podestà, op. cit., 166–73, demonstrated that serious work on the citadel only began in Aug. 1547, when money for the project arrived from Rome, and argued that Gonzaga’s concern was premature. However, the governor was in Milan, and had no access to the financial records used by Podestà: instead Gonzaga, like Charles, relied on hearsay – and what he heard alarmed him.
100. AGS *E* 1193/31, Gonzaga to Charles, 12 Oct. 1547; Bertomeu Masiá, *La guerra secreta*, 459–61, Gonzaga to Charles, 10 and 23 July 1547; Podestà, *Dal delitto*, 101, Charles to Gonzaga, 24 July 1547. The conspirators’ concern about revenge was well grounded: Farnese agents soon assassinated two of them and the rest lived in constant fear of a similar fate.
101. AGS *E* 1465/248, Gonzaga to Charles, Piacenza, 12 Sep. 1547, describing the capture of the city as if Charles knew nothing about it; AGS *E* 1193/31, same to same, 12 Oct. 1547, announcing his plan to ‘amazzare’ Strozzi, ‘valendome dei ministri del duca de Fiorenza’; Brizio, ‘“The country”’, 55, on the citadel at Siena.
102. On the various judicial murders orchestrated by Gonzaga in 1548, see dall’Aglio, *The duke’s assassin*.
103. *CDCV*, II, 659–62, Charles to Philip, 2 Sep. 1548; von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 170–1, Ferdinand to Charles, 15 Oct. 1548 (Maurice ‘a la teste chaulde’). Charles later boasted of ‘dejando en tres fortalezas del Estado de Württemberg 2,000 españoles de presidio’: *CDCV*, IV, 567 (*Memoirs*).
104. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 101–2.

CHAPTER 13: THE TAMING OF AMERICA

1. When Charles and his contemporaries referred to the New World they normally employed the term used by Columbus: ‘the Indies’. In this book I normally use ‘America’ but exceptions remain: notably ‘the council of the Indies’, the advisory body set up to handle the Crown’s American business. I have translated *cédula* as ‘warrant’, and *provisión* as ‘charter’. I have not found an adequate translation for *encomiendas* (grants of compulsory labour), *encomenderos* (the settlers who received them), or *repartimiento* (originally the process by which *encomiendas* were distributed, but later synonymous with *encomienda*), and therefore in each case I use the Spanish term.
2. Gómara, *Hispania Victrix*, dedication. Charles was not impressed, and ordered the book to be suppressed: see ch. 14. Brading, *The first America*, 44–50, offers an excellent analysis of the work and its reception.
3. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 216–20, from the New Laws, 20 Nov. 1542. Many conflicting estimates exist of the population of America, both European and indigenous, during the earlier sixteenth century. I have followed those in Newson, ‘The demographic impact’, in Boyd-Bowman, ‘Patterns’, and in the sources they cite.
4. Figures from Semboloni Capitani, *La construcción*, 71, 185–6 and 314, calculated from entries in the surviving *Libros de gobierno* kept by the first viceroys (details on pp. 577 above).
5. Pietschmann, *Alemania*, 109; idem, ‘Carlos V y la formación’, 469; and idem, ‘Carlos V y América’, 265.
6. Cedillo, *El cardenal Cisneros*, II, 268, Charles to Cisneros, 28 June 1516; AGNM *Mercedes* IV/331v–332v, order of Viceroy Velasco, Mexico, 10 Apr. 1556, quoting a warrant from Princess Joanna, regent of Castile, 4 Sep. 1555.

7. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 77, Charles to the Casa de la Contratación, 25 Feb. 1518; *SLID*, III, 234–6 ('Retiro, estancia y muerte'). See also ibid., 235 n. 183, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 12 Nov. 1556, passing on Charles's praise for the bedspreads and his request for more.
8. AGI *IG* 419/7/78, warrant to Laurent de Gorrevod, Zaragoza, 18 Aug. 1518; AGI *IG* 420/8/37–8, warrant to Adam de Vivaldo, Tomás de Forne 'and company', 24 Jan. 1519. Charles also signed warrants for some others to import slaves: for example, AGI *IG* 419/7/110, licence for the marquis of Astorga, Zaragoza, 24 Sep. 1518, granting permission to transport 400 slaves, 100 during the period of Gorrevod's monopoly and the rest afterwards.
9. AGI *IG* 421/12/296–7, contract with Enrique Ehinger and Jerónimo Sayler, Burgos, 12 Feb. 1528; AGI *Justicia* 1169/4/2, a case brought by the procurator fiscal of the council of the Indies against those who infringed on the Welser monopoly, Feb. 1530–Aug. 1533. Numbers from http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates.
10. Las Casas, *Historia*, IV, 368; Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 90–1, royal warrant of 13 Jan. 1518. Idem, II, 57–60, discussed this document, considered in 'pleno Consilio Indiarum a XI de Diziembre de DXVII años' (a session over which, according to Giménez Fernández, Charles presided).
11. Las Casas, *Historia*, IV, 377 (Las Casas claimed that 'I was in the room' of the chancellor when Magellan arrived with his globe). Charles had evidently grasped the advantage of a globe by the time the surviving circumnavigators returned, because he sent to his brother 'una palla, dove è pinto tutto el ditto viaggio' (Morsolin, 'Francesco Chiericati', 231, Chiericati to Isabella d'Este, Nuremberg, 10 Jan. 1523); and the following year his negotiators at the Junta de Badajoz took with them two globes: Brendecke, *Imperio*, 164–9.
12. Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección*, IV, 116–21, 'Capitulación y asiento' between Charles and Magellan, 22 Mar. 1518, copy. For the precedents from Castile, see Owens, '*By my absolute royal authority*', ch. 2. For the first example involving America, see Nader, *The Book*, 265–7, the Catholic Monarchs to Columbus, 23 Apr. 1497.
13. AGI *Patronato* 34 ramo 2, Magellan to Charles, Seville, 24 Oct. 1518, holograph (printed by Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección*, IV, 124–7, but without the significant endorsement 'Recibida y proveydo en vj de noviembre'). Had Magellan arrived the following year, when the top priority for Charles and his ministers was funding his journey to Germany, his appeal for financial support would probably have failed.
14. *CODOIN . . . América*, XXII, 38–46, contract with Velázquez, 13 Nov. 1518. Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 131–41, evaluated the conflicting figures for the size of Cortés's expedition; but whether he commanded twelve ships or only eleven, its size differed significantly from the two previous expeditions sent by Velázquez, which consisted of only three or four ships.
15. Cortés, *Cartas*, 65, 'Carta de Relación' of the town council of Veracruz to Charles and Joanna, 10 July 1519; AGI *México* 95/1, 'Pedimiento que hiso Francisco Aluares Chico, procurador desta Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz', 20 June 1519 (transcribed with some differences by Schwaller and Nader, *The first letter*). The presence of the petition in AGI indicates that it was sent to Charles via the emissaries who brought him the 'Carta de Relación', to which the petition refers. Russo, 'Cortés's objects', described the *muestra* (sample) of 1519, noting that the great gold wheel represented the 'royal fifth' whereas the rest were gifts from the conquistadors 'over and above the fifth'.
16. Las Casas, *Historia*, V, 95, 98, discussed and dated by Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 742–53.
17. AGI *IG* 420/8/173–5, Charles to the Casa de la Contratación and to the messengers from Veracruz, Molins del Rey, 5 Dec. 1519, register copies, endorsed by Los Cobos, 'Sobre la Nueva España'. See Ramos, *Hernán Cortés*, 175–6 and 199 notes 22 and 25 on the identity of

the six young Totonacs (four males and two females); and Giménez Fernández, 'El alzamiento', on Charles's personal interest in them.

18. Cosenza, 'Copia litterarvm', Valladolid, 7 Mar. 1520; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, cols 375–6, Cornaro to the Signory, 6 Mar. 1520. Cortés, *Cartas*, 71–6, stated that Charles received the sample 'en Valladolid en la Semana Santa en principio del mes de abril', but this is impossible because in 1520 Charles spent Holy Week in Galicia, not in Valladolid. The testimony of Cosenza, Corner and others proves that Charles received the gifts 'en principio del mes de *marzo*'. See Ramos, *Hernán Cortés*, 178–93, for an unsuccessful attempt to establish the date and place from government documents alone.
19. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 790–810, described the council debates on America between 12 and 19 May 1520, and at pp. 794–9 published the Corunna Declaration of 17 May 1520.
20. Dürer, *Diary*, 64, entry for 27 Aug. 1520. Although few items from this sample survive, two of them came from the area around Veracruz: the 'dos libros de los que acá tienen los yndios', now ÖNB *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus* I, and BL *Codex Zouche-Nutall*.
21. I accept the suggestion of Matthew Restall that Montezuma might have planned to arrest Cortés and his men (Restall, *When Montezuma*, 144–8). Apart from the reasons he provided, thirteen years later in Peru Atahualpa definitely had a similar plan: Pogo, 'The Anonymous', 246.
22. Cortés, *Cartas*, 80 and 181, Cortés to Charles, 30 Oct. 1520.
23. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 1182 and 1103 n. 3785, quoting warrants issued 11–14 Apr. 1521, and to Diego Colón and other Spanish officials, 6 Sep. 1521. Ibid., II, 1254–86, recorded the mark (*señal*) of Gattinara on each warrant concerning American affairs. I respectfully dissent from the assertion of Pérez, *La revolución*, 667, that 'It seems that the events in Castile had no repercussions in America'.
24. Cortés, *Cartas*, 182, coda to Cortés's second letter included in the first printed edition. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXIII, cols 501–3 and 557, Contarini to the Signory, 24 Sep. and 24 Nov. 1522, made clear that news of the loss of Tenochtitlan arrived in Spain at the same time as news of its recovery.
25. Cortés, *Cartas*, 275, Cortés to Charles, 15 May 1522; Haring, 'Ledgers', 175, recorded the funds taken to Spain by Treasurer Julián de Alderete. A French squadron intercepted and appropriated the shipment, but not the relevant register, so that Charles knew what Cortés could deliver: see Johnson, *Cultural hierarchy*, 113 and 117–19.
26. AGI *Patronato* 48/20, Juan Sebastián El Cano to Charles, Seville, 6 Sep. 1522, copy; *LCK*, I, 73, Charles to Margaret, 31 Oct. 1522.
27. Avonto, *Mercurino*, 47–51, on the commission (quotation at p. 49); *CODOIN*, I, 97–100, and *CODOIN . . . América*, XXVI, 59–70, Charles to Cortés, 15 Oct. 1522 (three warrants); AGI *IG* 415/2/451–63, register copies of instructions 'dispatched to New Spain in October 1522'.
28. Brandi, 'Aus den Kabinettsakten', 183–6, paper of advice from Gattinara, Nov.–Dec. 1523, with individual votes by Gattinara, Gorrevod, Lachaux, La Roche, Nassau and Hernando de Vega (the only Spaniard on the committee), and rescripts by Charles; AGS *Quitaciones de Corte* 20, *nómina* of Loaysa, 4 Aug. 1524.
29. *Libros de Antaño*, VIII, 368–76, Navagero to Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Toledo, 12 Sep. 1525; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/158–75v, Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to Henry, 2 June 1525, reporting on their meeting with the Grand Chancellor.
30. *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, IX, 214–26, instructions to Luis Ponce de León, 4 Nov. 1525; *CODOIN*, I, 101–2, Charles to Cortés, 4 Nov. 1525 (in answer to his 'Carta de Relación' of 15 Oct. 1524).
31. Bornate, 'Historia', 458–76, 'Consigli del gran cancellier all'Imperatore', Sep. 1525, holograph minute (quotation at p. 460); *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, IX, 214–26, instructions to Luis Ponce de

León, 4 Nov. 1525 (Avonto, *Mercurino*, 93–7, discussed this and a second instruction of the same date).

32. Gómara, *Hispania Victrix*, book 192, on 'Cómo vino Cortés a España', included the text of Loaysa's letter. On 5 Apr. 1528, Charles signed a warrant authorizing Cortés to come (Martínez, *Documentos*, III, 11–12), but since he left Veracruz in mid-April he clearly acted before it arrived.
33. Gómara, *Hispania Victrix*, book 192. Van Deusen, 'Coming to Castile', narrated the life histories of two humble native Americans who accompanied Cortés to Spain in 1528 and remained there.
34. Germanisches Nationalmuseum *Ms.* 22,474, pp. 1–14 (native Americans), 77 (Cortés) and 83 (Doria). Its beautiful paintings are available online at http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/213/html; see also the discussion in Cline, 'Hernando Cortés'.
35. AGI *Patronato* 16/2/8, Charles to 'gouernador don Hernando Cortés marqués del Valle', 1 Apr. 1529 (incompletely and imperfectly printed in *CODOIN . . . América*, XII, 379–80); AGI *IG* 737/1, Charles to the council of the Indies, 24 May 1529, ordering the preparation of the relevant documents; AGI *Patronato* 16/2/13, 14 and 15, royal warrants dated 6 July 1529, notarized copies (also at AGI *México* 1088/1 ff. 23–7, and printed in *CODOIN . . . América*, XII, 291–7 and 380–6; and Martínez, *Documentos*, III, 49–61). Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 505–10, listed the villages granted to Cortés in 1529 and noted how they differed from those he had requested.
36. AGI *México* 1088/1/38–9, Charles to the Audiencia of Mexico, 10 Aug. 1528.
37. AGI *IG* 737/4, Tavera to Charles, 10 Dec. 1529. The future viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, was one of those who demanded 'such outrageous rewards'.
38. Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 261–71, 'Capitulación con los armadores sobre la dicha Specería', 13 Nov. 1522 (referring to the expedition under García Jofré de Loaysa to colonize the Spice Islands, which left Corunna in 1525); *LCK*, I, 73, Charles to Margaret, 31 Oct. 1522.
39. Brendecke, *Imperio*, 164–9; Cortés, *Cartas*, 325, 'Carta de Relación' to Charles, 15 Oct. 1524.
40. Fernández de Navarette, *Colección*, V, 440–1, Charles to Cortés, 20 June 1526. Cabrero Fernández, 'El empeño', 1,093, noted the abortive treaty of Seville.
41. BMECB *Ms. Granvelle*, I, 153–5, Charles to Baron Montfort, 23 Dec. 1528, holograph (printed with some errors in *PEG*, I, 441–4).
42. Cabrero Fernández, 'El empeño', chronicled the desperate bargaining over the terms of the treaty at Zaragoza, and printed the final text, signed by Gattinara and Loaysa on 22 Apr. 1529.
43. AGI *Patronato* 275/20, Charles to the Audiencia of Mexico, Madrid, 13 Mar. 1535 (Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 229, argued on the basis of a copy in AGNM that the date was 13 May 1535, but the AGI copy clearly states 13 Mar.); AGI *IG* 422/16/201, royal warrant to pay Diego Rodríguez de Narváez, 12 May 1535.
44. AGI *IG* 415/2/352–364, draft instructions to Mendoza, 25 Apr. 1535 (endorsed 'dezima') and 14 July 1536 (endorsed 'duodezima', heavily annotated). *CODOIN . . . América*, XXIII, 423–45 and 454–67, and Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 21–38, printed these documents, but without the annotations. Merluzzi, '"Con el cuidado"', 158–65, discussed Charles's various instructions to Mendoza in detail.
45. BNE *Ms. Res.* 261/70, Cortés to Charles, Madrid, 26 June 1540; AGI *Patronato* 16/1/19, same to same, 3 Feb. 1544 (endorsed 'no ay que responder' with the rubric of Francisco de Eraso).
46. AGI *IG* 737/1, Charles to council of the Indies, Barcelona, 24 May 1529 (the same letter announced the grant of a noble title and lands to Cortés); Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario*, I, 18–30, royal warrants, 26 July 1529.

47. Details from Pogo, ‘The anonymous’ (Cristóbal de Mena), 242; and Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 91–2 and 96.
48. *Libro primero de Cabildos*, III, 127, Hernando Pizarro to Charles, Seville, 14 Jan. 1534.
49. Cieza de León, *Primera parte* (1553), f. 234 (Part I, book 94); *Libro primero de Cabildos*, III, 127–8, Charles to the Casa de la Contratación, 21 Jan. 1534; Medina, *La imprenta*, I, 163–70, ‘Relación del oro del Perú que recibimos’, Feb. 1534, and Charles to the Casa, 30 Jan. 1535.
50. *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, 2ª series X, 160–7, idem, XV, 113, and AGI *Patronato* 90A/1/10, royal warrants to Pizarro, 8 Mar. 1533, 21 May 1534 and 10 Oct. 1537.
51. Maples, ‘The death’, brilliantly matched the written accounts of Pizarro’s murder in 1541 with the wounds on the skeleton that he examined in 1984.
52. Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 137–9, Vitoria to Fray Miguel de Arcos, 8 Nov. 1534.
53. AGI *Justicia* 259/2/25–26v, ‘Descargos del Virrey’, Mexico, 30 Oct. 1546, descargo 38, answering charges that he had brutalized indigenous inhabitants in wartime. (I thank Bethany Aram for verifying this reference.) Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 135, discussed the practice of ‘aperreamiento’ accompanied by a disturbing image of the practice from an indigenous source.
54. Hanke, *The Spanish struggle*, 73 (papal bull); Sandoval, *Historia*, III, 70 (Book 24, ch. 8: the Constable of Castile); Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 99. Vitoria wrote his *Relectio* in 1538 and delivered it in Jan. 1539. It was published for the first time in 1557, in France. Did Charles recall attending a lecture by Vitoria during his visit to Salamanca University in 1534 (p. 235 above)?
55. Pereña Vicente, ‘El emperador Carlos V’, 385–6; Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 152–3, Charles to the prior of San Esteban, 10 Nov. 1539. He left for France the following day.
56. Pereña Vicente, ‘El emperador Carlos V’, 379, and Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: el César*, 641–3, both suggested a connection between Algiers and the New Laws. Although they cited no sources, the idea seems plausible.
57. Danvila y Collado, *El poder civil*, V, 313, petición 94 of the Cortes of Castile, Valladolid, Apr. 1542; Las Casas, *Brevíssima relación*, ff. 3–3v, claimed that Silíceo, Philip’s former preceptor, ‘siendo obispo de Cartagena, me las pidió e presentó a Vuestra Alteza’. Pereña Vicente, ‘El emperador’, 393, presented convincing evidence that both his friends and enemies were correct to see Las Casas as the ‘godfather of the New Laws’.
58. *CODOIN*, LXXVI, 340–55, text of the New Laws, signed by the emperor in Barcelona on 20 Nov. 1542, but not published until July 1543 in Seville. Charles’s apology came in the preamble: idem, 340–1.
59. *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, 2ª series X, 86–93, charter of the empress to the governor of Santa Marta, 4 Apr. 1531; *CODOIN . . . América*, XLI, 198–204, royal warrant, 26 May 1536; Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario*, IV, 60–1, the Audiencia of Mexico to Charles, 8 Oct. 1543.
60. Ibid., 60. Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario*, IV, 64–75, López to the emperor ‘en su consejo’, Mexico, 25 Oct. 1543. See also the similar critique of Tomás López Medel, *Colonización*, 62–80, López Medel to Regents Maximilian and María, 25 Mar. 1551.
61. Cortijo Ocaña, *Cartas*, 60–5, Gómez Díaz de la Reguera to Alonso Díaz de la Reguera, San Salvador (previously Guatemala; now capital of El Salvador), 1 Aug. 1545.
62. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 383–95, Gonzalo Pizarro to Charles, undated (probably 2 or 3 Aug. 1544), and 193–7, 199–203, same to the Cabildo of Lima and to Blasco Nuñez Vela, 2 Aug. 1544, and to the Audiencia of Lima, 3 Aug. 1544. English summaries in *From Panama to Peru*, 17–25.
63. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 97–9. Although Calvete wrote his study at La Gasca’s request in 1565–7, he was the prince’s preceptor at the time of the debate and so an important member of

his court: there is no reason to doubt the veracity of his account. *CDCV*, II, 398, Philip to Charles, 30 June 1545, confirmed the gist of the council debates, which took place that month.

64. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 101–2; Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 77, Los Cobos to La Gasca, 29 Aug. 1545. On the presence of former Comuneros among the rebels of America, see Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 280, and pp. 140–1 above. Pietschman, 'Carlos V y la formación', 446–54, compared the revolt of Pizarro with that of the Comuneros.
65. *CDCV*, II, 398–9, Philip to Charles, and Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 76, Los Cobos to Charles, both 30 June 1545.
66. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 110, council debates on La Gasca's demands. Compare the council's refusal in 1529 to recommend for the new post of viceroy of Mexico candidates who demanded 'outrageous rewards': p. 352 above.
67. AGS, *E* 641/10, Charles to Los Cobos, Worms, 2 Aug. 1545; Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 236–7, Charles to the Audiencia of New Spain, Mechelen, 20 Oct. 1545; RAH *Ms.* 9/4846/66, Charles to the council of the Indies, undated but probably Feb. 1546.
68. *CODOIN . . . América*, XXIII, 507–19, Charles's instructions to La Gasca, Venlo, 14 Feb. 1546. See also BR *Ms.* II/1960 no. 12/85–93, La Gasca's copy of the draft instructions, with his holograph comments on each clause, revealing his non-negotiable demands. Merluzzi, 'Mediación', 96–7, summarized the powers eventually granted.
69. *CODOIN*, XXVI, 274–84, paper of advice on how La Gasca should behave, with neither date nor place (but probably Venlo, 14 Feb. 1546, like the instructions), and incorrectly attributed to Philip II. Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 84–8, ably discussed all these documents.
70. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 375–84, La Gasca to Gonzalo Pizarro, Jauja, 16 Dec. 1547 (also published in *CODOIN*, XLIX, 260–76; English summary in *From Panama to Peru*, 439–44).
71. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 401–21, La Gasca to Los Cobos, 3 May 1548.
72. Ibid., II, 401–21 and 258–77, La Gasca to Los Cobos, 3 May 1548, and to the council of the Indies, 26 Sep. 1548 (*CODOIN*, XLIX, 359–427, published the same letters, but some with different dates; English summaries in *From Panama to Peru*, 474–82 and 486–8). Other data on the punishment of those who had failed to oppose Gonzalo Pizarro come from Anthony, 'Intimate invasion', ch. 6, the best account currently available.
73. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 607–9, Fernández de Oviedo to La Gasca, 3 Jan. 1550 (also in *From Panama to Peru*, 517).
74. Hunt *PL* 122, Charles to La Gasca, 26 Feb. 1549 (a letter omitted by Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*).
75. *CDCV*, III, 250–5, Charles to María, Augsburg, 30 Dec. 1550, and 243–6, Charles to Maximilian and María, 20 Oct. 1550.
76. AGI *Patronato* 180/7, 'Parecer del virrey don Antonio cerca de los seruicios personales', and *CDCV*, III, 255–7, 'Relaçión de don Antonio de Mendoça', both undated but 1550. For other examples of Caesar's luck, see ch. 8.
77. Saville, 'Some unpublished letters', facsimile of letter no. 2, La Gasca to the Audiencia of Guatemala, 15 Dec. 1546. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza*, 175–6, documented the Mexican expeditionary force prepared for Peru in response to La Gasca's appeal.
78. *CLC*, IV, 293–8, speech to the Cortes of Corunna, Apr. 1520; *RVEC*, 146–50, Salinas to Ferdinand, 4 Oct. 1523. In a letter dated 16 Dec. 1523, Salinas corrected his original figure from 800,000 to 180,000 *pesos de oro*.
79. Porras Barrenechea, *Las relaciones*, 38–40, Licenciado Espinosa to Charles, Panama, 21 July 1533; *RVEC*, 645–52, Salinas to Castillejo, 11 May 1535; Tracy, *Emperor*, 155.

80. García-Baquero González, ‘Agobios carolinos’, 313–14, royal warrants of 3 Sep. 1523, 22 and 30 Jan. 1535 and Jan. 1543 (italics added). Figures from Haring, ‘Ledgers’. García-Baquero González, op. cit., claimed that Charles authorized eight sequestrations, but Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 382, counted nine.
81. Viciana, *Libro tercero*, 324 (written c. 1564). Figures from Tracy, *Emperor*, 111.
82. Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 38–57, ‘Relación, apuntamientos y avisos que por mandado de Su Majestad di a Luis de Velasco’ by Mendoza, 1551–2.
83. *CDCV*, III, 255–7, ‘Relación de don Antonio de Mendoça’, undated but 1550 (also printed in Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 57–8). See the similar reproach of Jerónimo López in 1543, quoted on pp. 361–2 above.
84. *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, I, 354–61, Royal warrant to the governor and officials of Cuba, 9 Nov. 1526; AGI *IG* 415/2/352–64, instructions to Mendoza, 25 Apr. 1535 and 14 July 1536.
85. Brendecke, *Imperio*, 184–5, with quotations from royal warrants dated 20 June and 6 Oct. 1526, and 16 Mar. 1527.
86. *CODOIN . . . Ultramar*, IX, 239–46, royal charters of 11 May and 21 Aug. 1526; Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 258–9, royal warrant on coinage, 6 June 1544. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 68–338 (nos 31–243), printed the social legislation relating to America issued by Charles; Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 299–512, printed all the laws in the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* issued between 1516 and 1556; Pérez Bustamente, ‘Actividad legislativa’, analysed the laws and calculated the totals. Bonal Zazo, ‘Disposiciones Carolinas’, surveyed Charles’s legislation for Spain.
87. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 175–6, royal warrant to the governor of Nicaragua, 9 Sep. 1536.
88. AGI *Patronato* 193/18/213–33, dossier about ‘lo del río de Chagres’, including a royal warrant to Francisco de Barrionuevo, gobernador de Tierra Firme (undated but Jan. 1534). I thank Bethany Aram for drawing this reference to my attention.
89. AGI *IG* 737/63, ‘Lo que resulta para consultar a Vuestra Magestad lo que scriven los del consejo de Indias’, mid-Nov. 1550 (undated, but the *consulta* mentioned the recent death of Licenciado Villalobos, fiscal of the council, on 8 Nov. 1550, and so was written very soon afterwards); AGI *México* 1089/4/419v–423v, three royal warrants dated Toro, 21 Sep. 1551, concerning the new ‘estudio y universidad’ in Mexico. Proof that the measure took effect appears in Gerhard, *Síntesis*, 63, *mandamiento* 253, in which the viceroy ordered on 20 Nov. 1553 that the prior of the local Dominican convent be paid 100 pesos for his salary as professor of theology, since he had ‘taught on every one of the days that he was required to do so’ for the previous six months.
90. Lee, *Libros de Cabildos*, IV, 258, instructions to procuradores, 23 Jan. 1550; AGI *Lima* 566/6/368–368v and 382v–383, warrant to the Audiencia of Lima, 1 May 1551 and charter creating a new university in Mexico, 12 May 1551, both signed in Valladolid.
91. The websites maintained by the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos claim that its foundation charter was signed in Valladolid on 12 May 1551 either by Charles (who was in Augsburg) or by Joanna (who was in Tordesillas). In fact it was signed ‘La reyna’: the style used at the time by Charles’s daughter, María, queen of Bohemia and regent in Spain.
92. *CDCV*, III, 403–4, Charles to Philip, Mar. 1552. (The emperor devoted special attention to the potential Portuguese threat to his own transatlantic possessions, a problem to which Mendoza’s ‘Relación’ – see next note – devoted much attention: a coincidence that identifies both documents.)
93. *CDCV*, III, 255–7, ‘Relación de don Antonio de Mendoça’ (also printed in Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 57–8, with an important correction: ‘mudar’ instead of ‘mandar’).

94. AGNM *Mercedes* II/257, 'Provisión del rey para la libertad de los de Tascala', 29 Mar. 1541, reissued 4 Apr. 1542. Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 80–2, discusses the conflicting legislation.
95. Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 131, instructions for Velasco, 16 Apr. 1550; AGNM *Mercedes* III/102 (*expediente* 253), *mandamiento* in favour of the son of the late Sebastián Rodríguez, 18 July 1550, one of many such orders.
96. *CDCV*, III, 577–92, Charles to Philip, 2 Apr., with a postscript dated 27 Apr. 1553; Kamen, *Felipe*, 60–1, quoting an exchange about indigenous inhabitants from Sep. 1554.
97. Bataillon, 'Pour l'epistolario', 384–7, Las Casas to Soto, May 1549, referring to previous epistolary exchanges.
98. Las Casas, *Brevíssima relación*, ff. 3–3v (Dedication) and ff. 63v–64 ('Sumario' of the charge by Fray Domingo de Soto); Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 645, Maximilian and María, regents, to Soto, 7 July and 4 Aug. 1550; Castilla Urbano, 'La superación', 41, council of the Indies to Charles, 15 Dec. 1554. Castilla Urbano provides the best concise account of the work of the committee, which met in Valladolid Aug.–Sep. 1550 and Apr.–May 1551. La Gasca only participated in the second session.
99. Lippens, 'Jean Glapion', XLV, 39–41 (Glapion died before he left Spain); Castet, *Annales*, VIII, 225 (noting Glapion's efforts to create and lead a group of Franciscan missionaries from the Netherlands to America); Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, Part II, includes several letters to and from Soto on American affairs.
100. Konetzke, *Colección*, 113–20, 'Ordenanzas' issued 4 Dec. 1528, and 131–2, 'Consulta del consejo', 10 Dec. 1529. See other examples from 1525 and 1535 on pp. 350 and 354 above, and in Konetzke, *Colección*, 103–6 (1528: charter of Charles and Joanna 'queriendo en esto descargar nuestras conciencias reales'), 130–1 (1529: charter issued 'para descargo de nuestras conciencias'); and so on.
101. Martínez, *Documentos*, III, 136 (Petition of Francisco Núñez to Charles, May 1530) and 266–77 (Relación of the Audiencia to Charles, 1531), and IV, 62–77 (*Relación* of Cortés to Charles, 1533). Other examples (among many) from Cortés at ibid., 132–5 (1535), 190 (1539), 210–15 (1540), 243–5 (1543), 257–70 (1544) and 328 (will of Cortés, clause XXXVII, 12 Oct. 1547).
102. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 544–7, La Gasca to the magistrates of Arica, 28 Sep. 1549, minute. Although La Gasca did not identify the recipient of this remarkable letter, full of references to Charles's 'delicada conciencia', I deduce Arica because it is precisely 170 leagues from Potosí.
103. Espinosa to Charles, Panama, 21 July 1533 (p. 368 above); *Este es vn traslado*, f. 4 (I thank Danielle Anthony for bringing this rare pamphlet to my attention).

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR IN HIS PRIME

1. Firpo, *Relazioni*, I, 336, Relation of Giovanni Micheli, 13 May 1557 (partial English translation in *CSPV*, VI/2, 1,043–85); BMECB *Ms. Granvelle*, 8/189, Gonzalo Pérez to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 19 Feb. 1564 (minute in AGS *E* 525/81), trying to excuse the slow development of Charles's grandson, don Carlos.
2. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, instruction of 6 May 1543. For more on this document see ch. 11 and Pl. 9; for his linguistic limitations in 1517–18, see ch. 4.
3. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols 302–7, letter of Hironimo Bontempo, Bologna, 25 Nov. 1529; ASF *MdP* 4296/57v, Alessandro Serristori to Duke Cosimo, 16 Oct. 1537 ('Sua Maestà nelle riposte che mi faceva sempre parlò in lingua Toscana'); TNA *SP* 68/11 no. 611, Dudley and Morison to Privy Council, 25 Jan. 1553. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, 27–8 and 587–8, noted that many of Henry VIII's ministers, including Richard Morison, were fluent in Italian.

4. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols 371–2, Corner's report on the coronation at Aachen ('perchè lei non parla anchora molto promptamente lo idioma aleman'); *L&P Henry VIII*, III/1, 428–30, Spinelly to Wolsey, 2 Feb. 1521; Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 197, Dantiszek to King Sigismund, Madrid, 16 Mar. 1525, Latin, but with Charles's German words transcribed in the Gothic script used in German texts (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 172).
5. Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, II, 225–32, Martin Bucer to Heinrich Bullinger, 23 Dec. 1543 (Charles 'germanica respondebat'). On the emperor's idiosyncratic German at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 see p. 196.
6. Sastrow, an eyewitness, recorded Charles's remarks in Low German or Dutch in 1547–8: 'Wel, Carlevitz, how zal het nu wel worden?' (to Christoph von Carlowitz, chief adviser to Maurice of Saxony); 'Wel, ik zal u leeren lachgen' (to the landgrave of Hesse); and 'Vesali, gy zult naar Carlevitz gaan, die zal ieswat schik zyn; ziet, dat gy hem helpt' (Andreas Vesalius was Charles's personal physician as well as one of the greatest anatomists of his day): see Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 16, 29–30 and 84. Weinrich, 'Sprachanekdoten', 185, suggested that Charles's Low German and Dutch may have been interchangeable (although he cited no source); de Grauw, 'Quelle langue', 158, noted that Charles would have heard 'Brabançon' spoken around his palace in Mechelen (and Maximilian encouraged him to learn it: p. 30 above).
7. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.III/227–31, Lee to Wolsey, 21 Mar 1526; Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 197–8 (perhaps quoting an anecdote first found in Giovio, *Delle Historie*, book XXVII, who alleged that it happened when Charles arrived in Genoa in 1529); *NBD*, V, 193, Nuncio Poggio to Paul III, 20 Apr. 1540 (quoting Charles at an audience); Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 151, Instructions of 4 May 1543; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 76–8, van Male to Praet, 23 Nov. 1552 (van Male used the Greek word for 'brag').
8. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, col. 384, Marco Antonio Magno to Marco Contarini, 20 July 1530; idem, LVII, cols 212–14, Relation of Marco Minio and other ambassadors, Nov. 1532, after eighteen days 'sempre cavalcando con la Cesarea Magestad'. The evidence contradicts the categorical assertion of Alfred Morel-Fatio that Charles 'was never capable of speaking for ninety minutes in Italian' and 'did not understand German': Morel-Fatio, 'L'espagnol', 218.
9. Fabrizi d'Acquapendente, *De Locutione*, 23, offered two versions of this anecdote, claiming that one came from 'a German'. This seems to be the first iteration of the story in print, but since Fabrizi was born in 1533 and first published his short treatise on speech in 1601 he clearly related hearsay. Subsequent versions of this 'itinerant anecdote' later appeared in English, French, German and Russian: see details in Buceta, 'El juicio', 11–14, and Weinrich, 'Sprachanekdoten', 182–3.
10. Admittedly, Erasmus stressed that rulers must learn languages – see Pollnitz, 'Old words', 146–7 – but there is no evidence that Charles paid heed.
11. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530–1531*, 414, Aleandro to Cardinal Salviati, 19 Nov. 1531. Initially, Aleandro felt nervous because several of his contemporaries claimed that he was a Jew; and so 'I replied with a smile that I did not want His Majesty to be outraged, like the Lutherans, if I told him that the script was Hebrew'. On Maximilian's insistence on linguistic proficiency, see ch. 2 above.
12. Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida*, 47–9 (based in part on Ribadeneyra, *Vida*, f. 11v–12). See also p. 235 above on Charles's visit to the university of Salamanca at the same time.
13. Bataillon, 'Charles-Quint', 257–8, Nicholas Curtz to Charles, Nuremberg, 21 Mar. 1543. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 331–2, speculated on the fate of the instrument by Apian and the book by Copernicus.
14. Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2–3, relating his conversations with Ferdinand in 1563–4 (my thanks to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend for this reference).

15. ASF *MdP* 652/355, Agnolo Niccolini to Lorenzo Pagni, 25 July 1541; AGS *E* 73/239, Charles to Los Cobos, 11 Aug. 1546, decrypt. See also Charles's impressive writing desk from 1532, currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (# 11–1891), described by Jordano, 'The *plus oultra* writing cabinet', and Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra', 226–7. Sometimes, Charles's insistence on writing holograph letters could cause delays, see (for example) *CMH*, I, 551–3, Granvelle to Marie, 16 Nov. 1532, explaining that Charles had ordered a secretary to prepare some letters to her and the empress, 'but he has put off signing them, hoping from one day to the next that he could write to you both with his own hand'. Since he had not found time, Granvelle decided to explain why others would hear news before she did.
16. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 829, Relation of Marino Cavalli, 1551, after three years spent at the imperial court.
17. *NBD*, IX, 71–3, Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg to Cardinal Farnese, 9 June 1546; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 673–7, Mocenigo to the Doge, 7/8 Sep. 1546 (the ambassador wrote that the council met 'fino alle 5 hore di notte', which according to the Venetian measurement of time meant five and a half hours after sunset. In Ingolstadt in mid-September – because 8 Sep. was 18 Sep. according to the Gregorian Calendar – the sun sets around 7.20 p.m., so '5 hore di notte' meant just after midnight.
18. ASP *GG* busta 43, unfol., Gonzaga's instructions to Gonzalo Girón, 20 Dec. 1553, copy; and ibid., Musi to Gonzaga, 13 Dec. 1553, copy, reporting a conversation with Juan de Figueroa.
19. Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 96, testimony of Francisco de Toledo to the Inquisition, relating an indiscretion by his brother, the count of Oropesa; *NBD*, XI, 72–3, Bertano to Farnese, 13 Aug. 1548. For more on this exchange see ch. 15 below; and on Soto's advice to execute John Frederick of Saxony, see ch. 12 above. Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, pp. 29*–32*, published Soto's only surviving paper of advice to Charles, a fire-eating analysis in Feb. 1546 'on the enterprise of Germany'. See also the short article on Soto by Carro, 'Influencia'.
20. *CDCV*, III, 177–8, Charles to María and Maximilian, 25 Jan. 1550. Although the emperor never defaulted on his loans, less than six months after his accession as king of Castile Philip II decreed a suspension of all interest payments and the forcible conversion of outstanding loans to low-interest bonds.
21. BNE *Ms.* 9937/23–23v, notes for his chronicle by Florián de Ocampo, Jan. 1550; Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 642–4, Soto to Charles and to Francisco de Eraso, Salamanca, 1 July 1550, both holograph. All the criticisms attributed to Soto about selling assets promiscuously were well founded: see p. 447 above.
22. Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 636–7, Valdés to Soto, 16 Apr. 1549 (one of several similar letters); Bataillon, 'Pour l'epistolario', 384–7, Las Casas to Soto, May 1549, referring to previous epistolary exchanges. See also Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 71–5.
23. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance*, 10, Selve to Francis I, 10 July 1546, quoting Chancellor Wriothesley; *NBD*, XII, 235–8, Nuncio Camaiani to Cardinal del Monte, 12 Mar. 1552. See pp. 137 and 206–7 for earlier examples of Charles bypassing his ministers and allies.
24. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 415–17, account of the chapter of the Order held in Jan. 1546 at Utrecht (like Tournai, a territory acquired by Charles). The account is terser than usual, and may reflect an incomplete record: ibid., p. VIII.
25. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, 320–1 and 326. Braudel once told me that he preferred 'Distance: public enemy number one' as the translation of 'L'espace: ennemi numéro 1' to that of the English edition: 'Distance, the first enemy': F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, vol. I (London, 1972), 355.
26. *CWE*, XI, 54–6 (# 1554), Erasmus to Lallemand, 24 Feb. 1525; *CWE*, XV, 265–7 (# 2198), Valdés to Erasmus, July 1529; *CCG*, IV, 558, Granvelle to Morillon, 11 May 1573.

27. ADN *B* 2177, register of Simon Longin for 1502, unfol., included payments to Francisco de Taxis among the 'menus voyaiges et messageries'; Alcázar Molina, 'La política postal española', 227–9 (on the contract of 1516); Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 65–98; Pettegree, *The invention*, 17–18 and 169.
28. *LCK*, II, 361, Charles to Ferdinand, 11 Jan. 1530; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 364–5 (# 643), to the marquesses of Los Vélez and Mondéjar, 15 July 1519; BNMV, *Ms. Italiani*, *Classe* VII, Cod. 1009/164v, Contarini to the Signory, Brussels, 22 Jan. 1522; Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 81 (a courier left Rome at 'ore 20' on 17 June 1545 and arrived in Worms at 'ore 11' on 23 June).
29. *KFF*, I, xxviii–xxx, and II/1, ix–xii. Strohmeyer, *Die Korrespondenz*, 61–6, showed that letters exchanged between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs in the 1560s took between nineteen and eighty-five days to reach their destination.
30. RAH *Salazar* A-60/125, bishop of Osma to Perrenot, 1 Feb. 1557; Fagel, *De Hispano-Vlaamse Wereld*, 317.
31. *SP*, VI, 451–76, Tunstal and Sampson to Henry VIII, 11 Aug. 1525 (Henry had signed the letters on 3 July); *LCK*, I, 270, prince of Orange to Charles, 14 June 1528; AGS *E* 874/8, Vega to Charles, 8 Feb. 1547.
32. *SP*, IX, 355–60, Bonner to Henry, 15 Apr. 1543.
33. Tracy, *Emperor*, 109.
34. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 496–500, Charles's instructions for his ambassadors in England, 13 Dec. 1521; HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/4/68, Charles to Margaret, 25 Aug. 1522, copy; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/247, Charles to his ambassadors in Rome, 10 Jan. 1525, minute; AGS *PR* 17 no. 35, Charles's instructions to Figueroa, Feb. 1529; AGS *PR* 16 no. 75, Charles's instructions to Juan de Vega, 4 July 1543.
35. AA 4/95, Charles to Alba, 27 Oct. 1543, holograph.
36. AGS *PR* 17 no. 35, Charles's instructions to Figueroa, Feb. 1529; *PR* 45 no. 21, Charles's instructions to Soria, 19 Apr. 1529. Much of Soria's personal archive has survived, revealing the extent of his correspondence with other imperial servants and subjects in Italy: see Ibarra y Rodríguez and Arsenio de Izaga, 'Catálogo', and Pizarro Llorente, 'Un embajador'. See also BNE *Ms.* 20214/62, a collection of seventeen Latin letters from Soria to the young Antoine Perrenot while he was a student at Padua, 1538–9
37. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 465–6, Relation of Navagero, July 1546. Some ambassadors noted that Charles likewise lost his 'solemnity' when engaged in jousts and other sports. Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, Book XXX ch. 24, asserted that the emperor 'placed himself at risk in battle beyond what a sovereign or general should do'.
38. *LCK*, I, 300–8, Margaret to Charles, 26 May 1529 (Charles the Bold died in battle in 1477; Charles of France, to whom Margaret had once been engaged, was routed at the battle of Fornovo in 1495); *KFF*, V, 211–12, Marie to Ferdinand, 12 Apr. 1535. For Marie's opposition to Charles's exposure in battle in 1538, see ch. 9 above.
39. HSA *B* 2032, Charles to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, his ambassador in Portugal, 30 Aug. 1549 (conveniently forgetting that he had appointed Luis his second-in-command during the Tunis campaign); *SP*, IX, 683–93, Paget and Wotton to Henry VIII, 2 June 1544 (Charles had made the same argument during the Tunis campaign).
40. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/139v–140v, Charles to Ferdinand, 21 and 26 Mar. 1547, holograph postscripts. Movements from Foronda, *Viajes*, 589.
41. García Fuentes, 'Testigo', 93, from the chronicle of Bernabé de Busto; ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Cosimo, 8 June 1551; De Witte, 'Cornelis', 184–8, letters to Marie of

Hungary, Apr.–Aug. 1548 (bizarrely, De Witte insisted that Baersdorp addressed his letters to Empress Isabella, who died in 1539: in fact he wrote to Marie).

42. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370–1, 'Sommaire de l'Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l'empereur Charles V, en l'année 1550'. Charles took a German sauna with him to Yuste: see ch. 16 below.
43. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 171, listed the seventeen attacks of gout between 1528 and 1550 recorded in the emperor's *Memoirs*.
44. Gachard, *Trois années*, 69, Navagero to the Signory, 18 Jan. 1545; ASF *MdP* 3101A/1085, Francesco di Paolo Vinta to Duke Cosimo, 2 Apr. 1548 (from Milan, hence the attention paid to the appearance of a portrait rather than to its subject).
45. De Witte, 'Cornelis', 187–8, letters to Marie of Hungary, 10 July and 7 Aug. 1548; Giles, *The whole works*, I, ii, 267–8, Roger Ascham to Edward Raven, Augsburg, 29 Jan. 1551; Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370–1, 'Sommaire' of Marillac, 1550–1.
46. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 86–8, based on his observation of the emperor's mealtimes in Brussels, and during the Diets at Augsburg, Speyer (twice) and Worms (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 230–1). See earlier observations on Charles's table manners at p. 210 above. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BK-NM-562–566, is a portable cutlery set (a fork and four knives) made for Charles in Italy in 1532, and perhaps the ones observed by Sastrow.
47. ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Cosimo, 22 July 1550 ('certo è eccellentissimo imberciatore'); Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 19–21, van Male to Praet, 9 June 1551.
48. *SP*, X, 319–21, and TNA *SP* 1/212/42, Paget to Petrie, 1 Mar. and 16 Dec. 1545; *NBD*, VIII, 68–70, Verallo to Cardinal Farnese, 9 Feb. 1545 (italics added).
49. Alarcón, *Viajes*, 66–9 (description from Sep. 1872); Ordi, 'The severe gout', 519. See also Appendix II.
50. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 88 (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 231). At the Hotel Adelshof in Halle, Germany, dedicated Carlophiles can eat the exact menu served to Charles when in 1541 and again in 1546 he stayed in the large house that stood on the site: Ozment, *The bürgermeister's daughter*, 145. Although the hotel supplies the food, to enjoy dining like the emperor to the full, please bring your own jesters.
51. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 433–6, 'Las pláticas que el emperador passó con [el embajador francés] por la misma forma y palabras', by Idiáquez, 1538 (italics added); ASF *MdP* 4306/71, Bernardo de' Medici to Duke Cosimo, 28 June 1548.
52. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.XIII/258, John Brereton to Wriothesley, Valladolid, 23 June 1537; Nott, *The works*, II, 518–23, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt's memorial', Nov. 1537.
53. Enzinas, *Mémoires*, I, 205–7, describing the audience on 25 Nov. 1543 at which he presented the emperor with a copy of *El nvevo testamento . . . dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad. Habla Dios*. Enzinas was lucky: two weeks before, Charles had banned his book as heretical, but did not realize that its author now stood before him (Enzinas, *Mémoires*, I, 642–4). Sastrow likewise reported that every day after dinner Charles 'took his seat in one of the window recesses, where everybody could approach him or hand him a petition and explain his reasons. The emperor gave his decision on the spot' (Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 88).
54. ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Cosimo, 29 June 1551; *CSPF Edward VI*, 137–8, Dr Wotton to the Privy Council, 30 June 1551. For other 'pungent words' uttered at an audience in 1548, see p. 333 above.
55. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 366–70, Marillac's report on his embassy, 1550. See the identical conclusion of Ambassador Thomas Wyatt in 1538: 'The emperor pays no attention to people except when he needs them' (Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 374, translated from Wyatt's complaint to an Italian ambassador).

56. *NBD*, XII, 198–200, Camaiani to Pope Julius, 22 Feb. 1552.
57. Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, II, 225–32, Bucer to Bullinger, 23 Dec. 1543, Latin.

CHAPTER 14: PATERFAMILIAS, 1548–51

1. Bodart, *Tiziano*, 209, Ambassador Leonardi to the duke of Urbino, 18 Mar. 1530; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 541 (Mocenigo) and III, 55 (Badoer). On the erroneous suggestion that Charles sired a fourth illegitimate daughter, see Appendix IV.
2. Crutzen, 'L'origine', 159–62, cited Charles's warrant granting Jeanne an annual pension of £24 on 1 Aug. 1522, no doubt shortly after she had given birth; his warrant of 31 Oct. 1542, just after Jeanne's death, ordering the pension to be transferred to her daughters; and a petition for money submitted in 1559 by two of Jeanne's siblings to Margarita of Parma, their niece and now regent of the Netherlands, reminding her that they were 'poor people of good family' who 'gained their living from weaving tapestries'.
3. *KFF*, I, 474–8, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Oct. 1526 (on a plan to marry 'ma bastarde qu'est en Flandres' to the prince of Ferrara); AGS *PR* 45/18, Instructions to Leyva and Caracciolo, 27 June 1529 (offering her to Mantua); AGS *PR* 45/84, marriage treaty signed in Barcelona, 23 June 1529; RAH *Ms. Salazar* A-44/135, Charles's act legitimizing Margarita, 9 July 1529.
4. AGS *E* 867/3 and 6, Charles to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 Jan. 1538, and to the marquis of Aguilar, 3 Feb. 1538.
5. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, II, v–vii, Charles to Margarita, 11 Apr. and 15 Aug. 1540, both holograph. Margarita's letters to Charles have evidently disappeared, but the English ambassador overheard imperial courtiers 'speaking of a devorce' between Margarita and Octavio: Powell, *The complete works*, I, 242, Thomas Wyatt to Thomas Cromwell, Ghent, 2 Apr. 1540.
6. Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera*, I, 312–13, Giovio (travelling with the emperor) to Nicolas Raynce and Girolamo Angleria, 7 June 1543 ('Il bel duca Ottavio chiavò in Pavia quattro volte la prima notte la sua Madama'); *NBD*, VIII, 520–6, Nuncio Dandini to Cardinal Farnese, 5–6 Jan. 1546 (on Charles's interest in the twins).
7. AGS *E* 644/101, Charles to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 19 Sep./7 Oct. 1547 (about 'the illness of the duke of Camarino'). On Margarita's later career, see d'Onofrio, *Il carteggio intimo*; de Iongh, *Madama*; and Steen, *Margaret*. When he grew up, Alessandro Farnese became one of Spain's most successful generals.
8. The original reads 'le yzo hazer *una señal* nela pierna derecha'. What did the word 'señal' signify? Two years earlier, Charles complained that Spanish settlers 'hierran de *una señal* en el rostro' free native Americans to suggest that they were slaves (and tried to regulate the practice): Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 109–11, royal order of 20 Nov. 1528, issued 'after consultation with me, the king'. The sense here is clearly branding, and so Charles may have ordered that his daughter be branded (rather than merely tattooed).
9. AGS *E* 142/135, 'Breve Relación del caso de la Señora Orsolina de la Peña' submitted to Philip II by Camillo Enobarbo in 1562, together with supporting documents that included f. 134, two autograph letters of Charles to Ursolina della Penna, 13 and 19 Apr. 1536, in French and Italian, and f. 142, Tadea to Philip II, 12 Oct. 1562. Imperfect transcripts of these documents appeared in *CODOIN*, LXXXVIII, 512–21. Gossart, 'Deux filles', discussed them.
10. BNMV *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/408v, Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten, 28 Jan. 1525 (mentioning 'la fiola de la Maestà Cesarea, la qual hebbe in Vagliadolid ja 18 mesi'). On Girolamo da Nogarola and the mysterious imperial gift of 'due milia [scudi] per maritare una sua figliuola' in May 1524, see Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni*, VI, 240–1.

11. AGS *E* 5/231, Prioress María de Aragón to Henry of Nassau, 28 Mar. 1524, holograph (partially printed in *CODOIN*, LXXXVIII, 510–11). Díaz del Valle y de la Puerta, *Historia del reyno de León*, II, parte 1ª, f. 86, stated (without providing a source) that 'otra hija del César fue doña Juana de Austria que murió de edad de 7 años el de 1530, siendo novicia en el convento de Augustinos en la villa de Madrigal donde yaze'. Zurdo Manso and Cerro Calvo, *Madrigal*, 40, claimed (also without providing a source) that in 1530 Juana 'murió ahogada en el pozo del convento'. I thank Ruth MacKay and Felipe Vidales del Castillo for discussing the fate of Juana with me.
12. *KFF*, III/2, 223–33, Charles to Ferdinand, 29 July 1531, holograph. Despite his profession that he was 'about to leave', Charles remained in the Netherlands for more than five months.
13. *CODOIN*, XIV, 16–17, Loaysa to Charles, 8 June 1530; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols 208–10, letter of Zuan Francesco Masardo, Innsbruck, 5 May 1530; Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633–7 (also printed in Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, 1e série, III, 296–306), Charles's recollections at an audience in 1556, recorded by an anonymous French eyewitness.
14. Rosso, *Istoria*, 70; Poumarède, 'Le voyage', 283, Ambassador Alfonso Rossetti to Ercole of Este, 1 Mar. 1536; Cosentini, *Una dama*, 66–80 (his regret recorded on p. 76).
15. Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 17–19; Keniston, *Francisco de Los Cobos*, 204, Vázquez to Los Cobos, 13 Feb. 1538; March, *Niñez*, II, 345, Doña Estefanía de Requesens to her mother, 23 Mar. 1538. The emperor had rejoined his wife in Valladolid on 27 Nov. 1537 and left her again on 21 Dec.
16. Panzer, *Barbara*, ch. 2, suggests that Barbara may have caught Charles's eye when he went hunting in Geisling, near Regensburg, where her parents owned property, and later visited him in the Gasthof 'Zum goldenen Kreuz' in Regensburg (see Pl. 5 in her book). Ozment, *The bürgermeister's daughter*, ch. 2, revealed how easily clandestine affairs could develop in Charles's Germany.
17. BMECB *Ms. Granvelle* V/423–4, codicil signed by Charles, 6 June 1554, enclosing the affidavit signed by Massi on 13 June 1550 (copies made from the originals in 1624). *PEG*, IV, 495–500, printed both texts, but omitted the descriptions and annotations made by the copyist. The emperor's precise description regarding Gerónimo's conception and birth suggests that he was the only illegitimate child conceived after the empress's death – or at least the only one still alive in 1554. For more on the codicil, see ch. 15.
18. Gachard, *Études*, 9–10 and 21 (warrants issued by the treasury of the Netherlands in 1551 in favour of Hieronymus Kegel Piramus), and 14 (details of Barbara's household in 1571). No surviving documents reveal when Barbara married Hieronymus, but the coincidence that her son received the same name as his stepfather suggests that Barbara knew her future husband before Charles sequestered the boy.
19. GRM, II, 506–7, Quijada to Philip, 12 Oct. 1558 (the secret messenger who conveyed the money was Ogier Bogart, who had witnessed the document empowering François Massi to take charge of Gerónimo in 1550). For more on Barbara's sad existence until she died in 1597, see Lafuente, 'La madre', Lozano Mateos, 'Noticias', and Panzer, *Barbara*.
20. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 198–241, describes the selection of a preceptor. Charles signed Silíceo's title as *maestro* on 1 July 1534, a few days after hearing him lecture: March, *Niñez*, I, 104. Gonzalo, op. cit., 237, stated that the empress accompanied her husband to Salamanca, and so probably played a part in selecting Silíceo, but in fact she travelled directly from Segovia to Valladolid (Girón, *Crónica*, 43).
21. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 242–56 (on the selection of Zúñiga); Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la Cámara Real*, 1–3.

22. March, *Niñez*, I, 230, Zúñiga to Charles, 11 Feb. 1536 – explaining why he had been absent when Philip became injured in a fight between two of his pages. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, II, 100, gave the household size.
23. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 243, quoting Francisco de Monzón, *Libro primero del espejo del prinçipe christiano* (Lisbon, 1544).
24. March, *Niñez*, I, 68–70, 72, Silíceo to Charles, 25 Feb. 1536 and 19 Mar. 1540. See also the complaints of López de la Cuadra early in 1543 that 'in the past two years, His Highness has spent no more than fifteen to twenty days in learning to write' and 'in the past four months has spent only five hours studying Latin': Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, II, 143 n. 724.
25. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 258–9.
26. March, *Niñez*, I, 230, Zúñiga to Charles, 9 Feb. 1536. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 260–73, described Philip's religious formation, and identified the Rosarium as the one illuminated by Simon Bening now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (ibid., 266–7).
27. March, *Niñez*, I, 227, Zúñiga to Charles, 25 Aug. 1535 (Zúñiga had served Charles since 1506, when the future emperor was only six, which gave force to his parallel).
28. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, II, 129–46, is enlightening on the emperor's efforts to keep Philip and his sisters apart. For one example, see *CDCV*, II, 229, Charles to Philip, Metz, 6 July 1544 – that is, the emperor found time to micro-manage his children's lives just as he began his invasion of France.
29. Charles's treatment of his daughters contrasted sharply with the loving and caring letters that Philip II wrote to his daughters in the 1580s: see Parker, *Imprudent king*, 167–70.
30. AGS *CSR* 106/470–1, Albalá to 'el bachiller Christobal de Estrella', 4 Feb. 1541. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 499–572, provided an admirable biography of each preceptor.
31. HHStA *Ms. Blau* 596/1/45v–46, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Nov. 1542; BL *Addl. Ms*. 28,706/1–16 contain the major documents concerning Philip's Portuguese marriage sent to Charles's ambassador in Lisbon on 23 Sep. 1542. Even then, the papal Bull failed to cover all instances of consanguinity, and Charles had to secure another one 'suppliendo el deffecto de la dispensación que se concedió quando os casastes con la princesa': *CDCV*, II, 636–9, Charles to Philip, 8 July 1548.
32. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 70–7, Charles to Philip, 4 May 1543 (whence all subsequent quotations from this document come). Charles did not care about exposing his daughter Margarita or his niece Christina to teenage sex: see above.
33. The normally compliant Borja refused to obey the emperor's outrageous order, fearing that 'de mi yda se podría rescrescer algo de que Vuestra Magestad fuesse deservido'. He and the duchess therefore stayed at home until long after Philip and his wife had consummated their union: see *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, II, 460–4 and VI, 609–11, Francisco de Borja, duke of Gandía, to Charles, Philip and Los Cobos, all on 2 Oct. 1543.
34. BZ 144/39 and Riba García, *Correspondencia*, 25–6, Mateo Vázquez to Philip II with rescripts, 28 Dec. 1574 and 21 Mar. 1576.
35. *CDCV*, II, 172–3 and 183, Charles to Philip, 27 Oct. and 15 Nov. 1543, and 189–93, Philip to Charles, 4 Feb. 1544, minute.
36. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II. La mirada*, 124.
37. March, *Niñez*, I, 323–6, Charles to Zúñiga, 17 Feb. 1545.
38. *CDCV*, II, 332 and 343, Charles to Philip, 13 Jan. and 17 Feb. 1545; March, *Niñez*, I, 324, Charles to Zúñiga, Brussels, 17 Feb. 1545, all with holograph postscripts.
39. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El aprendizaje*, 166, prints part of the document, presented to Philip in a private ceremony of investiture on 16 Sep. 1546.

40. *CDCV*, II, 407, Charles to Philip, 2 Aug. 1545, postscript; AGS *E* 641/11–12, Charles to Los Cobos, 3 Aug. 1545, holograph postscript.
41. AGS *E* 644/20, Charles to Philip, 25 Dec. 1547; *CDCV*, II, 564–9, Charles's instructions to Alba, [18 Jan. 1548].
42. *CDCV*, II, 569–92, Instructions, 18 Jan. 1548, from which all quotations come. Granvelle's copy, which seems to be an earlier draft, was printed in *PEG*, III, 267–318. Charles may have worked from a draft prepared by Granvelle, as he seems to have done when drafting his instructions of 1539 (ch. 10); or he may have worked alone, as he did with his instructions in 1543 (ch. 11). Since no original appears to have survived, certainty is impossible.
43. The text in Granvelle's archive omitted the paragraph about Pier Luigi Farnese and Piacenza, so perhaps Charles added it himself (*CDCV*, II, 576 n. 691). Paul III was Octavio's grandfather and so had strong views on this subject.
44. Gachard, 'Mémoire', 29, Manrique to Cisneros, 8 Mar. 1516. See also the abortive partition plan proposed to Charles by Margaret of Austria and her council in 1519: ch. 4 above.
45. Pietschmann, 'Carlos V y la formación', 440–4, and idem, 'Carlos V y América', 267–75, provided an excellent analysis of the three paragraphs of Charles's Political Testament devoted to America, the emperor's only substantial consideration of their affairs. Remarkably, he omitted two other important issues: Spain's 'just title' to govern, and Church affairs.
46. Pietschmann, 'Carlos V y la formación', 444–5.
47. *CDCV*, II, 612–15, Charles to Philip, 9 Apr. 1548. The emperor justified his choice in part because of the 'good sense and prudence' with which Maximilian 'is handling the affairs of the Empire in my place' at the Diet of Augsburg.
48. ASF *MdP* 4307, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Duke Cosimo, 28 Sep. 1548.
49. ASF *MdP* 4307, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Duke Cosimo, 9 Nov. 1548 and 6 Apr. 1549.
50. BL *Eg. Ms.* 2148/16v, account of the 'prince of Spayne's' entry to Mantua by Thomas Hoby, an eyewitness.
51. *RTA*, XVIII, 2082–2176, prints the debates at the Diet concerning the 'Burgundischer Vertrag' in Mar.–June 1548.
52. Frieder, *Chivalry*, 133–58 described and dissected 'les fêtes de Binche'. In 2003 UNESCO declared the annual carnival at Binche a 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity'.
53. ASF *MdP* 4307, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici to Duke Cosimo, 28 June 1549; and *MdP* 4308, unfol., same to same, 7 Dec. 1549.
54. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 831, Relation of Marino Cavalli, 1551.
55. Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 255, Roger Ascham to Edward Raven, 29 Jan. 1551 (describing the passenger barges that plied the Rhine).
56. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12–13, van Male to Louis de Praet (his patron), 17 July 1550. Some have claimed that the emperor dictated his memoirs to van Male, but his letter clearly stated that Charles 'scriberet in navi'. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 160, argued that Charles stopped writing his memoirs when he reached Mainz on 18 June, but this seems unfounded: he embarked on the Rhine at Cologne on 14 June and travelled upstream on his barge until he reached Speyer on 23 June (Foronda, *Viajes*, 617–18). For more on the *Memoirs*, see Appendix I.
57. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12–13, van Male to Louis de Praet, 17 July 1550; Zimmerman, 'The publication', 89, Bernardo de' Medici, bishop of Forlì, to Duke Cosimo, Augsburg, 19 Dec. 1550.
58. Ribadeneyra, *Vida*, 109v–10. Unfortunately, Ribadeneyra gave no date, stating unhelpfully that this exchange took place on 'no sé qual de las vezes que estuuo el padre Francisco en Iuste con

el emperador'; but the most likely occasion was Dec. 1557, when the future saint spent two whole days visiting the emperor: GRM, I, 235.

59. *CDCV*, IV, 486: I cite throughout from this version.
60. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 170–1, listed the various 'numérotages' in the *Memoirs*.
61. *CDCV*, IV, 532, described 'la primera falta o yerro' of 'los de la Liga de Schmalkalden', and ibid., 560, highlighted the 'sexta falta y error'.
62. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción*, no. 84. Mexía ended his *Historia Ymperial*, published in Apr. 1547, with a call for someone to write a worthy history of Charles. He started his new commission at once, using documents from the Biblioteca Colombina in his native Seville, but had only reached the year 1530 when he died.
63. Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera*, II, 170–1, Giovio to Charles, 14 Aug. 1550; ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de' Medici, bishop of Forlì, to Cosimo, 8 Nov., 1, 9 and 19 Dec. 1550, and 9 Jan. 1551 (some partly published in Zimmerman, 'The publication', 87–90). For more on Charles and his historians, see Kagan, *Clio*, ch. 2; on Ávila's work as *protocronista*, see Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, 'Acerca', 177–8, and idem, *El César*, 275–83.
64. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 207–9, La Gasca to van Male, Palencia, 23 Aug. 1553, responding to the request for details; Gómara, *Hispania Victrix* (printing 'acabóse a veinte días del mes de agosto', 1553; the previous year, an earlier version was printed in Zaragoza); Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta*, 94–7, *real cédula* of 17 Nov. 1553, followed by statements from the booksellers of Seville in Feb. 1554.
65. *LCK*, II, 562, Charles to Marie, 25 Apr. 1547; *CDCV*, IV, 559, noted the contrasting accounts of the ford incident in both Ávila and the *Memoirs*.
66. Kagan, 'La propaganda', 213–14, listed the productions of the emperor's publicity agency in 1548–9.
67. Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 370–2, Leoni to Perrenot, 14 Aug. 1555, described progress on his various commissions; Sepponen, 'Imperial materials', n. 5, gave their locations in 2014.
68. Ozment, *The bürgermeister's daughter*, 52, Anna Büschler to Erasmus Schenkin of Limpurg, then at Worms, 9 May 1521. The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, contains another piece from a set of draughts bearing Charles's likeness made in Augsburg in the 1540s (Inv.-Nr KK_3853). Gunn, *War*, 250, surveyed the media used to propagate Charles's image in the Netherlands.
69. Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 362–3, Leoni to Perrenot, 1550. Ando, *Imperial ideology*, especially chs 7 and 8, provided a brilliant account of how the Roman emperors (whom Charles took as his role models) projected themselves through a wide range of media.
70. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12–13, van Male to Praet, 17 July 1550, postscript (on the project for a Latin text). Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 172–3, argued convincingly that Ferdinand was the target audience for the *Memoirs*.
71. Bernays, *Urkunden*, 2e Abteilung, IV/2, 822 and 826, Jacob Sturm and others to the magistrates of Strasbourg, 15 and 31 Dec. 1547; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 412–14, Mocenigo and Badoer to the Signory, 19 Apr. 1548; *NBD*, X, 377–80, Cardinal Santa Croce to Cardinal Farnese, 15 June 1548. AGS *E* 1199/26, Granvelle to Alba, 19 Oct. 1548, reported that the emperor's enemies were spreading the rumour that 'the prince is coming to be made king of Italy and king of the Romans'.
72. Von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 726–8, Ferdinand to Marie, 29 Mar. 1549, and 729–30, Marie's reply, 13 Apr. 1549. I have followed the brilliant discussion of when and why Charles changed his mind on the imperial succession in Rodríguez-Salgado, 'El ocaso', 53–7
73. Von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 495–7, Marie to Ferdinand, 1 May 1550 (I have translated 'nostre maison' as 'our dynasty'). Philip's 'wide-ranging rationale' is probably the one printed

by Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 450–61, ‘Denkschrift über die Succession in der Kaiserwürde’.

74. Von Druffel, *Beiträge*, III, 161–5, and Gachard, ‘Charles-Quint’, col. 793 note, two letters from Ferdinand to Marie, the first undated and the second sent on 19 July 1550.
75. *CSPSp*, X, 156–7, Perrenot to Marie, 16 Aug. 1550; *PEG*, III, 448, Perrenot to Renard, 2 Sep. 1550.
76. *LCK*, III, 12, Ferdinand to Charles, 14 Dec. 1550, and 15–21, Charles to Marie, 16 Dec. 1550 (transposing Charles’s report of the acrimonious exchange into direct speech). Rodríguez-Salgado, ‘El ocaso’, 57–8, provides a concise account of the argument.
77. *LCK*, III, 15–21, Charles to Marie, 16 Dec. 1550; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 508–10, Mocenigo and Badoer to the Signory, 15 Feb. 1551.
78. Von Dollinger, *Dokumente*, 168–77, and von Druffel, *Beiträge*, III, 196–201, printed the numerous documents signed by Philip and Ferdinand in Augsburg on 9 Mar. 1551, many of them drafted by Marie. *CSPSp*, X, 245–6, printed the final agreement in English translation.
79. Friedensburg, ‘Karl V.’, 76–81, Giovanni Michele to the council of Ten, Dec. 1551, reporting Maximilian’s indiscretions; *CODOIN*, XCVIII, 24–8, Ferdinand to the bishop of Aquila, Philip II’s ambassador, 22 July 1558, in a letter reneging on the promise to invest his nephew as Imperial Vicar in Italy. Edelmayer, ‘Carlos V’, and Laubach, ‘Karl V.’, expertly analysed the complex succession debates at Augsburg.
80. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 9, Ascham, *A report*; TNA *SP* 68/7 no. 358, Morison to the English Privy Council, 26 May 1551. Vandenesse also reported that ‘the separation of father and son was hard’: Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 463.

CHAPTER 15: THE EMPEROR’S LAST CAMPAIGNS, 1551–4

1. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 74–80, 107–10 and 290–5, Charles to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 18 Mar. and 30 Oct. 1550 and 19 Apr. 1551 (draft). Charles had urged the popes to convene the general council at Trent since 1524: RAH *Ms.* 9/4817 f. 216–25v, Charles to Sessa, 18 July 1524.
2. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 132–5, Protest, 3 Jan. 1551; ibid., III, 22–9, on the letters of summons; Buschbell, *Concilium Tridentinum*, XI/2, 771–7, Julius to his legate at Trent, 16 Jan. 1552, on the joke.
3. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 425–8, and II, 63–77, Charles to Toledo, 8 Oct. 1551 and 5 Jan. 1552 (*CSPSp*, X, 431–5, provided a full English translation of the latter).
4. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 240–6, ‘Resultan los puntos que se han consultado a Su Magestad’, undated but Feb. 1552; Buschbell, *Concilium Tridentinum*, XI/2, 771–7, Julius to his legate at Trent, 16 Jan. 1552. Gutiérrez, op. cit., III, 397–8, saluted Charles’s achievement in persuading at least some Lutheran states – including Brandenburg, Württemberg and Strasbourg – to send formal delegations to Trent.
5. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 281–91, Charles to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 27 Feb. 1552, minute (*CSPSp*, X, 457–64, provided a full English translation of the latter). Philip II would draw a similar parallel between his interests and those of God: *FBD*, 225.
6. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 10, Ascham’s *Report*; Vos and Hatch, *Letters*, 236, Ascham to Cheke, 7 July 1553. See the similar assessment of the French ambassador Marillac slightly earlier, quoted on pp. 503–4 below.
7. Tytler, *England*, I, 301–7, Sir John Mason to the Privy Council, 29 June 1550; Rymer, *Foedera*, XV, 211–17, treaty of Boulogne, 24 Mar. 1550; Alberì, *Relazioni*, serie I, vol. 2, Final Relation of Giovanni Capello, 1554.
8. ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de’ Medici to Cosimo, 29 Sep. and 3 Oct. 1550 (on the ‘festa maxime’ at Charles’s court to celebrate the capture of Mahdia); *LCK*, III, 9–11 and 55–7,

Charles to Suleiman, 31 Oct. 1550 and 8 Mar. 1551. Apart from Mahdia (then known as Africa), Doria also captured Monastir and Susa in modern Tunisia: see operational details in Alonso Acero, 'Cristiandad', and idem, 'El norte de África'.

9. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 14, Ascham's *Report*.
10. *PEG*, III, 504–10, instructions of Julius to the bishop of Imola, 31 Mar. 1551; Dumont, *Corps*, IV, part iii, 26–7, secret treaty between Henry II and Farnese, 27 May 1551. Philip's visit is mentioned in AGS *E* 646/53, Charles to Philip, 9 July 1551.
11. *LCK*, III, 68–71, Charles to Ferdinand, 15 Aug. 1551; AGS *CMC* 1a/1231, Accounts of García Portillo, payments in Oct. 1551 to the 'ynfantería y caballería spañola que quedó en guardia y presidio de las tres fuertes del ducado de Wirtemberg . . . al tiempo que salieron de las dichas fuertes de Wirtemberg . . . para baxar en Italia al cerco de Parma' and to three companies of German guards under the count of Nassau. The emperor's appreciation of the strategic value of Parma appears in *CDCV*, II, 128, Charles to Philip, 19 June 1543, and 576, his Political Testament of 1548.
12. Vos and Hatch, *Letters*, 132–8, Ascham to Cheke, 11 Nov. 1550, described Charles's Lutheran opponents; Rein, *The Chancery of God*, and Moritz, *Interim und Apokalypse*, detailed the resistance of Magdeburg.
13. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 474–6, Henry to Marillac, his ambassador at the imperial court, 10 Aug. 1550.
14. Ibid., I, 234–7, Ferdinand to Charles, 21 June 1549; *LCK*, II, 622–6 and 637–8, Maurice to Philip, 27 Jan. 1549 and reply 31 Aug. 1549; Giles, *The whole works*, III, 57, Ascham's *Report*. Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 494–7, documented the efforts of Maurice and others to pressure the prince to plead for the landgrave's release, culminating in Charles's rejection, 10 Apr. 1549. Imprisoning the landgrave was not cheap: the 300 Spanish soldiers guarding the landgrave cost Charles 67,000 ducats between 1547 and 1552 (AGS *CMC* 1a/1519/V, payment to Diego de Torralva).
15. Turba, 'Verhaftung', 228–31, printed the declarations against Hesse and against John Frederick (condemned 'to prison for the rest of his life') from ÖNB *Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus* 9363, a volume full of documents concerning the imprisonment of the two Lutheran leaders.
16. *LCK*, III, 60–7, Charles to Viglius, 17 Mar. 1551, and Viglius's reply, 25 Mar. 1551. Benavent Benavent and Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 82–99, printed documents concerning the landgrave's unsuccessful attempt to escape. See also Mariotte, *Philippe*, 273–5.
17. Dumont, *Corps*, IV, part iii, 31–3, treaty of Lochau, 5 Oct. 1551, ratified by Henry at Chambord, 15 Jan. 1552 (German text in von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 340–50). Weber, 'Le traité', offers an excellent account of the tortuous negotiations that led to the treaty of Chambord.
18. Gachard, *Rapport*, 171, Marnix to Margaret, 12 Mar. 1519; AGS *E* 64/197, Loaysa to Charles, 5 Jan. 1544, with 'puntos' on the dorse, each one with a note of Charles's replies.
19. Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 313, Ascham to the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, Augsburg, 12 Oct. 1551; and III, 19–20, Ascham's *Report*, written in June–July 1553 (see also letters from Charles's other ministers at this time refusing to believe the rumours of an impending disaster, cited in von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 854 n. 1). Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 72–84, discussed the flawed decision-making at the imperial court at this time; Janis, *Groupthink*, analysed the broader phenomenon.
20. *NBD*, VIII, 717, report of the nuncio's conversation with the cardinal of Augsburg, 8 June 1545; *NBD*, XI, 48–54, Pietro Bertano, bishop of Fano, to Cardinal Farnese, Augsburg, 29 July 1548; ibid., 563–4, Marino Cavalli to the council of Ten, Augsburg, 21 Aug. 1548 (thus less than a month after Bertano's revelations).
21. References located through the Medici Archive Project: Doc IDs # 3820 (1543), # 2367 (1545), and # 4480 (1547). My thanks to Maurizio Arfaioli for sharing them with me.

22. ASP *GG* b 43, unfol., Natale Musi to Gonzaga, 13 Dec. 1553, and Gonzaga's instructions to Gonzalo Girón, his envoy to Charles, 20 Dec. 1553, both dealing with criticism of Gonzaga over the previous two years.
23. *NBD*, XI, 73 n. 1, Granvelle to Marie, 15 Aug. 1548. Soto eventually prevailed in this matter: Charles did later insist that urban Lutheran preachers must either renounce their creed or depart (see ch. 12 above). Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 231, asserted that Granvelle forced out Pedro de Soto, and eighteen months later also his successor as imperial confessor, Domingo de Soto. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, Book XXX, ch. 36, noted that after the death of Los Cobos and Granvelle, Charles discussed his decisions with 'very few'.
24. *NBD*, XVI, 121–4, Martinengo to Cardinal del Monte, 29 Mar. 1552; Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 831 n. 1, Perrenot to Marie, 17 Nov. 1551. See also *NBD*, XII, 28–30, Bertano to Julius III, 8 June 1551, complaining about the difficulty of getting an audience, and still more a decision, from Charles because he spent so much time hunting.
25. Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 830 n. 3, Perrenot to Marie, 14 June 1551.
26. *LCK*, III, 78–83, Marie to Perrenot, 5 Oct. 1551. Charles left Augsburg for Innsbruck on 2 Nov.
27. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 9 and 28–30, Ascham's *Report* (which, alas, ends when Maurice began his march towards Innsbruck). Von Druffel, *Beiträge*, I, 674, Gerhard Veltwyk to Charles V, July 1551, recorded Frederick's anger against Ávila.
28. *NBD*, XII, 155–60, Nuncio Camaiani to del Monte, 27 Jan. 1552. Charles had not seen his daughter since 1543; the grandchildren he met were Anna, two years old, who would later marry his son Philip, and Ferdinand, aged nine months, who died the following year. María was also pregnant (her son Rudolf, the future Emperor Rudolf II, was born in July) and she remained in Innsbruck with her father until 11 Feb. 1552.
29. ASF *MdP* 4313 # 44, Pandolfini to Duke Cosimo, 28 Dec. 1551; *NBD*, XII, 143–6, Camaiani to del Monte, 12 Jan. 1552.
30. Grata, *Des lettres*, 258–60, Perrenot to Niccolò Belloni, 1 Jan. 1552; von Druffel, *Beiträge*, II, 54–9, Perrenot to Viglius, 24 Jan. 1552; Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 834 n. 1, Perrenot to Marie, 27 Jan. 1552, and Charles to Marie, 26 Feb. 1552.
31. *LCK*, III, 98–106, Instructions to M. de Rye, 3 Mar. 1552, listing the concessions that Charles was now prepared to make; von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 70–1, Charles to Marie, 28 Jan. 1552, holograph postscript.
32. Dumont, *Corps*, IV, part iii, 33–4, Oath of the city of Metz, 21 Apr. 1552.
33. Gachard, 'Charles-Quint', col. 838 n. 2, Charles to Marie, 21 Mar. 1552; *LCK*, III, 107–8, Secret instructions to M. de Rye, 3 Mar. 1552.
34. Fernández Álvarez, *Política mundial*, 306–17, Instructions to Juan Manrique de Lara, 28 Mar. 1552, and AGS *E* 90/7–9, further instructions on 29 Mar. 1552; *CDCV*, IV, 485, Charles to Philip, [29] Mar. 1552 (Fernández Álvarez deduces the date and manner of transfer at ibid., p. 471).
35. *LCK*, III, 159–62, Charles to Ferdinand, 4 Apr. 1552, holograph. Charles's order that his secretary must not send this letter until after he had left Innsbruck demonstrated how much he now distrusted his brother.
36. *CDCV*, III, 420, Charles to Philip, 9 Apr. 1552; Fernández Álvarez, *Política mundial*, 306–17, Instructions to Juan Manrique, 28 Mar. 1552. Both messengers reached Philip at the same time.
37. Gachard, 'Charles V', col. 838 n. 6, Charles to Marie, 15 Apr. 1552.
38. Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 534.
39. *NBD*, XIII, 1 n. 1, Ambassador Savoie to the duke of Ferrara, 22 May 1552; AST *LM Vienna*, 2/348, Stroppiana to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, 20 May 1552. The Florentine ambassador reported that 'the emperor left Innsbruck in such a hurry that I scarcely had time to pack', and

then ‘rode the whole night, arriving four hours after sunrise’ at Sterzing: ASF *MdP* 4314/134, Pandolfini to Duke Cosimo, 20 May 1552. According to tradition, the emperor fled from Innsbruck in the closed campaign litter now in the Real Armería in Madrid.

40. Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 219–20, Stroppiana to Emanuel Philibert, Villach, 30 May 1552.
41. *LCK*, III, 300–3 and 305–8, Ferdinand to Charles, Passau, 27 and 28 June 1552.
42. Ibid., 318–29, Charles to Ferdinand, 30 June 1552 (von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 645–50, printed a different version of the same letter, followed by a list of the concessions Charles was prepared to make: ibid., 650–5).This letter is also the source of all quotations in the next paragraph. See further details of the debate over the treaty in Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 227–8, Stroppiana to Emanuel Philibert, 10 July 1552.
43. *LCK*, III, 329, Charles to Ferdinand, 30 June 1552, holograph postscript; von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 658, Charles to Maximilian, Villach, 1 July 1552, holograph.
44. BNE *Ms*. 7915, unfol., Raimundo de Tassis to Perrenot, Madrid, 9 June 1552; von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 681–7, Charles to Marie, Lienz, 16 July 1552; *NBD*, XIII, 20–2, Camaiani to del Monte, 5 July 1552 (italics added).
45. AGS *E* 647/30, Luis de Orejuela to Gonzalo Pérez, Brixen, 28 July 1552; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 536–9, Marc’Antonio Damula to the Signory, Innsbruck, 4 Aug. 1552. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 532–5, printed Charles’s Ratification of the treaty of Passau, Munich, 15 Aug. 1552.
46. *CDCV*, III, 478, Charles’s instruction to Figueroa, [6] Sep. 1552 (on this date, see n. 48 below).
47. *NBD*, XIII, 107–11, Camaiani to del Monte, Esslingen, 9 and 11 Sep. 1552. The Florentine ambassador noted that Charles ‘rode in full armour’: ASF *MdP*, 4314, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 13 Sep. 1552.
48. AGS *E* 90/97–8, Eraso to Philip, 27 Sep. 1552; *CDCV*, III, 478, Charles’s instruction to Figueroa, his envoy to Philip, [6] Sep. 1552. Fernández Álvarez (loc. cit.) dated the document 18 Sep., but Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 106, plausibly proposed a date of 4, 5 or 6 Sep.
49. AGS *E* 648/85, Charles to Ferrante Gonzaga, 28 June 1552; Brandi, ‘Karl V. vor Metz’, 26–30, Charles to Marie, 23 Sep. 1552.
50. *LCK*, III, 512–13, Charles to Marie, 13 Nov. 1552, holograph; AGS *E* 90/97–8, Eraso to Philip, 27 Sep. 1552.
51. *NBD*, XIII, 92–6 and 116–20, Camaiani to del Monte, 22–23 Aug. and 16 Sep. 1552, both cyphered.
52. *CDCV*, III, 542, Charles to Philip, 25 Dec. 1552, explaining why and how he had besieged Metz; AGS *E* 90/97–8, Eraso to Philip, 27 Sep. 1552. The Florentine ambassador noted that Charles ‘did not want Albert Alcibiades to kiss his hand’, but Alba convinced him that it was necessary: ASF *MdP*, 4314, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 23 Nov. 1552.
53. AGS *E* 90/97–8, Eraso to Philip, 27 Sep. 1552; Zeller, *Le siège*, 105–6, Charles to Marie, 21 Oct. 1552.
54. GRM *Introduction*, 28 n. 1, Bossu to Marie, 23 Oct. and 21 Nov. 1552; Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 208.
55. *CDCV*, III, 543, Charles to Philip, 25 Dec. 1552; ASF *MdP*, 4314, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 29 Nov. 1552. See also Zeller, *Le siège*, 126–7, Charles to Marie, 14 Nov. 1552, criticizing ‘those who say that I am hazarding my entire reputation if I do not prevail’.
56. Zeller, *Le siège*, 145–6, Charles to Marie, 11 Dec. 1552 (about the mines); *NBD*, XIII, 395–402, report of Camaiani’s secretary on his clandestine visit to the siege-works around Metz, 20 Nov.–12 Dec. 1552; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 578–80, Damula to the Signory, 20 Dec. 1552.

57. Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, IV, 89 (‘Ç’a été le plus beau siège qui fût jamais’); Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 233–4, Stroppiana to Savoy, 31 Dec. 1552; TNA *SP* 68/11 no. 604, Richard Morison to the Privy Council, Jan. 1553; *CCG*, IV, 554, Perrenot to Morillon, 18 Mar. 1573.
58. Zeller, *Le siège*, 153–4, Charles to Marie, 20 Dec. 1552; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 76–8, van Male to Praet, 23 Nov. 1552 (ibid., 44–5, same to same, 5 May 1551, also mentioned the emperor ‘repeatedly reading the Psalms of David, which inspire him’); Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 207–9, La Gasca to van Male, 23 Aug. 1553, commenting on the emperor’s book recently sent from the Netherlands.
59. Zeller, *Le siège*, 154–5, Charles to Marie, 22 Dec. 1552 (he did not yet know that Hesdin had surrendered on the 18th). He gave the same rationale to his son: *CDCV*, III, 553, Charles to Philip, 25 Dec. 1552.
60. Zeller, *Le siège*, 258–63, and Rosenthal, ‘Plus Ultra’, 216, discussed the celebratory medals.
61. Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 238, Stroppiana to Savoy, 10 Feb. 1553; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 590–2, Damula to the Signory, 11 Feb. 1553; Rigault, ‘Une relation inédite’, 302.
62. Linas, *Translation*, and Finot, ‘Compte’, documented the transfer of the duke’s bones from Nancy to Luxemburg in 1550 (and on to Bruges in 1562).
63. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 587–9, Damula to the Signory, 23 Jan. 1553 (with details on the composition of the opposing factions at Charles’s court).
64. Spanish calculations by Tracy, *Emperor*, 240–5; Netherlands totals from ADN *B* 2482, 2493, and Henne, *Histoire*, X, 87, Accounts of Receiver-General Robert de Bouloingne for 1550, 1552 and 1553. See also Braudel, ‘Les emprunts’.
65. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 89–92, van Male to de Praet, 24 Dec. 1552; GRM *Introduction*, 30 n. 1, Cornelis van Baersdorp to Marie, 30 Dec. 1552; TNA *SP* 68/11 no. 604, Morison to the Privy Council, Jan. 1553, holograph.
66. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 590–2, Damula to the Signory, 11 Feb. 1553; Greppi. ‘Extraits’, 237, Stroppiana to Savoy, 4 Feb. 1553. A Florentine envoy also feared that Charles would soon die: ASF *MdP*, 4314, unfol., Bartolomeo Concini to Duke Cosimo, 5 and 10 Jan. 1553.
67. Henne, *Histoire*, X, 13–17, printed Charles’s speech on 13 Feb. 1553; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 603–7, Damula to the Signory, 19 May 1553.
68. AGS *E* 98/274–5, Memorial of Francisco Duarte, sent to Philip in Sep. 1553 but composed over a long period and incorporating an oral report from ‘NN’ – Nicholas Nicolay – also undated, but certainly completed before June, when Duarte left the Netherlands; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 603–7, Damula to the Signory, 19 May 1553 (on Praet); *PEG*, III, 639–41, Charles to Perrenot, 20 Apr. 1553.
69. *CDCV*, III, 577–92, Charles to Philip, 2 Apr. 1553, with a postscript dated 27 Apr. – evidently the date on which Charles entrusted the letter to the duke of Alba, because the prince replied to this one; ibid., 592–5, Philip to Charles, 18 May 1553. All quotations in this and the subsequent paragraph come from this letter.
70. *CDCV*, III, 583–4, Charles to Philip, Brussels, 2 Apr. 1553.
71. Martens, *Militaire architectuur*, 225, Roeulx to Marie of Hungary, 5 Apr. 1553; ibid., 283–4, Order of Charles V, 19 June 1553; Rabutin, *Commentaires*, I, 199 (on Thérouanne), and 203 (on Hesdin).
72. *NBD*, XIII, 259–61 and 269–78, bishop of Imola to the pope, 28 May, 8 and 10 June 1553 (Perrenot quoted in the second letter). Charles was no doubt aware of an assassination attempt planned in 1546: Henne, *Histoire*, VIII, 298, letter from Roeulx to Marie.
73. *NBD*, XIII, 298–9, Imola to the pope, 29 Aug. 1553, cyphered insert; TNA *SP* 69/1/69, Bishop Thirlby to the Privy Council, 10 Sep. 1553, and *SP* 69/1/113, Thirlby and Mason to Queen

Mary, 10 Oct. 1553. On the 1553 campaign, see Martens, *Militaire architectuur*, ch. 5.

74. AGS *E* 1498/6, untitled paper of late 1554 that begins 'Al tiempo que falesció el Rey Eduardo'; *PEG*, IV, 108–16, Charles to Renard, 20 Sep. 1553, setting forth the arguments to be made to Mary and her council in favour of the 'Spanish match'.
75. *PEG*, IV, 78–7 and 97, Renard to Perrenot, 15 Aug. and 8 Sep. 1553; Gachard, *Voyages*, IV, 99, ambassadors in England to Charles, 16 Aug. 1553, narrating their audience with Mary; ibid., 105, Charles to his ambassadors in England, 22 Aug. 1553; and *PEG*, IV, 113–15, Charles to Renard, 20 Sep. 1553.
76. Gachard, *Voyages*, IV, 12, 11/15 Sep. 1553 (the envoy was Diego de Azevedo, 'coming from the emperor and having visited and seen Queen Mary of England'); *CSPSp*, XI, 177–8, Philip to Charles, 22 Aug. 1553, holograph minute, replying to the emperor's letters dated 30 July 1553. Only after this letter arrived in Brussels on 11 Sep. did serious marriage negotiations begin: *PEG*, IV, 102–4, Perrenot to Renard, 13 Sep. 1553. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing face*, 77–9, recorded the strange history of the undelivered letter of 8 Aug. 1553, in which Philip promised to marry his cousin María of Portugal.
77. *PEG*, IV, 108–16, Charles to Renard, 20 Sep. 1553, instructed him to make the crucial concession that Don Carlos would not inherit the Netherlands; *CSPSp*, XI, 326, Renard to Philip, 29 Oct. 1553, urged linguistic study (ironically the prince could not read this critical letter in French and so his clerks had to prepare a Spanish translation).
78. *CDCV*, III, 636–9, Charles to Philip, 16 and 26 Dec. 1553; *CODOIN*, III, 451–3, same to same, 21 Jan. 1554; AGS *E* 807/36–2, 'Escriptura ad cautelam', 4 Jan. 1554.
79. *CDCV*, III, 667, Charles to Philip, 13 Mar. 1554.
80. ASF *MdP* 4316, unfol., Pandolfini to Duke Cosimo, 31 Dec. 1554; AGS *E* 90/147–8, Eraso to Philip, 12 Dec. 1553, minute; *CDCV*, III, 641–4, Charles to Philip, 30 Dec. 1553; *CDCV*, III, 645–6, Charles to Philip, 19 Jan. 1554. That same day, Secretary Diego de Vargas complained that Charles's ministers 'were all confused because for four or five months he has replied to none of them: AGS *E* 508/13, Vargas to Philip, 19 Jan. 1554.
81. *NBD*, XIII, 298–9, Nuncio Imola to Cardinal del Monte, 24 June 1553. For other descriptions of Charles's cottage (often referred to as his 'casita' or 'casino'), see Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633–7; GRM *Introduction*, 77–9; and Heymans, *Le palais du Coudenberg*, 196.
82. *NBD*, XIV, 62–4, Nuncio Muzzarelli to Monte, Brussels 5 May 1554; Zanetti, *Janello*, 53, Charles charter in favour of Janello, 7 Mar. 1552. Zanetti's book, the catalogue of an exhibition mounted in Cremona (Janello's home town), presented fascinating material on the 'prince of clockmakers' and his work.
83. Morales, *Las antigüedades*, ff. 91v–94v (the entry on the 'Microcosm' was the longest concerning a contemporary monument in the entire book); Thieulaine, 'Un livre', 179; Firpo, *Relazioni*, III, 54–5, Relation of Badoer, spring 1557 ('*pottaggio di relogi*').
84. Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II y su tiempo*, 761, count of Buendía to Philip, 2 Sep. 1552.
85. *CDCV*, IV, 40, Charles to Philip, 30 Apr. 1554; 46, Philip to Charles, 11 May 1554; and 109–10, Philip's instructions to Joanna, 12 July 1554. For more on the process by which Joanna became regent, see Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing face*, 86–8.
86. TNA *SP* 69/4/147, Mason to Queen Mary, Brussels, 20 June 1554.
87. AGS *PR* 29/10, fifth and last testament of Charles V, Brussels, 6 June 1554 (published with some variations in *CDCV*, IV, 66–98, which noted several errors and omissions in the text published by Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 639–56). Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V*, 761–79, provided an excellent analysis of this document, noting (among other things) that it cited the will of Isabella the Catholic (and only hers).

88. BMECB *Ms. Granvelle*, V/265–8, codicil to Charles's will, 6 June 1554 written 'in the same imperial hand', copy made in 1624 from a lost original (partially printed in *PEG*, IV, 495–6). Although the emperor signed his testament that day in the presence of three notaries and seven witnesses, he wrote and signed the codicil alone, using his 'small secret seal'. See ch. 14 above for more on Charles's treatment of his four illegitimate children and their mothers.
89. AGS *PR* 55 no. 30, Instructions of Charles to Eraso, Béthune, 1 Sep. 1554, minute, mentioning the 'general document in Latin' (which has apparently not survived) that 'I drew up in Namur' (according to Foronda, *Viajes*, the emperor was in Namur between 27 July and 2 Aug. 1554). Charles gave his son a box containing all his extant testaments in the abdication ceremony on 16 Jan. 1556: Mayr, 'Die letzte Abdankung', 156–8, 'Ragionamento'.
90. TNA *SP* 69/4/119, 127 and 153, Mason to Mary, 4, 11 and 26 June 1554; ASF *MdP* 4317, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 10 June 1554 (it must have been a long audience, but mercifully the ambassador omitted the secret of the emperor's preferred haemorrhoid treatment from his report 'because it really isn't important'); *CSPV*, V, 516–17, Damula to the Signory, 30 June 1554. The nuncio also noted that Charles now rode in the park every day: *NBD*, XIV, 58–62 and 79–82, Girolamo Muzzarelli, archbishop of Consa, to del Monte, 5 May and 15 June 1554.
91. *CDCV*, IV, 98–102, Charles to Philip, 29 June 1554, minute.
92. *NBD*, XIV, 93–4, Muzzarelli to del Monte, 8 July 1554; TNA *SP* 69/4/165, Mason to Secretary Petrie, 10 July 1554. The nuncio also reported that Charles's council of war opposed his strategy (*NBD*, XIV, 90 n. 1, Muzzarelli to del Monte, 6 July 1554); so did the Florentine ambassador (ASF *MdP* 4317, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 4 July 1554).
93. TNA SP 69/5/18, Mason to the Privy Council, 13 Aug. 1554, noting that the campaign would have been very different if 'they had been 2 castells of Millan'.
94. ASF *MdP*, 4317, unfol., Pandolfini to Cosimo, 22 July 1554 (adding 'this shows how much he enjoys being with the army'); *NBD*, XIV, 97 n. 8 and 100–2, Muzzarelli to del Monte, 15 and 22 July 1554; Thieulaine, 'Un livre', 185, 191; Anon., 'Dagverhaal', 282–3, 286.
95. TNA *SP* 69/5/2, Mason to Mary, 2 Aug. 1554; AGS *E* 508/187, 'Lo que vos, Mos de Obremon, gentilhombre de nuestra cámara, hauéys de hazer en Inglaterra', 'del campo', 4 Aug. 1554, minute.
96. Salignac, *Le voyage*, sig. Gi^{v}, part of an account of the campaign by a French eyewitness; Gachard, 'L'abdication', 882 n. 2, Marie to the bailli of Brabant, 17 Aug. 1554.
97. TNA *SP* 69/5/18, Mason to the Privy Council, 13 Aug. 1554. The ambassador knew whereof he spoke, since he had served at Charles's court intermittently for twenty years: see *ODNB* s.v. 'Sir John Mason'.
98. AGS *E* 508/194, Charles to Philip and to Alba, 'de nuestro exército cerca de Renti', 15 Aug. 1554, Assumption Day, the same letter with different holograph postscripts, both minutes. (*CDCV*, IV, 121–2, incorrectly dates these letters 25 Aug.); Gachard, 'L'abdication', 883 n. 1, Charles to Marie, 16 Aug. 1554.
99. AGS *PR* 55 no. 30, Instructions of Charles to Eraso, Béthune, 1 Sep. 1554, minute.

CHAPTER 16: RESTLESS RETIREMENT, 1555–8

1. TNA *SP* 69/5/58, Mason to Queen Mary, Brussels, 10 Oct. 1554; *NBD*, XIV, 140 n. 6, Nuncio Muzzarelli to Cardinal del Monte, 14 Oct. 1554 (Charles 'went hunting yesterday'); Tytler, *England*, II, 456, Mason to Philip and Mary, 9 Nov. 1554; AGS *E* 508/235–6, Secretary Diego de Vargas to Philip, 30 Nov. 1554; Tytler, *England*, II, 462–6, Mason to the Privy Council, 25 Dec. 1554 (Mason wrote the passage in italics in French, adding – unfortunately for historians – 'which, for that it were too long to write, I do omit').

2. *CODOIN*, III, 531–6, Ruy Gómez to Eraso, 12 Aug. 1554, and reply, 29 Nov. 1554 (annotations by Philip on Eraso's reply show that the prince himself read his father's spiteful words).
3. AGS *PR* 55 no. 30 and no. 27 ff. 124–7, Instructions of Charles to Eraso, 1 Sep. 1554 (only no. 30 is dated, but Eraso evidently also took with him the undated instructions in no. 27).
4. Tytler, *England*, II, 451–7, Mason to Philip and Mary, 9 Nov. 1554.
5. *CSPV*, VI/1, Badoer to the Signory, 3 Jan. 1556. *CDCV*, IV, 118–232, printed a selection of the competing correspondence of Charles and Philip with Joanna.
6. *CDCV*, IV, 127–30, Philip to Charles, London, 16 Nov. 1554; Morel-Fatio, 'Une histoire', 30–1.
7. TNA *SP* 69/6/67–9, Mason to Queen Mary, 11 Apr. 1555.
8. Pastor, *History of the popes*, XIV, 130, report of the Venetian envoy after an audience with Paul IV, July 1555. Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 374–98, provided an excellent account of these developments.
9. ASF *MdP* 4318 unfol., Pandolfini to Duke Cosimo, 31 May 1555; Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633–7 (Mar. 1556).
10. TNA *SP* 69/6/67–9, Mason to Queen Mary, 11 Apr. 1555; *CSPV*, VI/1, 39–41, Badoer to the Signory, 6 Apr. 1555; TNA *SP* 69/6/75, Mason to the Privy Council, 26 Apr. 1555 (printed with some errors in Tytler, *England*, II, 466–8). In fact Charles had received the insignia in Feb. 1509, forty-six years before: see ch. 1.
11. Jordan Gschwend, 'Verdadero padre', 3,030–1, Anna de Andrade to Catalina, Charles's youngest sister and queen of Portugal, Brussels, 15 Aug. 1554; Bataillon, 'Charles-Quint', 402, quoting Fray Cipriano de Huerga's sermon in Alcalá on 19 Apr. 1556. Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, Book XXX, ch. 25, claimed that 'around the age of fifty, his teeth began to fall out'.
12. Aram, *Juana*, 277–8, noted the sigh of relief among Philip's courtiers on hearing of his grandmother's death. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 27, recorded the emperor's decree in Jan. 1556 permitting others to recommence wearing silk, but stating that he would continue to wear mourning for his mother until he died.
13. *LCK*, III, 622–8 and 681–3, Charles to Ferdinand, 8 [*recte* 10] June 1554 and 19 Sep. 1555 (Charles wrote that he had decided 'de non me plus *enveloper* en ce point de religion' – a very strong statement). *RTA*, XX/4, 3,012–3,158, printed all 144 articles of the *Reichsabschied*, issued on 25 Sep. 1555, with the religious peace at its heart. Tüchle, 'The peace', provided an excellent overview of the framing and implementation of the peace.
14. *CSPV*, VI/1, 186–8, Badoer to the Signory, Brussels, 14 Sep. 1555; *NBD*, XIV, 302–4, Muzzarelli to Paul IV, 15 Sep. 1555; Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 70–2, Charles to the governor of Hainaut, 26 Sep. 1555.
15. Gachard, 'L'abdication', 891–4, on the delinquent provinces (Hainaut and Guelders; Overijssel and Drenthe), and 901 and 923–48 on the rest. See also the account of these events in *CSPV*, VI/1, 214–16 and 218–20, Badoer to the Signory, Brussels 16 and 23 Oct. 1555; and GRM *Introduction*, 82 n. 3 on the total ('There were more than 1,000 people in the great hall'). Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 235, printed Charles's speech on this occasion.
16. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 77–9, quoting an eyewitness; ASF *MdP* 4319/240v, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 22/26 Oct. 1555; *SLID*, III, 142 n. 111, 'Escrito de Corte'. Other eyewitnesses noted that the emperor '*mist ses lunettes*' and held '*zekere rolleken*' as he spoke: see GRM *Introduction*, 87 n. 1, and *CSPV*, VI/1, 221–4, Badoer to the Signory, 26 Oct. 1555.
17. Speech and events reconstructed from Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 87–91, 'Receuil de ce que l'empereur dit de bouche aux estatz generaulx', almost certainly compiled by Perrenot from the 'notes' used by Charles (I have used the first person); Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 236; Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 14–19, Badoer to the Signory, 26 Oct. 1555; and Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 4–7, Mason to Petrie, 27 Oct. 1555, with a 'Note' of the

proceedings. Other details from ASF *MdP* 4319/240v, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 22/26 Oct. 1555; *SLID*, III, 142 n. 111, 'Escrito de Corte'; and the Spanish *Cancionero* and Ieper Manuscript cited in GRM. For the difficulties in reconciling these and other accounts of the ceremony, see p. 572 below.

18. GRM *Introduction*, 98, printed an account by Joachim Viglius of 'every word the king spoke'. Sir John Mason noted with disapproval that 'the king could not himself well speake unto the people in such language as apperteyned': Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 6. *PEG*, IV, 486–9, printed Charles's act of abdication as ruler of the Netherlands, Brussels, 25 Oct. 1555.
19. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 102–6, letters patent, 25 Oct. 1555. Since the ceremony left everyone exhausted, Philip and the States-General did not exchange oaths until the following day: ibid., 79–80.
20. *CSPV*, VI/1, 242–3 and 288–9, Badoer to the Signory, 11 Nov. and 22 Dec. 1555.
21. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 28–33, Badoer to the Signory, 16 Jan. 1556 (summarized in *CSPV*, VI/1, 317–18). See also the contemporary account of the ceremony printed by Mayr, 'Die letzte Abdankung', 156–8. Did Charles use the same notes for this speech? The sources are silent.
22. GRM *Introduction*, 110–42, provides details on each renunciation; AGS *PR* 45/9, Charles's nomination of Philip as his vicar-general in Italy, 16 Jan. 1556. Obstruction by Aragonese officials forced Charles to make a second renunciation of that crown in July 1556, and even then Philip was formally recognized as king only when he went there in person in 1564: Buyreu Juan, *La corona de Aragón*, 85–90.
23. *CSPV*, VI/1, 321–2, Badoer to the Signory, 19 Jan. 1556; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Los últimos combates', 97, Charles to Maximilian, Jan. 1556.
24. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 14–19, Badoer to the Signory, 31 Mar. 1556 (summarized in *CSPV*, VI/1, 394–5).
25. Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633–7 (also printed in Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, 1^{e} série, III, 296–306), eyewitness account of the French embassy in Mar. 1556; *CSPV*, VI/1, 389–90, Badoer to the Signory, 28 Mar. 1556 (Fregoso's children); Paredes, 'The confusion' (the tapestries). No doubt Charles remembered the poignant stanzas 330–3 towards the end of *The resolute knight*, about the inexorable loss of functions that came with age: La Marche, *Le chevalier délibéré*, 283–5.
26. ASF *MdP* 4319/528, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 31 Mar. 1556; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 43, Mason to Peter Vannes, 29 June 1556.
27. *CSPV*, VI/1, 468–71, Badoer to the Signory, 31 May 1556.
28. *LCK*, III, 693, Charles to Ferdinand, 3 Nov. 1556. Ibid., III, 698–9 and 702–3, same to same, 5, 16 and 28 May 1556, filled with complaints about the delays.
29. Badoer noted the tears as Charles left Brussels: Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 51–2. On the 600-day imperial interregnum, see Neuhaus, 'Von Karl V. zu Ferdinand I.'. Kohler, *Quellen*, 480–2, printed Charles's concession of full powers to his brother, dated 3 Aug. 1556.
30. *PEG*, IV, 469–80, Marie to Charles, undated but late Aug. 1555 (a fascinating letter). Rumours that Marie intended to retire to Spain with her brother had long circulated at court: *NBD*, XIV, 176–7, Muzzarelli to Monte, 18 Nov. 1554, relating 'li discorsi de speculativi'.
31. ASF *MdP* 4320/152–3, Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 29 Aug. 1556. The ambassador added 'I was astonished that he confided in me for so long'. Paul IV had just turned eighty; he would outlive Charles by almost a year.
32. *CSPV*, VI/1, 622–4, Badoer to the Signory, 16 Sep. 1556; BNF *F.f.* 16,121/295–316, 'Discours de l'embarquement de l'empereur', compiled by an agent of the French ambassador on 30 Oct.

1556. See also *SLID*, III, 169 n. 137, entries from the log kept by the commander of Charles's fleet, Luis de Carvajal.

33. AGS *E* 883/15, Juan Manrique de Lara to Princess Joanna, Rome, 1 Apr. 1556 (the pope said that 'hera la más rrara cosa que se havía visto'); Ribadeneyra, *Vida*, f. 98v (based on what Borja 'himself told me some years later', adding that although initially kept a secret, Charles told Borja at their meeting: 'Now that I have followed through, you can talk about it'); Sigüenza, *Historia*, II, 148 (claiming that Charles ordered this inspection of Yuste 'more than twelve years before' the visit of Prince Philip in 1554 – in other words, in or before 1542). The 'so-and-so' was surely Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, who lived close to the convent at Yuste, with which he would have been familiar (as Charles was not). Ávila was also probably one of the 'learned and prudent men' mentioned by Sigüenza.
34. AGS *PR* 55/30, Instructions to Francisco de Eraso on what he must say to Philip, 1 Sep. 1554; Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 28–33, Badoer to the Signory, 16 Jan. 1556 (summarized in *CSPV*, VI/1, 317–18), substituting the first for the third person in both.
35. Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, 188 n. 1, Lorenzo Pirez de Tavora to John III, Yuste, 15 Feb. 1558.
36. Anon., *La renunciación*, first item (a two-page broadsheet published in 1556, which included the words 'desde su niñez tuuo propósito de lo hacer así'). In 1550–1 Charles had translated *The resolute knight* from French into Spanish: Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 314–15, and Checa Cremades, 'El caballero'.
37. GRM *Introduction*, 40–1, Charles's warrant to García de Castro, 30 June 1553, and to Philip, 17 Dec. 1553 (Gachard argued that both documents were written in 1554, not 1553, but this makes no sense because the monks at Yuste actually *received* the 3,000 ducats on 25 June 1554). Pizarro Gómez, 'El monasterio', 97–9 and 103, described the phase of construction work that began in 1539, the year of the empress's death: a tantalizing clue that Charles may have already considered retiring to Yuste.
38. GRM, II, 4 (Corral); GRM *Introduction*, 163–4, Fray Juan de Ortega to Charles, 9 Aug. 1554. The same configuration would later characterize Philip's apartments at El Escorial.
39. Checa Cremades, 'Venezia', 140, Titian to Cardinal Farnese, 16 Jan. 1567; Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 265, Inventory dated 18 Aug. 1556 ('Premièrement de la Trinité, faicte par Tisiane, en grande forme, sur toile').
40. ADN *B* 2510/636, Account of Receiver-General Robert de Bouloingne for 1555 (Vermeyen); Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 266 and 299, the 1556 and 1558 inventories: portrait of 'la rreyna de Ynglaterra' by '*Tomás* Moro'. Both Mancini, 'Los últimos cuadros', and Baker-Bates, 'The "cloister life"', reproduced and discussed the religious paintings that Charles took with him to Yuste.
41. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 261–5 ('Inventario de vajillas, pinturas y objetos litúrgicos', Brussels, 18 Aug. 1556), and 597–8 (Inventory post-mortem of Charles's goods). Zanetti, *Janello*, included reproductions of 'small round portable clocks' similar to the ones that accompanied Charles.
42. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 311–37, discussed the books Charles took with him to Yuste and their focus on 'ars moriendi' (*The resolute knight* fell into this category), and noted that at Yuste the emperor could and did read other books brought by visitors. Ibid., I, 263–94 discussed the books deposited in 1543 in the archive-fortress of Simancas. The 'Estatutas' volume is now IVdeDJ signatura 26-I-27 (a facsimile was published in 1998).
43. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Los últimos combates', 97, Charles to Maximilian, Jan. 1556; GRM, II, 8 and 19 (from Corral's 'Historia breve'). Reglá had come to Charles's notice by 1551, when the emperor sent him to the council of Trent so that 'aya allí letrados de la corona de Aragón': AGS *E* 646/49, Charles to María, 9 July 1551.

44. GRM, I, 4, Fray Juan de Ortega to Juan Vázquez de Molina, Yuste, 5 Oct. 1556, and 5–6, Gaztelú to Vázquez de Molina, Laredo, 6 Oct. 1556. *SLID*, III, 166–7 and nn. 130–1, printed Philip's letters about preparations.
45. GRM, I, 7–11, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 6 and 8 Oct. 1556.
46. *CSPV*, VI/1, 638–40, Giovanni Michiel to the Signory, 22 Sep. 1556, and 631–3, Bernardo Navagero to the Signory, 19 Sep. 1556; *CSPV*, VI/2, 719–23, Navagero and Pebo Capella to the Signory, 20 Oct. 1556. On Paul's legal moves against the emperor in 1556–7, see Tellechea Idígoras, 'Lo que el emperador no supo'. Paul had served as a papal diplomat at Charles's court in the Netherlands in 1516–17 and in Spain in 1518–19, later claiming that he had resigned 'because he could not bear the tyranny of Charles': *CSPV*, VI/1, 700–4, Navagero and Capella to the Doge, Rome, 12 Oct. 1556, after an audience.
47. GRM, I, 6–7, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, Laredo, 6 Oct. 1556; *SLID*, III, 232 ('Retiro, estancia y muerte'); GRM, II, lxvii n. 1, Charles to the count of Alcaudete, 6 Sep. 1557 (together with more examples of Charles refusing to become involved in public affairs). For the emperor's use of 'en mi tiempo', see GRM, I, 300, and II, 485–6.
48. *SLID*, III, 234–6 ('Retiro, estancia y muerte'). See also p. 343 above for Charles's praise of bed linen made of American feathers sent to keep him warm.
49. GRM, I, 39–43, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, and Gaztelú to the same, Jarandilla, 14 and 15 Nov. 1556; *SLID*, III, 236. See also *SLID*, I, map facing p. 144, 'Itinerario de Carlos V, desde Bruselas a Yuste'.
50. GRM, I, 41–51, Gaztelú to Vázquez de Molina, 15, 18 and 20 Nov. 1556, and Quijada to the same, 18 and 20 Nov. 1556 – letters filled with complaints. Gaztelú referred to the twenty-seven days of rain in a later letter: GRM, II, 145 n. 1, to Vázquez de Molina, 28 Dec. 1557.
51. Stirling-Maxwell, *The cloister life*, 50.
52. GRM, I, 84–6, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 6 Jan. 1557.
53. Clifford, *Photographic scramble*, 19 (I thank Patrick Lenaghan for this reference); Perla, 'Anton van den Wyngaerde', 35 (the same article convincingly dated the drawing to 1567).
54. GRM, II, 13 (Hernando del Corral); GRM, II, 264–5, Quijada to Joanna, 31 Oct. 1557 (Charles the gardener). Other information from Perla, 'Una visita', and idem, 'Anton van den Wyngaerde'.
55. GRM, I, 234–5, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 27 Dec. 1557 (the sauna); Martín González, 'El palacio', XXIII, 39–40 (building accounts).
56. Details from Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 281–834, Inventary post-mortem of Charles's goods; and Martín González, 'El palacio', XXIII, 51 (17,500 ducats, plus the items appropriated without compensation by Philip).
57. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 324–5, quoted Sigüenza and tentatively identified the Book of Hours as BNE *Ms.* Vit/24/3, available online at http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000051953&page=1.
58. GRM, II, 22–6. Sigüenza later included Corral's account virtually verbatim (without acknowledgement) in his *Historia*: GRM, II, pp. vi–x, and *SLID*, II, 233–7, notes, pointed out the discrepancies.
59. *SLID*, II, 35, from the 'Vida y fin' written by Prior Martín de Angulo ('¡Oh, hideputa bermejo! Aquél erró').
60. Sandoval, *Historia*, 'Historia de la vida que el emperador Carlos V rey de España hizo retirado en el monasterio de Iuste', Book VII, italics added. Francisco Guerrero (1528–99) presumably presented his *Sacrarum cantionum quae vulgo moteta nuncupata, 4 et 5 vocum* (Seville, 1555). Charles's daughter Joanna owned a copy at her death, perhaps inherited from the emperor.

61. Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, VI, p. CIV (Sepúlveda to van Male, 1 June 1557, about Sleidan) and 155–6 (Book XXX: 31, on the interview); GRM, I, 308–10, Charles to Vázquez de Molina, 9 July 1558. See Appendix I below on the *Memoirs*.
62. GRM, II, 25 (Corral); GRM, I, 89–90, Gaztelú to Vázquez de Molina, 16 Jan. 1557. Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos*, 97, noted 237 surviving letters.
63. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing face*, 132.
64. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 54–9, Philip's instructions to Ruy Gómez, 2 Feb. 1557 (changing third person to first).
65. AGS *E* 128/326, Charles to Philip, Yuste, 15 Nov. 1557, with a holograph postscript; and *E* 128/317, 'Relación de cartas del emperador a Su Magestad.' Eraso endorsed both documents.
66. GRM, II, 186–7 and 195–6, Charles to Valdés, 18 May and 2 June 1557 (see the rest of the acrimonious correspondence at pp. 188–203). Charles had nominated Valdés to Seville after Loaysa died in 1546; Valdés eventually loaned 50,000 ducats instead of the 150,000 requested.
67. BNE *Ms.* Caja 18,667/90, Secretary Vargas to Juan de Vega, 4 Nov. 1557, copy (the visitor was Ruy Gómez da Silva); *CODOIN*, XCVII, 335–9, an anonymous minister, almost certainly Gutierre López de Padilla, to Ruy Gómez, Valladolid, 4 Jan. 1558.
68. GRM, I, 170, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 4 Sep. 1557; ibid., I, 218, Gaztelú to the same, 23 Nov. 1557.
69. *CDCV*, IV, 296–7, Charles to Joanna, 31 Jan. 1557; and 415, Charles to Philip, 31 Mar. 1558, holograph postscript. Although Oran was saved, in July 1558 a Franco-Turkish fleet captured and sacked Ciutadella on Menorca – 'the greatest disaster suffered by the Spanish Monarchy in the Mediterranean in the 16th century' – but Charles probably died before hearing about it: Vidal, 'La defensa', 586–7.
70. *CDCV*, IV, 309–11, Charles to Joanna, 1 Apr. 1557, copy of holograph; GRM, I, 148–9, Gaztelú to Vázquez de Molina, 12 May 1557 (reporting a rant by the emperor).
71. *CODOIN*, XCVII, 335–9, an anonymous minister, almost certainly Gutierre López de Padilla, to Ruy Gómez, Valladolid, 4 Jan. 1558.
72. Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos Recios*, IV, 329–32, Charles to Joanna, and AGS *E* 128/1, Charles to Philip, both from Yuste on 25 May 1558. Ironically, despite this zeal, Charles's library at Yuste included several works condemned by the inquisition: see details in Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 322–4, who concluded unkindly (but accurately): 'Heresy arrived at Yuste in the emperor's baggage.'
73. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing face*, 211; and 'Los últimos combates', 104.
74. Quotations from the letters cited above, with italics added.
75. GRM, II, 120–3, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 6 Dec. 1557; *SLID*, III, 544, Mathys to Philip, 1 Apr. 1558.
76. GRM, II, 22 (Fray Hernando del Corral, noting the visit of the future Don John in a chapter that stressed how few visitors Charles allowed). The only other eyewitness to record the visit of Doña Magdalena ('whom His Majesty had asked to visit him') did not mention Gerónimo, no doubt because he did not know the boy's true identity: GRM, II, 454–5, Gaztelú to Vázquez de Molina, 19 July 1558.
77. GRM, I, 449–50, Quijada to Philip, 13 Dec. 1558, explaining to his new master how he intended to raise Gerónimo until Philip returned and stating that Charles wanted 'this to remain secret until Your Majesty's arrival and that thereafter we should do whatever Your Majesty might order'. (Naturally, Charles had assumed he would still be alive when Philip returned.) Corral stated that the future Don John of Austria stood close to Quijada throughout the exequies (GRM, II, 54–5). The historical novel by Uslar Pietri, *La visita en el tiempo*, begins as the eleven-year-old Don John watches Quijada and others compile an inventory of the goods of the

late emperor, whom he does not yet know was his father. (I thank José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero for this reference.) In 1563 some of those goods were purchased for 'the use of Don John of Austria': Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 558–62.

78. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 288, 'Inventario Postmórtem', commenced 28 Sep. 1558.
79. On the herbal cure for the imperial haemorrhoids see the letters printed in GRM, I, 121–5 and 144–6, and II, 109–10. García Simón, *El ocaso*, ch. 6, described the emperor's litany of health problems while at Yuste.
80. GRM, II, 314–15, Ávila to Vázquez de Molina, 28 Feb. 1558; *SLID*, III, 544, Mathys to Philip, 1 Apr. 1558 (translated from Latin).
81. GRM, II, 470–2, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 9 Aug. 1558 ('por el gran calor que haze y él [Charles] siente, duerme ventanas y puertas abiertas').
82. GRM, I, lxxxix–xc, 'Historia breve' by Corral, reprinted *SLID*, II, 125. Although Sigüenza embellished the story in his *Historia* (*SLID*, II, 249–50), he clearly relied on Fray Hernando's account. An inscription at Yuste records that 'the emperor was sitting down here when he fell ill on 31 August 1558 at 4 p.m.' (Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: el César*, 846 n. 20).
83. GRM, I, 331–6, Dr Mathys to Vázquez de Molina, 3 and 4 Sep. 1558, and Quijada to Vázquez de Molina and Joanna, 4 Sep. 1558 (two letters); ibid., I, 353–4, Mathys to Vázquez de Molina, 8 Sep. 1558; ibid., I, 370–3, Quijada to Philip, 17 Sep. 1558.
84. AGS *PR* 29/11, 'Codicillo original que otorgó el emperador Don Carlos', 9 Sep. 1558 (printed in Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 657–61, but without indicating the numerous attached affidavits, additions and signatures).
85. GRM, I, 365–6 and 377, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 14 and 18 Sep. 1558, both holograph; and ibid., 374–5, Mathys to Vázquez de Molina, 18 Sep. 1558. *SLID*, III, 633–75, published a day-by-day account of the emperor's last three weeks compiled from the surviving sources in Simancas by the archivist Tomás González (see pp. 570–1 above).
86. GRM, II, 506–7, Quijada to Philip, 12 Oct. 1558.
87. GRM, II, 413–14, Mathys to Vázquez de Molina, 30 May and 19 June 1558; Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 323–4. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 346, suggested that Charles possessed a French Bible, burnt before his death; and on p. 344 he demonstrated that the imperial library at Yuste included a work by Erasmus (his *Precatio Dominica*) even though all previous scholars have denied it. On Dr Egidio, favoured by Charles and defended by Domingo de Soto, see Luttikhuizen, *Underground Protestantism*, 188–99; on Constantino, who accompanied Philip II on his grand tour in 1548 and again to England, see ibid., 200–11.
88. Tellechea Idígoras, 'Carlos V', 51–2, and idem, *Así murió*, 79–80, testimony of Fray Luis de San Gregorio, an eyewitness of the exchange. Joanna had warned her father 'to be cautious' when he met Carranza because, according to Valdés, some of the Lutherans imprisoned in Valladolid had incriminated the archbishop (AGS *E* 128/393–5, Joanna to Charles, 8 Aug. 1558, a holograph insert – a highly unusual practice). Don Francisco de Toledo later testified that 'he had heard that His Majesty did not really want [Carranza] there': Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 93–4.
89. Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 14–15, citing a passage, later deleted, from Carranza's unpublished manuscript *De recta spe filiorurm Adae*, in which the archbishop described Charles's final agony. The painting was presumably Vermeyen's *Man of sorrows*.
90. Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 67 and 69, testimony of Fray Francisco de Ángulo, an eyewitness of the exchange.
91. GRM, I, 385–6 and 405–7, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 21 and 26 Sep. 1558, and 408–11, Quijada to Philip, 30 Sep. 1558; Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 70, 61–2 and 94–6, testimony of Fray Francisco de Ángulo, Fray Marcos de Cardona, and Francisco de Toledo (reporting, inter

alia, something he heard from his brother, the count of Oropesa). Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió*, 51–101, printed all the eyewitness depositions. Inquisitor-General Valdés had Carranza arrested in 1559, and he would spend the next seventeen years in prison while first Spanish and then Roman Inquisitors searched for evidence of heresy. *FBD*, 330–48, offers an overview of 'the trial of the century'.

92. Ordi, 'The severe gout', quotation from p. 519; Zulueta, 'The cause', 109; and Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 336–43. For the authenticity of the detached digit, see Appendix II below.
93. Zulueta, 'The cause', 107; idem, *Tuan nyamok*, 342–3.

CHAPTER 17: THE EMPEROR IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

1. Young Marcel probably fell asleep over Jules Michelet's book for children, *François I^er^ et Charles-Quint 1515–1547* (Paris, 1887).
2. GRM, I, 405–7, Quijada to Vázquez de Molina, 26 Sep. 1558; *SLID*, II, 136 (Corral); Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, first licensed for publication in Ghent in May 1559 and frequently reprinted.
3. Marín Cruzado, 'El retrato', 123, noted three distinct representations of Charles V as one of the Three Kings; Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza, caja 7775, Pope Leo X to Ferdinand of Aragon, 1 Nov. 1515 (my thanks to Bethany Aram for sharing with me this amazing document). Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, 163–71, provided an excellent survey of 'The image of the emperor as the new messiah'.
4. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 424–8, Aleandro to Sanga, 21 Aug. 1532, and 441–4, Aleandro to Pope Clement, 1 Sep. 1532. For more on Charles and Molcho (or Molkho), see Lenowitz, *The Jewish Messiahs*, 103–23 (Fig. 5.2, on p. 106, shows Molcho's banner and robe), and Fraenkel-Goldschmidt, *The historical writings*, 187–99 and 323–4 (Joseph of Rosheim's account). For more on Charles's messianic contemporaries, see Parker, 'The place', 167–73.
5. Menegus Bornemann, 'Los títulos', 225–30, printed the original titles of Ocoyoacac, a town on the road from Mexico City to Toluca, in which 'our great king Charles V' featured prominently. See also Ruiz Medrano, *Mexico's indigenous communities*, 112–24 and 175–8.
6. Los Santos, *Descripción*, 167–8 and 176; [Caimo], *Lettere*, II, 32–53, letter from El Escorial on 22 Aug. 1755. For more on the imperial cadaver, see Appendix II below.
7. Leti, *Vita*, IV, 412–13 (totals) and 463 (quotation). Auernhammer and Däuble, 'Die exequien', 154–7, and Schraven, *Festive funerals*, table 2.1, provided incomplete lists of funeral services for Charles. Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 435–6, listed the publications down to 1743 that mentioned the 'grosser Totenfeier' in Augsburg, starting with a contemporaneous illustrated manuscript account: ÖNB *Ms. Codex* 7566.
8. Calvete de Estrella, *El tvmvlo* (Valladolid); *La magnifiqve et svmptvevse pompe fvnèbre* (Brussels); Anon., *Aigentliche unnd wahrhaffte Beschreibung* and Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 433–52 (Augsburg).
9. Calvete de Estrella, *El tvmvlo*, f. 6v. Abella Rubio, 'El túmulo', included three reconstructions of the images described by Calvete; Redondo Cantera and Serrão, 'El pintor portugués', documented the duration of Calvete's work on the catafalque. For the ceremonies in other Spanish cities, see Bouza Brey, 'Las exequias' (Santiago de Compostela); Checa Cremades, 'Un programa' (Alcalá de Henares); and Noguiera, 'Les répercussions', 211–13. Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 620–37, published a detailed description of the exequies in Brussels and in Rome (4 Mar. 1559).
10. Burgon, *Life and times*, I, 254–5, Richard Clough to Thomas Gresham, 2 Jan. 1559. On the 1516 ceremony, see ch. 3 above.

11. Rose, ‘La hija pródiga’, described the commemoration in Lima and suggested (p. 129 n. 1) that Potosí and perhaps Cuzco and Quito also staged exequies.
12. Cervantes de Salazar, *Túmulo Imperial*, 191, 195 (summary in Peset Reig, ‘Fundación’, 552–3, with an analysis of the texts in Sanchis Amat, ‘Los poemas’). The copy of this work in the Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid includes a complete print of the catafalque (other copies reproduced only part): see http://alfama.sim.ucm.es/dioscorides/consulta_libro.asp?ref=B22329791&idioma=0. Olton, ‘To shepherd’, reproduced and discussed the image of the catafalque from the Tlatelolco Codex, completed in 1562. Bossuyt, ‘Charles’, 160, noted the Morales connection.
13. Aguirre Landa, ‘Viejos y nuevos’, 41–4, described the contents of AGS *CSR* 180, 134 and 142 respectively. Varela, *La muerte*, 85 and 145, noted that the will of the Catholic Monarchs called for a more modest 10,000 Masses, whereas that of Philip IV required 100,000 Masses and that of Philip V demanded 200,000.
14. AGS *CSR* 133 legajo 11, f. 108 (total debts exceeded 200,000 ducats); f. 129, *real cédula* of July 1559; and f. 113, *Consulta de descargos*, and Philip’s rescript, 11 Feb. 1579.
15. Mulcahy, *Philip II*, 50. Pérez de Tudela, ‘El cenotafio’, provides a brilliant description of the statues of Charles and his family in the Escorial, and how they arrived there. Perhaps in hope that the commission might be completed in his lifetime, Philip reduced the funeral group from seven to five by eliminating his two infant brothers.
16. *CCG*, XI, 277–8, Juan de Idiáquez to Cardinal Granvelle, El Escorial, 22 Sep. 1584. See *CODOIN*, VII, 90–118 (‘Memorias’ of Fray Juan de San Jerónimo’) and Varela, *La muerte*, 27–8, on the migration of Charles’s body to the Escorial. The azulejos of 1577–8 in the Sala Cantarera of the Alcázar were open to visitors in 2015–17.
17. BZ 144/39, Mateo Vázquez to Philip and rescript, 28 Dec. 1574 (for the context, see ch. 11 above). For more examples of the emperor’s influence on his son, see Tellechea Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé*, I, 319–21, Interrogation of Philip by the Inquisition, 11 Jan. 1560, and Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 26–7.
18. Fernández Terricabras, ‘La reforma de las Órdenes’, 193, Philip to Luis de Requesens, May 1569, italics added. For more examples, see *FBD*, chs 5 and 8.
19. Parker, ‘The place of Tudor England’, 205, Philip to the duke of Alba, 14 Sep. 1571 (part of a discussion of Philip’s attempts to overthrow Elizabeth in 1569–71); AGS *E* 165/2–3, Philip to Archduke Albert, 14 Sep. 1587.
20. *LCK*, III, 512–13, Charles to Marie, 13 Nov. 1552, holograph; BZ 144/61, Vázquez to Philip, and rescript, 31 May 1575. For more on such strategic continuities, see Parker, ‘Incest’.
21. Plaisant, *Aspetti e problemi*, 111, Mendo Rodríguez de Ledesma to Philip III, 14 Sep. 1600.
22. AGI *Patronato* 29/13, challenge of Aguirre, 1561; AGS *E* 531/91, Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio to Philip II, 6 Oct. 1566. The inscription beneath the bust (by Leone and Pompeo Leoni) reads: ‘CAROLO QUINTO/ ET E ASSAY QUESTO PERCHE SE/ SA PER TUTO IL MONDO IL RESTO’. http://plasenciahistorica.blogspot.com/2009/07/busto-de-carlos-v.html
23. ASP *CF* 127 [*Spagna* 4], unfol., count of Olivares to Octavio, duke of Parma, 2 Nov. 1568; BNE *Ms.* 20210/69/20, Philip to Don John, 3 Mar. 1570, holograph; AGS *CS* 2a/280/1485–6, 1519–20, 1532–3, 1540–1, 1646–7 and 1655–6 describe guns cast by ‘Gregorio Lefer’ or ‘de la fundición de Alemaña’ embarked on Armada ships in 1587–8. I thank Colin and Paula Martin for helping me identify the lost Löffler guns.
24. Mendieta, *Historia*, 470 (Book IV, ch. 29); Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengva castellana*, f. 202v; Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 618 (Book XXXII, ch. 17); Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, ch. 39 and II, ch. 8; Elliott ‘Monarquía’, 699, petition of Olivares, June 1638; Ponce de León, ‘La arquitectura’, on the emulation of Yuste at Loeches.

25. De Grieck, *De heerlycke ende vrolycke daeden*, introduction; Lox, *Van stropdragers*, passim.
26. Campanella, *De monarchia*, 98–9.
27. Brandi, ‘Die politische Testamente’, 277–86 (the ‘last instructions’). For a detailed consideration of this forgery, see Appendix III below. Richard Kagan reminds me that Charles also featured in the 1941 Hollywood movie *The Maltese Falcon*.
28. Details from Peiró Martín, *En los altares*, 167–86, quoting Fernández Álvarez, *Evolución del pensamiento histórico en los tiempos modernos* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1974), 127. His view remained the same in 1999: Fernández Álvarez concluded his biography ‘Carlos V, el único emperador del Viejo y Nuevo Mundo: un hombre para la Europa del año 2000’ (*Carlos V: el César*, 853).
29. De Gaulle, *Discours*, 428 (from a speech delivered on 3 July 1962); Terlinden, *Carolus Quintus* (1975), beautifully illustrated thanks to a subsidy from the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; Barón Crespo, ‘La Europa’ (delivered to a conference on Charles and Europe, italics added). In 2018, Barón Crespo received a ‘Charles V European Award’ from the European Academy of Yuste Foundation for furthering European unification.
30. Rassow, ‘Das Bild’, 15 (italics added); Torraca, *Studi*, 104–16 and 543–70. The text of ‘*La ricevuta dell’imperatore alla Cava*’ first appeared in an early seventeenth-century manuscript of ‘Farse cavaiole’, but must have been composed several years earlier. For details on Charles’s passage through Cava on 22 Nov. 1535, and its cost, see Saletta, ‘Il viaggio’, part II, 86–8.
31. Haton’s *Mémoires* translated by Potter, ‘Emperor Charles’, 138 n. 18; Knox, *The history*, 79, quoting ‘A faithful admonition of Johne Knox to the professours of God’s truthe in England’ (1554). The same work equated ‘mischievous Mary’ Tudor with Jezebel.
32. Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, Book XXVI:88, Book XXVII:34, and most of Book XXX criticized the emperor. Although Florián de Ocampo (like Sepúlveda) never published his history of Charles, the notebooks he kept on events during the 1550s included many complaints about how the central government pursued policies deleterious to Castile: BNE *Ms.* 9937, ‘Noticias de varios sucesos’.
33. Daza, *Quarta parte*, Book II ch. 36 (pp. 137–8, also in Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 637–9 and *SLID*, II, 63–6: Méndez only revealed his vision on his deathbed in 1582); Ganz, ‘Charlemagne in Hell’ (my thanks to Fritz Graf for this succulent reference).
34. Burton, *Life*, II, 84–5, Hume to Robertson, c. 1760; Robertson, *The history*, III, 276–80 (assessment) and 518–26 (index entry for ‘Charles V’). On the positive side, Robertson was the first to argue that Charles’s reign saw the emergence of a new political system in Europe characterized by the concept of a balance of power. Details on how Charles made his first Scottish biographer rich from *ODNB*, s.v. William Robertson.
35. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*; Baumgarten, *Geschichte Karls V.*; Stirling-Maxwell, *The cloister life*, 260. See also the negative verdict of Gustave Bergenroth quoted in the Preface above.
36. Michelet, *Histoire*, 263 (the epithet ‘bookworm’ seems odd, given how little time Charles devoted to reading); Galasso, ‘La storiografia’, 155–6.
37. Peiró Martín, *En los altares*, 111–13; Clifford, *Photographic scramble*, 18–19 (published c. 1860, accompanied by the earliest known photographs of the site). After Miguel de Unamuno visited Yuste in 1908, he complained in similar terms about the difficult trail from Cuacos, and the desolation when he reached the monastery: Unamuno, *Obras completas*, VI, 277–82, ‘Yuste’.
38. Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: el César*, 849 (describing his first visit to Yuste ‘in 1955 or 1956’); Brandi, *The emperor*, 12, 15 (‘Introduction: Charles’s character and place in history’), italics added.

39. Erasmus, *Adages* (Paris 1500, often reprinted), 87–91 (Adage 1-V-18: ‘Multa novit vulpes, verum echinus unum magnum’).

EPILOGUE: THE BALANCE OF THE REIGN

1. Braudel, ‘Les emprunts’, 200.
2. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 366–70, ‘Sommaire de l’Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l’empereur Charles V, en l’année 1550’, a section entitled ‘Des pars bonnes ou mauvaises qui sont en l’empereur’. Marillac had served as French ambassador in England 1539–43 and at Charles’s court 1547–51. ASF *MdP* 3464/29–70, Serristori to Duke Cosimo, 17 Sep. 1547, offered a striking example of Marillac’s assertion about the beneficial effects of the emperor’s reputation for piety: Serristori claimed that Charles could not have been involved in the recent murder of Pier Luigi Farnese (ch. 12) ‘because he is such a Christian and Catholic prince’.
3. ASF *MdP* 4308, unfol., Bernardo de’ Medici to Duke Cosimo, Augsburg, 19 Jan. 1551.
4. Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 34 (almost drowned); Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 156 (two sources on the incident at Amboise, 14 Dec. 1539). Buttay-Jutier, *Fortuna*, 391 and 419–20, discussed an unpublished treatise of 1544 by Girolamo Borgia that dissected Charles’s ‘very favourable Fortune’.
5. *RVEC*, 794–9, Salinas to Ferdinand, 18 Mar. 1537; Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 397–9 (on the damage inflicted by his fall in 1532).
6. Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 195 (Orange killed during the siege of St Dizier in 1544).
7. Henne, *Histoire*, VIII, 298 (letter from Roeulx to Marie, 1546 about the assassination attempt); Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 50–5 (about the mutineers: alternative English text see *Social Germany*, 219–20); Greppi, ‘Extraits’, 145, Stroppiana to duke of Savoy, 24 Aug. 1547 (about the drunken soldier). Assassins removed several of Charles’s enemies, including Pier Luigi Farnese and Lorenzino de’ Medici as well as Rincón and Fregoso.
8. Michaud and Poujoulat, *Nouvelle collection . . . Vieilleville*, 113–15, ‘Entretien de M de Vieilleville avec le comte de Nassau’ in 1551. Nassau was particularly concerned that his son, Prince William of Orange, ‘will never gain favour with the emperor’ because he was not Spanish. He was wrong.
9. Specifically, he entrusted Margarita to André de Douvrin, a courtier; Tadea to ‘Joanna Borgognona’ (who accompanied Tadea’s pregnant mother from Charles’s court to Italy); Joanna to Henry of Nassau; and Gerónimo to Luis Quijada: see ch. 14 for more details. On Charles’s concern that his son should become a ‘verdadero príncipe de Castilla’, see *FBD*, ch. 1.
10. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/105–6, Thomas Boleyn and Richard Sampson to Wolsey, 8 Mar. 1523; *NBD*, VI, 338–41, Charles to Ferdinand, Bruges, 2 July 1540 (‘je ne puis estre soubstenu sinon de mes royaulmes d’Espaigne’); Braudel, ‘Les emprunts’, 195 (‘un pour les Pays-Bas, quatre pour la Castille’). In the summer of 1556, Philip II confirmed that since 1551 Spain had transferred to the Netherlands, either in cash or credit, eleven million ducats to pay for his father’s wars: AGS *E* 513/114, untitled document that began ‘La magestad del rei nuestro señor hoyó’.
11. HHStA *Belgien PA* 35/1/256–66, Charles to Granvelle, [28] Dec. 1541; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/7 and 11, Charles to Ferdinand, 8 Mar. and 10 May 1542. Kohler, *Carlos V*, 130–5, listed and evaluated the German ministers who served Charles.
12. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, II/1, 128–9, Elna and Le Sauch to Margaret, London, 19 Mar. 1520; AGS *E* 1555/103, Charles to Miguel Mai, 16 May 1529 (apologizing that he could not reply properly to

seven of his letters, because he lacked the correct cypher key); AGS *E* 1555/130, Charles to 'Fulano y fulano, mis embaxadores', 16 Sep. 1529. See also AGS *E K* 1485/6, Granvelle to Los Cobos, 6 Jan. 1540, apologizing to his closest colleague that he could not write 'in my own hand because I do not know how to write [Spanish]'; and AGS *E* 638/88, a joint *consulta* by Los Cobos and Granvelle in Feb. 1532, with the former writing in Spanish and the latter in French. Charles replied to each minister in their own language.

13. Glapion quoted on p. 138 above; Piot, 'Correspondance politique', 80–3, Gattinara to Barroso, imperial ambassador in Portugal, 13 Jan. 1522; *NBD*, XIII, 20–2, Camaiani to del Monte, 5 July 1552 (italics added).
14. Pietschmann, 'Los problemas', 54, 59; HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/4/68, Charles to Margaret, 25 Aug. 1522; *CMH*, I, 410–17 and 461–3, Charles to Marie, 21 Aug. and 20 Sep. 1531, both holograph. Henne, *Histoire*, VI, 23–34, provided details on the prolonged persecution of the rioters and looters. On measures against the descendants of Comuneros in 1552, see p. 140 above.
15. AGS *GA* 2/29–30, Charles to the empress, 30 Aug. 1529; *CDCV*, I, 186, Margaret to the empress, 15 Dec. 1529 (Margaret was right: the younger prince became King Henry II, Charles's implacable enemy: see ch. 15 above); Serristori, *Legazioni*, 18, Serristori, Florentine ambassador, to Duke Cosimo, 2 Oct. 1537, quoting Granvelle on how the emperor viewed Filippo Strozzi: 'Uomo morto non fa guerra'. Soon afterwards, Strozzi was found dead in his prison cell.
16. *CSPSp*, VI/1, 540–2, Badoer to the Signory, 25 July 1556; *L&P Henry VIII*, XIV/2, 285–8, Edmund Bonner to Thomas Cromwell, 30 Dec. 1539; TNA *SP* 1/170/23–33, Paget to Henry VIII, 19 Apr. 1542, with a postscript on the 22nd, quoting the Admiral of France; AGS *E* 874/17–18, Juan de Vega to Charles, 19 Feb. 1547 (reporting on an audience with the pope).
17. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/148v–51 Charles to Ferdinand, 28 June 1547, register copy. Fernández Álvarez believed the emperor and held up 'su respeto a la palabra dada' as one of Charles's greatest virtues (*Carlos V: el César*, 853); but this volume is full of examples of Charles consciously telling lies or getting his minsters to tell lies on his behalf. See, for example, the numerous instructions to his officials in Seville to sequester cargoes belonging to individuals and to lie about it: pp. 368–9 above.
18. Poumarède, 'Le "vilain et sale assassinat"', 7–8 (quoting Blaise de Monluc's *Commentaries*, published 1590, and a manifesto by the French Directorate on 7 May 1799), and 38–43 (citing discussion of the murders by Bodin, Gentili, Grotius, Wiquefort, Vattel and other experts in international law). Williams, 'Re-orienting', 24–6, noted how Giovio included a discussion of the murder in his *History of his own times* (1552–3), leading imperial apologists to rally to Charles's support.
19. Gunn, *War*, 27. See also the quotations from military experts concerning the difference between besieging a town fortified 'à l'antiqua' and an artillery fortress in ch. 15 above. See also Parker, *The military revolution*, ch. 1.
20. Machiavelli (with Pedro Navarro), 'Relazione di una visita fatta per fortificare Firenze' (Apr. 1526); Robert, 'Philibert', XL, 19–20 and 277–9, Châlons to Charles, 25 Sep. and 25 Oct. 1529, holograph. The prince was killed in action a week before the surrender. Blockmans discussed these letters in 'Logistics', 38–43, and again in *Emperor*, 140–6.
21. Robert, 'Philibert', XL, 282–4, Châlons to Charles, Oct. 1529, holograph; Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 258–9, Ferrara to his ambassador at the imperial court, 2 Aug. 1527; Sherer, '"All of us"', 903 (map of the 1537–8 mutinies) and 912 (etiquette); Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 50–5 (Sastrow's eyewitness account of how mutineers at Augsburg in 1547 confronted Charles in person); Thieulaine, 'Un livre', 147–8 (the mutiny of the garrisons of Cambrai, Douai and St Omer in 1553).

22. *PEG*, V, 165, Juan de Vega to Philip II, Nov./Dec. 1557, with ‘puntos’ that his successor as viceroy of Sicily should know.
23. Tracy, *Emperor*, 182 (Table 8.1) and 247 (Table 11.2); AGS *E* 513/114, untitled document that began ‘La magestad del rei nuestro señor hoyó’, detailed the king’s debts in each state in summer 1556; AGS *E* 8340/85, the ‘Decreto de suspensión’ of May 1557.
24. *NBD*, XIV, 82–3, Nuncio Muzzarrelli to Cardinal del Monte, 18 June 1554.
25. *RTA*, II (212 pp.), X (250 pp.) and XVIII (314 pp.) Calculations are facilitated by the editors’ decision to arrange the Acta by theme, not date. *RTA* for the Diets of Augsburg (1530) and Regensburg (1541) are not yet published, but the discussion of religion figured prominently in the agenda for both assemblies.
26. *LWB*, V, 197–9, Hesse to Luther, 9 Dec. 1529.
27. Suri, *The impossible presidency*, 192, 289.
28. *CWE*, II, 193–6 (# 413), Erasmus to John Fisher, 5 June 1516. See also ch. 3 above.
29. TNA *SP* 1/87/81–3, Vaughan to Cromwell, Brussels, 7 Dec. 1534, holograph. Vaughan loyally assured Cromwell that neither Carondolet ‘nor yet the chef counsyllor of no one prynce in Christendome’ transacted ‘half the busyness, no not the tenth part, that you have’. On Vaughan’s career see his entry in *ODNB*. Gunn, Grummit and Cools, *War*, provided an excellent survey of how the Military Revolution increased the workload of government at all levels. For instance, at St Omer (which left immaculate records) by the 1540s ‘two-thirds of the magistracy’s correspondence . . . concerned military affairs’.
30. Claretta, *Notice*, 69–84, ‘Première représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l’empereur’ (although Claretta dated the document to 1526, Gattinara twice mentioned that he had served as chancellor for four and a half years: since he took the oath of office in Oct. 1518, he must have composed the Remonstrance in Apr. 1523); ibid., 84–92, ‘Deuxième représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l’empereur’, in Italian, with passages from the French original in Bornate, ‘Historia’, 311 n. 4 (although the document is undated, *BKK*, II, 152–3, convincingly argued that Gattinara prepared it in Apr.–May 1523).
31. Claretta, *Notice*, 69–92; *CDCV*, IV, 511 (Charles’s *Memoirs*); *CDCV*, III, 478, Charles’s instruction to Figueroa, [6] Sep. 1552; Heine, *Briefe*, 494–5, Loaysa to Charles, 8 May 1532, and 445–7, same to same, 12 Sep. 1531.
32. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 835–8, Perrenot to Marie, from ‘the camp before Metz’, 16 Dec. 1552 (a false hope in this case). On Philip II’s Messianic vision, which rivalled that of his father, see Parker, *Grand Strategy*, 99–102; and Parker, ‘The place’.
33. *CWE*, V, 108–13 (# 657), Erasmus to Henry VIII, 9 Sep. 1517; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Nouvelle collection . . . Vieilleville*, 113–15, ‘Entretien de M de Vieilleville avec le comte de Nassau’ in 1551. See Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, III, for biographies of most of Charles’s councillors.
34. Cedillo, *El Cardenal*, II, 334–6, Charles to Cisneros, 30 Aug. 1516; *KFF*, III, 25–41, Charles’s instructions to Ferdinand, 16 Jan. 1531. The preceding chapters contain numerous examples of Charles delegating decisions.
35. *PEG*, I, 603, Charles’s instructions to Baron Balançon, Regensburg, 3 Apr. 1532; *CMH*, II, 257–8, Charles to Marie, 31 July 1533 (he made the same point one more time in the same document).
36. Gayangos, *Relaciones de Pedro de Gante*, 48 (Aigues Mortes); Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 439, quoting Charles’s statement at an audience on 11 Mar. 1539; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/27–35v, Charles to Ferdinand, 11 Aug. 1542.
37. *LCK*, II, 177–9, Charles to Nassau, 10 May 1535 (see ch. 9 above for the context); Alonso Acero, ‘El norte de África’, 397–8 (see ch. 15 above for the context); ASF *MdP* 4320/152,

Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo, 29 Aug. 1555.

38. *CMH*, II, 129, Charles to Marie, 8 Apr. 1533 (a challenging document reproduced in facsimile as well as transcription); Powell, *The complete works*, I, 197–8, Sir Thomas Wyatt to Henry VIII, 7 Jan. 1540 (also printed in *SP*, VIII, 219–32).
39. Baronius, *Annales*, XXXII, 125 (Giovio at Charles's coronation as king of the Lombards); Flaminio, *Oratio*, f. III (after the imperial coronation); *LCK*, II, 200, Charles to Jean Hannart, 16 Aug. 1535. See also an identical message in *CDCV*, I, 441–4, Charles to Soria, 16 Aug. 1535. In the euphoria that followed his capture of Tunis, several contemporaries genuinely believed that Charles could take Constantinople: see Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera*, I, 165, Giovio to Duke Francesco Sforza, 14 Sep. 1535 ('God grant that the pope may be able to celebrate Mass in Santa Sophia in Constantinople in the summer of 1536'); and Gilliard, 'La política', 229, Secretary of State Antoine Perrenin to Leonard de Gruyères, 31 Dec. 1535 ('the emperor has the power to take Constantinople, and I pray that God will give him the grace to triumph there').
40. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 167; Burbank and Cooper, *Empires*, 2–3, 12–15.
41. Koenigsberger, 'The empire', 350–1.
42. *PEG*, II, 123–4, Charles's instructions to Noircarmes, June 1534; Powell, *The complete works*, I, 168, Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 Dec. 1539; *PEG*, II, 566, Charles to M. de Bonvalot, his ambassador in France, 24 Mar. 1540.
43. Loaysa in 1532 quoted p. 211 above; BL *Harl. Ms.* 282/297v, Sir Thomas Wyatt to Henry VIII, 7 Jan. 1540 (about Henry's demand that Charles hand over Robert Brancetour: Powell, *The complete works*, 193–4, reads '*change* myn honour', but the original clearly reads '*charge*'); Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 654–5, Soto to Charles, 25 Aug. 1552, reminding him 'of something that I heard Your Majesty say', presumably while he served as imperial confessor in 1548–50. For more on these continuities, see Chabod, *Carlos V*, 26–38.
44. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 259–62, discussed this volume, for which in 1537 Charles paid Simon Bening £452 for the illuminations.
45. Jover Zamora, *Carlos V*, 411–12, Charles to the empress, 18 May 1536. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'The art of persuasion', 71–8, cited other examples of this high-level blackmail towards both the empress and Marie.
46. AGS *E* 640/80, Charles to Vázquez de Molina, Metz, 6 July 1544; *CSPSp*, X, 327, Charles to Marie, 9 July 1551; Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 240–6, 'Resultan los puntos que se han consultado a Su Magestad', undated but Feb. 1552; *CDCV*, III, 543, Charles to Philip, 25 Dec. 1552. For other examples of the significance of 'reputation' to Charles, and how it changed somewhat over time, see Hatzfeld, 'Staatsräson'.
47. *RTA*, II, 594–6, copy of Charles's paper 'fait de ma main' on the night of 18–19 Apr. 1521; *SP*, VIII, 219–32, Wyatt to Henry VIII, Paris, 7 Jan. 1540, holograph draft. Despite this claim, Charles could and did occasionally 'altre my inquisition'. Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 423–5, noted his intervention in two cases; and a paper of advice given to Philip in 1556 urged him to 'Take care that Inquisition is properly run, and that it is not used as an excuse to harm anyone' – hardly a ringing endorsement (Merriman, 'Charles V's last paper', 491).
48. La Gasca on Charles's fear of Hell quoted on p. 375 above; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'El ocaso', 71–3, cited these and other late examples of Charles's conscience dictating policy. Lutz, 'Karl V', 153, considered 'conscience' and 'scruples' to be 'zwei Leitmotive' of Charles's statecraft, but of course there were exceptions: Charles fought in alliance with Henry VIII, condemned as a heretic, in 1543–4; with Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran rulers both then and in 1546–7; and with Albert Alcibiades in 1552.
49. *CDCV*, IV, 485, Charles to Philip, 1552. See ch. 6 above for his self-doubts in 1525 and ch. 11 for those in 1543.

50. AGS *E* 60/193–4, Loaysa to Charles, 9 Sep. [1543] holograph, to be placed directly ‘in His Majesty’s hands’; Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 433–7, ‘Las pláticas que el emperador passó con [el embajador francés]’, sent by Idiáquez to Los Cobos and Granvelle, Feb. 1538. In the 1520s, Charles also pursued personal diplomacy by inserting a special sign in his holograph letters to indicate matters ‘that I have set my heart on’: see ch. 6 above.
51. Rodríguez-Salgado, ‘Charles V and the dynasty’, 80–1; Rabe and Marzahl, ‘“Comme représentant”’, 79 (citing on p. 80 the notable failure of Charles’s first attempts at delegation: in the Netherlands in 1517–20, in Germany in 1519–20, and in Spain in 1520–1).
52. Villar García, ‘Cartas’, 81–5, Charles to Rodrigo Mexía, 20 Feb. and 28 July 1529 (no doubt similar letters went out to all Charles’s vassals); *CDCV*, I, 292–4, Charles to the empress, 13 June 1531.
53. AGS *E* 644/102, Charles to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 7 Oct. 1547. For another example of Charles taking advantage of enforced leisure while sailing to make plans, this time in Mallorca in 1541, see p. 273 above.
54. Ando, *Imperial ideology*, xiii, 27, and most of Part 2, where ‘charisma’ is one of the most common words.
55. Preciado, *Juan de Anchieta*, Introduction (royal warrant dated 5 Aug. 1519); González de Ávila, *Historia*, 474–80 (Cabeza de Vaca). See details in ch. 1 above about Servels; and in ch. 14 about Jeanne.
56. Garibay, ‘Memorias’, 420–1; ASF *MdP* 4307, unfol., Bernardo de’ Medici to Duke Cosimo, 30 Dec. 1548, and Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, I, 313–18, both narrated the death of Buren on 23 Dec. 1548; Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 643–4 and 655, Soto to Eraso, 1 July 1550 (six months after returning to Spain) and 25 Aug. 1552. For examples of Charles’s ability to ‘work a crowd’, see pp. 219–20 above.
57. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 117–18, Perrenot to the bishop of Segorbe, 19 Jan. 1552, minute; Gachard, *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, I, 40–1, Marie to Orange, 27 Oct. 1552.
58. Grunberg, ‘Le vocabulaire’, 18–21; Headley, ‘The Habsburg world empire’, 47 (Duke Philip the Good and his son Charles had founded the convent at Scheut in 1456); Lapèyre, *Une famille*, 127–37, ‘Le marchand devant Dieu’; Guyon, *Mémoires*, 78 (admittedly the tournament involved 1,500 warriors on each side, with the victors ‘pillaging and sacking’ a mock castle), 84, 94. By contrast Guyon omitted Charles’s treatment of Ghent in 1540, of which he was an eyewitness, because ‘to narrate it all would make me too verbose’.
59. *CLC*, IV, 354–6, petition of the Cortes, 15 July 1523; Espinosa, *The empire*, 257, quoting letters from the magistrates of Calahorra and Valladolid to Charles, 7 and 8 Dec. 1526; Villar García, ‘Cartas’, 77, Rodrigo Mexía to Charles, June 1528; RAH *Salazar* A-43/176–7v, Juan Pérez to Charles, 19 Sep. 1528. See also the similar wishes expressed by Charles’s ministers: ch. 9 above.
60. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* (Ferrara, 1532), canto XV, stanzas 23–25 (Ariosto met Charles during his visit to Mantua in 1532, and presented a copy of his work; in return Charles apparently made him Poet Laureate); Meertens, ‘Een esbatement’.
61. *CLC*, V, 355–7, petition of the Cortes, 25 Apr. 1548, on hearing that Charles had ordered his children Philip and María to join him in Germany; Thieulaine, ‘Un livre’, 185 and 191, entries for Aug. 1554. Charles’s regents also regularly argued that only his presence could avert catastrophe, but they were biased: if he were present, they could not be blamed should a catastrophe nevertheless occur.
62. Thieulaine, ‘Un livre’, 179 (the lawyer was correct: for the role of Robert de la Marck, lord of Sedan, in 1521 see p. 131).

63. RAH *Muñoz* 80/101v, Bishop Bastidas of Venezuela to Charles, 20 Jan. 1535. Charles had granted the Welser Company of Augsburg the rights to explore and develop Venezuela and they sent out several hundred German colonists, including Philipp von Hutten, cousin of a prominent rebel against Charles, Ulrich von Hutten. More is known about him than about almost any other conquistador: see Schmitt and von Hutten, *Das Gold*. See also the suggestion of a Spanish pamphlet suggesting that Gonzalo Pizarro had been a Lutheran in ch. 13 above.
64. Chabod, *Storia*, 261 and 302–3, quoting Caracciolo to Charles, June 1537, and the will of the marquis del Vasto, 28 Mar. 1546.
65. Braudel, 'Charles-Quint', 202–4. Braudel perhaps forgot that Penelope's cunning strategy of unravelling by night the weaving she had done by day eventually came to an end: four years after she heard that Odysseus was dead, 'my maidens, disrespectful bitches', told her suitors who 'came upon me and caught me and upbraided me loudly. So I finished my web against my will' (Homer, *Odyssey*, 19.150–158).
66. Escamilla, 'Le règne', 6–7. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, V, 179–91, and Cauchies, *Philippe*, 54, both concluded that without Habsburg resources the Burgundian Netherlands would not have remained independent.
67. Edelmayer, 'El Sacro Imperio', 169–76. For a time Ferdinand regarded the Religious Peace of Augsburg as another interim agreement and expected further colloquies to find a formula of concord for all Christian confessions; but the first one, at Worms in 1557, broke down because the Lutherans could not even agree among themselves: see Liebing, 'Frontière infranchissable'.
68. Bofarull y Sans, *Predilección*, 64–6, Charles to the viceroy of Catalonia, 2 Jan. 1533; Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 162–3 and 402.
69. Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos Recios*, IV, 374–7, 'Lo que el consejo de la Inquisición demanda al Rey', June 1558; and 436–42, Joanna's pragmática of Valladolid, 7 Sep. 1558, incorporating much of the 'demanda'. Fernández Terricabras, 'De la *crisis*', 56–9, described the measures to control heresy taken in Castile in 1558–9; Bujanda, *Index*, itemized and identified the books prohibited in the Index of 1559.
70. Aram, *Juana*, ch. 6, recorded Borja's three extended visits to Queen Joanna at Tordesillas in 1554–5; on his visits to Yuste in 1557–8, see ch. 16 above.
71. Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos Recios*, IV, 953–4, 995–6, Feria to Bishop Quadra (his successor as Spanish ambassador in England), Mechelen, 4 Dec. 1559 and 21 Jan. 1560. Fernández Terricabras, 'De la *crisis*', provided a brilliant discussion of the cordon sanitaire created in Spain in 1558–9, noting that although the rhythm of persecution was slower and initially less palpable in the crown of Aragon eventually the process affected all Spain.
72. Powell, *The complete works*, I, 128, 'Note of remembraunce by Sir Thomas Wiat', Toledo, Dec. 1538.
73. Ando, *Imperial ideology*, 27. See also chs 14, 15 and 16 above for the tense relations between Charles and Philip. See Parker, *Imprudent king*, 370–1, for the prince's 'anal' personality.
74. Álvarez, 'The role', detailed each inbreeding coefficient and explains how they were calculated. Weber, 'Zur Heiratspolitik Karls V.', provided the best analysis of how the emperor pursued matrimonial imperialism, with special reference to France, accompanied by striking explanatory diagrams.
75. Deswarte-Rosa, 'Espoirs', 270 and 293–4, quoting letters from Luis de Sarmiento, Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, to Charles, 23 Oct. 1539, and to Los Cobos, 21 Jan. and 21 Mar. 1540 (italics added).
76. Tellechea Idígoras, *El Papado y Felipe II*, I, 199–202, Pius V to Philip II, undated holograph (but Philip's reply rejecting this argument stated that Pius had sent it with a letter dated 20 Dec. 1568).

77. *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, Series II B 5/1, 390–1, Servien to Lionne, 21 Jan. 1647. Louis married Maria Theresa in 1660.
78. Pociecha, *Polska*, 5.
79. TNA *SP* 1/37/212 Wolsey to Louise of Savoy, [undated but 20 Mar. 1526] French, copy.
80. *CDCV*, II, 579–80, Charles's 'Political Testament', Jan. 1548. Admittedly, in 1529 Charles ceded to Portugal his rights to the Moluccas in return for a large cash sum, but he retained the option to repurchase them at a future date; and in 1543 he seriously considered the pope's offer to buy Milan from him, but eventually declined.
81. Tyler, *The emperor*, 279, 285.
82. *CSPV*, V, 519, Damula to the Signory, 8 July 1554, quoting Perrenot.
83. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 647–8 (fonts as in the original), written in the 1590s (for an alternative translation see *Social Germany*, 278–9); Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, 188 n. 1, Charles's comment to a Portuguese envoy in Feb. 1558.
84. Heine, *Briefe*, 494–5, Loaysa to Charles, 8 May 1532.
85. TNA *SP* 1/170/23–33, Paget to Henry VIII, Chablis in Burgundy, 19 Apr. 1542 with a postscript on the 22nd, quoting the Admiral of France.
86. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 411–14, Mendoza to Charles, Rome, 27 Sep. 1551. For the parallel views of Perrenot, and for the catastrophic consequences, see ch. 15.
87. Huizinga, *Geschonden wereld*, 62 (evidently Charles did not interest Huizinga: even *The waning of the Middle Ages* mentioned him only three times); Robertson, 'Empire and union' (an essay first published in 1995), 14.
88. Braudel, *Les écrits*, II, 395, from Braudel's paper at a conference in 1972. He referred to Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977), author of *Érasme et l'Espagne, recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle*, first published in 1937, and of many other works on the Dutch humanist and his circle.

APPENDICES

1. Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, 137; Cadenas y Vicent, *Las supuestas 'Memorias'*, 361–2.
2. I thank M. Olivier Wagner, archiviste-paléographe of the BNF, for confirming that the watermark of *Ms. Port*. 61 resembles Briquet no. 5704, and that the manuscript once belonged to Mazarin.
3. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes*, II, 44, no. 4806. BNF *Ms. Port.* 15, 16 and 23, and *Ms. Esp.* 166, are all Moura manuscripts. I thank Fernando Bouza for drawing this to my attention.
4. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12–13, van Male to Louis de Praet, 17 July 1550. In *CDCV*, IV, 361–81, Fernández Álvarez disposed of several misconceptions concerning the manuscript, including the claim by von Ranke (*Deutsche Geschichte*, VI, 73–9, 'Über die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Carls V') that a Spanish version 'must have' once existed. On whether Charles wrote or dictated his *Memoirs*, see p. 657 n. 56 below.
5. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 294–392, and *Regia biblioteca*, I, 303–4 and 328–31.
6. Fernández Álvarez, *CDCV*, IV, 471 n. 36, plausibly suggests that Charles entrusted his *Memoirs* to a confidential messenger, Juan Manrique, in Mar. 1552.
7. *PEG*, VI, 290, Perrenot to Philip, 7 Mar. 1561; Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 291, entry in the Inventory of Charles's property at Yuste (stating that the papers belonged to 'Guillermo Miguel Lineo', meaning 'Malineo', the form of 'van Male' used by most of his Spanish contemporaries). Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 363, noted the presence of historical works at Yuste and took it as evidence that the emperor planned to work further on his *Memoirs*.

8. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 328, Morales to Jerónimo Zurita, 20 Nov. 1564; Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia Humanista*, 449–51, Páez de Castro to Zurita, 30 Jan. 1569. It appears that Páez died before he managed to see the manuscript. For the links between Páez and 'Malineo', see ibid., 542, a note of Páez's papers delivered posthumously to the king: 'Otro cuaderno en que hay diversos dichos y particularidades de las condiciones y costumbres del emperador referidas al doctor Páez por Guillermo Malineo.'
9. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 295.
10. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Commentaires*. The manuscript was then catalogued as BNF *F. f.* 10,230. *CDCV*, IV, 461–81, provides further details on the manuscript and its various editions.
11. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 168 n.1. Erudite discussions of the *Memoirs* can also be found in Brandi, 'Die politischen Testamente', 286–93; Fernández Álvarez, 'Las "Memorias" de Carlos V'; Kagan, 'La propaganda'; and Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 283–302 and 360–4. For their content, see ch. 14 above.
12. I thank Almudena Pérez de Tudela, Felipe Vidales del Castillo and Patrick Lenaghan for bringing to my attention several crucial works on this topic, and for sharing their erudition.
13. Los Santos, *Descripción breue*, 167–8 and 176; [Caimo], *Lettere*, II, 32–53, letter from El Escorial, 22 Aug. 1755. Varela, *La muerte*, 18–19, notes that Charles's father was embalmed in 1506, as was his mother in 1555, so the technology was available to do the same with the imperial cadaver had those around his deathbed decided it was necessary.
14. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 338–9; Salomone, 'Se busca malaria'.
15. Stirling-Maxwell, *The cloister life* [1891 edition], 408 n. 2, Layard to Stirling-Maxwell, 17 May 1871; Thausing, 'Die Leiche'; Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 397–9 (the injured leg).
16. Alarcón y Ariza, *Viajes*, 66–9.
17. 'El emperador Carlos V, copiado del natural en 1871', *La ilustración de Madrid. Revista de política, ciencias, artes y literatura*, III, no. 49 (13 Jan. 1872), 11, Rico to Mariano Fortuny, El Escorial, 18 Dec. 1871. The same issue printed the engraving on p. 9.
18. Bodart, 'Il mento "posticcio"'.
19. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 336. It seems likely that the photograph that inspired Zulueta was not of the mummy of Charles V. Although he saw it in the international press in Paris, presumably it originated in Spain, but a search of the main Spanish newspapers (*El Liberal*, *La Libertad*, *La Voz*, *El Sol*, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, *Estampa*, *Crónica*, *El Socialista*, *Mundo Obrero* and *CNT*) between July and Dec. 1936, the period of Zulueta's residence in Paris, revealed nothing about an assault on the Pantheon of the Kings and no photograph of the desecration of the imperial mummy. A search of the archive of a French photographer living in Madrid in 1936, who sent images and information back to France, also revealed nothing (Archivo Deschamps, conserved in the Archivo de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca). In 2016 an interview with two Augustinian priests who had been students at El Escorial in 1936 confirmed that although Republican militia units certainly assaulted El Escorial, taking away many priests and shooting them at Paracuellos de Járama, they did not desecrate the Pantheon. Consequently, the photo seen by Zulueta cannot have been the mummy of Charles V. Perhaps the international press published a photo of a militiaman with a mummy, taken in some location where tombs were desecrated, and either printed the wrong caption or else Zulueta misremembered the caption. Either way, the error proved fruitful, because it convinced Zulueta that he could prove malaria had killed the emperor.
20. Salomone, 'Se busca malaria', citing a note from Pedro Larrea to the Dirección General del Patrimonio Nacional in Dec. 2004; Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 341, wrote that a senior official of Patrimonio Nacional told him about the detached digit while he was looking at a portrait of the family of Carlos IV in 'una exposición de retratos' in the Prado, and the Prado mounted such an exhibition between Oct. 2004 and Feb. 2005; Beruete, 'Martín Rico', 540–1.

21. Patrimonio Nacional, no. 10044506, includes a letter to Alfonso XIII signed by the marquis of Miraflores and the dowager marchioness of Martorell on 31 May 1912; and a statement that they acquired the digit on 14 Sep. 1870. I thank Pilar Benito García for permission to consult these items.
22. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 339–43. The results appeared in Ordi, Zulueta et al., 'The severe gout', and Zulueta, 'The cause of death'.
23. Rico y Ortega, article in *La ilustración de Madrid*, 10–11, letter to Fortuny, 18 Dec. 1871, italics added.
24. Salomone, 'Se busca malaria', reported that the *New England Journal of Medicine*, which published the results of the tests, asked for a DNA match, 'pero los investigadores no obtuvieron permiso para ello'. This is regrettable because in 2014 a perfect mitochondrial DNA match was made between the recently excavated skeletal remains uncovered on the site of a friary in Leicester and a living descendant of the Plantagenet dynasty, proving beyond all doubt that the skeleton was that of King Richard III of England.
25. I thank Daniel C. Anderson, Paul Hammer, David Lagomarsino, Linda Levy Peck, Mary Robertson, Mía Rodríguez-Salgado, Andrew Thrush and Vanessa Wilkie for sharing with me their erudition and their suggestions to help me compile this Appendix.
26. The printed texts are Anon., *The advice*, and Teissier, *Instructions* (with two subsequent editions, published in The Hague in 1700 and 1788). Mayer, 'Das politische Testament', discussed thirteen Italian manuscript texts he found in the archives and libraries of Rome, and quoted extensively from one of them, but he ignored at least twelve more in Scottish, English, French, German, American and other Italian libraries.
27. Mayr, 'Die letzte Abdankung', 156–8, published the document, from HHStA *Hs.* 630/89–90. The document is dated 16 Jan. 1555, old style. For more on these documents, see ch. 15 above.
28. The Venetian ambassador provided a detailed account of the emperor's speech that day: see pp. 466–7 above.
29. RAH *Ms*. 9/5949/12 (formerly *Varios de Historia* Sign. Est 27, gr. 5a, E., no. 134, tomo I, f. 12), 'Puntos que enbió el emperador Don Carlos de gloriosa memoria al rey Don Phelipe su hijo quando dio su vuelta a Spaña. De la manera que mejor se havía de gobernar', printed by Merriman, 'Charles V's last paper', 491.
30. Brandi, 'Aus den Kabinettsakten', 183–4, Paper of advice from Gattinara, Nov.–Dec. 1523. Among other things, Gattinara recommended 'that the Muslims and infidels . . . in your kingdoms should be expelled': to which Charles replied, 'This is not the right time' but 'the chancellor may propose the preparations that would be required to achieve this, and tell me about them later'.
31. If Charles did provide a paper of advice to his son in 1555–6, he was not alone: see those mentioned by Houssiau, 'Comment gouverner'.
32. Mayer, 'Das politische Testament', 476–87, detailed the errors.
33. National Library of Scotland *Ms. Adv*. 23.I.6, 'Ragionamento di Carlo V Imperatore tenuto al re Philippo suo figiuolo . . . riscritto l'anno MDXCII'; Craigie, *The Basilicon Doron*, II, 64–6 ('The literary antecedents of *Basilicon Doron*') and 171–3 (on Pemberton).
34. The titles of Hunt *HA Papers* Box 15 (8A), and BL *Lansdowne* Ms. 792, no. 1, respectively, italics added. All known copies, partial and complete, are described in http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/howardhenryearlofnorthampton.html, entries HoH 28–HoH 51.
35. Hunt, *HA Correspondence* 6909, Howard's Dedicatory Epistle to Elizabeth, f. 1v.
36. I thank Paul Hammer for pointing out to me that Howard and Castelvetro both belonged to the political and cultural circle of Penelope, Lady Rich, and for suggesting that Howard presented his translation to Elizabeth in Dec. 1592, because he told her that he had suffered 'twelve yeares

sequestratacon from the comfort of your cheerfull looks', and she imprisoned him in Dec. 1580: emails from Hammer to Parker, 20 Aug. and 2 Sep. 2014.

37. Hunt, *HA Correspondence* 6909, Howard's Dedicatory Epistle to Elizabeth, f. 2v.
38. Teissier, *Instructions*, 'Avertissement' (unfoliated). The prince was the future King Frederick William I of Prussia (1688–1740).
39. Stübel, 'Die Instruktion Karls V', prints the German text and notes how it diverges from Teissier.
40. Mayer, 'Das politische Testament', 491–4; Brandi, 'Die politischen Testamente', 277–86.
41. I thank Bethany Aram, José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, Ruth MacKay and Felipe Vidales del Castillo for help with this Appendix.
42. AGS *PR* 29/59, notarized copy of the will of Germaine de Foix, 28 Sep. 1536, sent by Calabria to the empress with a letter dated 18 Oct. 1536. The original is at Archivo del Reino de Valencia, *Clergat*, Caixa 1824, no. 25.
43. Ríos Lloret, *Germana*, 114.
44. BNE *Ms*. 1758, Anon., 'Voyages de l'empereur', f. 15, the last entry in a genealogy starting with Pharamond; *Llibre de memòries de la Ciutat i Regne de València*, a manuscript history (Francesc Joan compiled entries for the 1530s: I thank José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero for this reference).
45. AGS *PR* 30, no. 19, 'Inventario de las joyas, plata y recámara de la emperatriz', ff. 1v–2, Charles to María, Augsburg, 24 Apr. 1551. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, II, 2258, published the text from another copy of Charles's letter in the 'Libro de partiçyon que se hizo de la rrecámara que fue de la emperatriz', compiled in 1555. I thank Annemarie Jordan Gschwend for identifying the 'hilo de perlas' worn by María in a painting done by a Netherlands artist circa 1557: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.-Nr. GG_1042.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Gardiner, *The literary Memoranda*, II, 69–70, Prescott's journal entry from 1 Apr. 1841; Temple, *A sort of conscience*, 2 (italics added). Temple planned to complete his biography of Edward Wakefield and his brothers 'in three to five years, but ended only after eleven. I underestimated the time it would take to research and write about an entire family'. In 1999, Manuel Fernández Álvarez provided a similar account of his engagement with Charles V. He started in 1942, working on a doctoral thesis to explain why the alliance between Spain and England forged in 1553 should have foundered; expanded his scope in 1956 when asked to organize something suitable for the quatercentenary of the emperor's death; and published an ambitious biography in 1999, just in time to commemorate the quincentenary of the emperor's birth (*Carlos V: el César*, 21–2).
2. Giles, *The whole works*, I.ii, 267–8, Ascham to Edward Raven, 29 Jan. 1551. The vicar of Epperstone at this time was Christopher Wansforth. He, Ascham and Raven were all educated at St John's College, Cambridge, which may explain the parallel. I thank John Morrill and Tracey Akehurst for illuminating this point for me.
3. Koenigsberger and Parker, 'Charles V'. Koenigsberger's exam question was probably inspired by Tyler, *The emperor*, 285: 'The means at his disposal to face the demands upon him always fell short of what he needed to exploit a victory or a diplomatic success.'
4. Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*.
5. See, for example, Brandi's account of Charles's siege of Metz, in whose garrison he had served as 'erster Adjutant der Festung' in 1917–18 (Brandi, 'Karl V. vor Metz', 1), and his appreciation of the terror of digging mines and counter-mines (Brandi, *The emperor*, 641). In his last lecture,

in 1945, published in Plassmann, *Karl Brandi*, 39–43, Brandi drew on his experience as a 'Frontkämpfer des ersten Weltkrieges'. Ericksen, *Complicity*, 62–74, discusses the impact of Brandi's war service on his patriotism and his politics before and after the rise of Hitler.

6. Ericksen, *Complicity*, 91, from a letter by Brandi in Jan. 1934. The colleague was the ancient historian Ulrich Kahrstedt, also a professor at Göttingen. Brandi issued his challenge immediately, 'while still in my robes'.
7. Not all the foreign editions were satisfactory: see the shortcomings of the 1939 French translation excoriated by Bataillon, 'Le Charles-Quint de Karl Brandi', 300–2. C. V. Wedgwood provided a more reliable English translation.
8. Gardiner, *The literary Memoranda*, II, 145, Prescott's journal entry from 23 Apr. 1845, emphasis in the original. In 1856, Prescott supplied 'An account of the emperor's life after his abdication' to Robertson's *History*: see I, iii–vi, and III, 331–510. For Robertson's negative view of Charles, see p. 500 above.
9. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, 153, Bergenroth to David Douglas, 1 Aug. 1866.
10. For more on the Bergenroth transcripts, and their colourful collector, see p. 570 above.
11. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, 89, n. 1, J. S. Brewer to Lord Romilly, Valladolid, 21 Aug. 1861.
12. Atlas, *The shadow*, 31.

NOTE ON DATES AND QUOTES

1. Compare Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 155–6, with Walther, 'Review of Kreiten', 282. Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahren*, 96 n. 256, confirmed Walther's date. Cheney, *Handbook of dates*, 83–161, gives a French Style calendar for each year, arranged by the date of Easter.
2. Talbot, 'Ore italiane'; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols 80–2, Gasparo Contarini to the Doge, 6 July 1521, 'at two o'clock at night'. Since Charles and all his European contemporaries used the Julian Calendar, to calculate sunset accurately it is necessary to add ten days: so sunset on 4 July 1521 would be the same as sunset on 14 July today.
3. Powell, *The complete works*, I, xxi.

NOTE ON SOURCES

1. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes*, II, 1 (see pp. 36–165 for works on 'España en el período 1516–1556'); Dixon and Fuchs, *The histories*. In 2001, Kohler, 'Una mirada', provided a useful overview of sources for the study of the emperor.
2. Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes*, online at http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/historia/CarlosV/5_3_foronda_1.shtml. Gould, 'The adventure', presents a delightful appreciation of Foronda and his work. Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 400–1, provided a somewhat different account of where Charles spent his time.
3. See the overview at http://karl-v.bsz-bw.de/einl.htm which links to the POLKAweb site. To use POLKAweb click the button 'Gesamtsuche'; to find letters sent by Charles in (say) 1543, set 'Suchart' at 'Standard', type in 'Karl' as 'Absender', and type in the 'Datum' boxes: '01.01.1543 bis 31.12.1543': this brings up 362 letters, in chronological order. Click on each item for details.
4. BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive*, 'Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of manuscripts, 1871–1873', ff. 1–4, John Dahlberg Acton to J. Winter Jones, 12 Aug. 1869, and Paul Friedmann to Edward Bond, 14 June 1869. Ibid., ff. 1–95 contain the correspondence between the Museum librarians and Bergenroth's heirs and assigns about the

collection, 1869–71. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, narrates Bergenroth's life and prints some correspondence about his projected biography of Charles V.

5. BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive*, 'Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of manuscripts, 1871–1873', ff. 446–57 contains the angry correspondence between the Museum and Friedmann about the eleven withheld volumes; Rzepka, *Historia kolekcji*, 121–2, provided a brief description of the Kraków collection. Further volumes of Bergenroth's transcripts, though not all related to Charles, may be found at TNA *PRO* 31/11 (fourteen volumes of transcripts from Spanish archives, most of them published in *CSPSp*; TNA *PRO* 31/11/11 contains keys to cyphers); and BNE *Ms.* 18550/2 (a volume of 376 ff. containing Bergenroth transcripts, most of them published in *CSPSp*).
6. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*.
7. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*. Vol. I included nine inventories for Charles and one for his mother; vol. II included nine inventories for the empress; vol. III included inventories for Charles's aunt Margaret (twenty-two) and for his siblings Eleanor (two), Isabeau (seven), Ferdinand (four), Marie (four) and Catalina (five), together with indexes that cover all three volumes.
8. *SLID*, II, 21–69.
9. *SLID*, II, 71–154 (GRM, II, 1–69, published the same text, albeit Gachard could not identify its author). In the 1620s, Fray Luis de Santa María wrote *A la cassa y monasterio Ymperial de St Hr.mo. de Yuste*. In 1999 the monastery of Yuste acquired a nineteenth-century copy of this manuscript, and produced a facsimile edition, Madrid, 2000; but the passages on Charles V seem to replicate those of Corral.
10. Stirling-Maxwell, *The cloister life* (1852), Pichot, *Charles-Quint* (1854), and Mignet, *Charles-Quint* (1854), all worked from the transcripts of Simancas documents made by González and acquired in 1844 for CADMA by Mignet, its director. Gachard, *Retraite et mort* (3 vols, 1854–6), used transcripts of the same documents, most of them concerning Belgium, made for him in Simancas by García González and his staff.
11. Sánchez Loro, *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V* (1957–8), part of the 'Publicaciones de la Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento'. Although his enthusiasm for the Fascist regime led Sánchez Loro into both errors and odious value judgements, his trilogy constituted a solid scholarly achievement that deserves to be better known.
12. AGS *CSR* legajos 128–80. Aguirre, 'Viejos y nuevos', 40–4, provided the best available description of this important but neglected series.
13. ADN *B* 2268 (79,071), contains the last two membranes of a parchment roll listing all items removed from 'la chambre de nos joyaulx à Bruxelles selon qu'elles sont comprinses en vostre inventaire pour nous en servir en nostre prochain voyaige d'espaigne', signed by Charles on 30 June 1517.
14. Dekker, *Egodocuments*, 7. See also the excellent articles on the subject in a special issue of *German History*, XXVIII/3 (2010).
15. Neefe, *Tafel-Reden* of Ferdinand and his doctor; *LWT*, six volumes of Luther's so-called 'table talk'. Chabod and the similar opinions of other historians quoted on p. ix above.
16. See the overview of the emperor's self-promoting projects, and those involved, in Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 37–40.
17. Bornate 'Mémoire', 394; Rivera Rodríguez, *Carlos V*, 25. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl* II, 42–5, listed and discussed the sources on Gattinara available when he wrote in 1941. In 1981, the chancellor's own archive, now in AS Vercelli, became available to historians and it formed the basis of the studies by Headley, *The emperor*, Boone, *Mercurino*, and Rivera Rodríguez, *Carlos V*.

18. Laiglesia, *Estudios*, I, 41–92, published a dozen instructions signed by Charles in May 1543. For the two papers of advice, see ch. 11 above, and Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*. On the mysterious 'last instructions' for Philip allegedly delivered by Charles in 1555 or 1556, see Appendix III above.
19. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 829, Relation of Marino Cavalli, 1551; Brandi, 'Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen', 256–60.
20. *KFF*, II/2, 549–63, (also printed in *LCK*, I, 360–73), Charles to Ferdinand, 11 Jan. 1530, minute. Contarini suggested that Charles saw such letters as a means of planning: Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2nd series III, 269–70, Relation of Gasparo Contarini, 4 Mar. 1530.
21. *LWT*, II, 182 (# 1687) and III, 233 (# 3245), a comment by Luther in June–July 1532. Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 59–76, analysed the various 'razonamientos' delivered to the Cortes of Castile by Charles or in his name; Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, printed the records of the Greffier. Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, II, 454–8, printed a 'razonamiento' that he claimed Charles had provided to his council on 16 Sep. 1528, to justify his plan to go to Italy. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 11ff, accepted it as genuine and made it the foundation of what he discerned as the imperial 'Programme for 1528'; but Brandi deemed it a fake on stylistic grounds: *BKK*, II, 195–6, and 'Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen', 229–35. Later Beinert, 'Kaiser Karls V. Rede', argued that Santa Cruz's text was genuine, but I find Brandi's rationale convincing and therefore omit the document.
22. See the various accounts of the harangue published by Morel-Fatio, 'L'espagnol', and Cadenas, *Discurso*; for the abdication speech, see the accounts of Federico Badoer to the Signory of Venice, 26 Oct. 1555 (printed by Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 14–19, and in part in *CSPV*, VI/1, 221–4, including the deciphered text of a coded passage); Giovanni Battista Ricasoli to Duke Cosimo of Florence, 26 Oct. 1555 (ASF *MdP* 4319/237–41, printed in part by von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 380); and Sir John Mason to Secretary of State Petrie, 27 Oct. 1555, with a 'Note' of the proceedings (printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 4–7).
23. *SLID*, III, 142 n. 111, 'Escrito de Corte de la cesión que Su Majestad ha hecho' (ibid., II, 635–8, printed yet another account by a Spanish eyewitness).
24. Heuterus, *Rerum Belgicarum*, book XIV; 'Receuil' printed by Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 87–91. Several copies exist: see GRM *Introduction*, 88 n. 1, and Gachard, 'L'abdication', 908 n. 1.
25. Baumgarten, *Geschichte*, III, vi; Roper, '"To his most learned and dearest friend"', 285 (Roper noted that 'because Luther wrote so much, his letters have shaped the way in which Reformation history has itself been written': ibid., 283). Charles published his exchanges with Francis in *Apologie de Charles-Quint* (1535: discussed in Gachard, 'Lettre', 306–9). For an example of Charles writing to a trusted minister in his own hand, addressing and sealing the letter himself explicitly so that his other ministers would not know its contents, see BMECB *Ms. Granvelle*, I, 153–5, Charles to Baron Montfort, 23 Dec. 1528 (p. 206 above); and the secret instructions to Philip dated 6 May 1543.
26. Laferl, 'Las relaciones', 115; *CMH* (2 vols) and *KFF* (initially arranged according to the date when Ferdinand received each letter, so a letter from Charles written earlier may come later, because Ferdinand did not know its contents when he wrote). Spielman and Thomas, 'Quellen', published a cache of twelve letters from Charles to Ferdinand 1514–17; von Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, published extracts from many letters exchanged between Ferdinand and his siblings; *LCK* also published many of the more important letters exchanged between Charles, Ferdinand and Marie; Árpad, 'Kiadatlan', published letters about Hungary exchanged between Charles and Ferdinand Oct. 1541–Nov. 1542.

27. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*. The imperial spouses also exchanged special messengers expressly to bring news of their health. In 1956, Royall Tyler regretted 'the disappearance during or after World War II, of the material collected by Fritz Walser for a publication of Charles's correspondence with his Empress' (*The emperor*, 356). It has not reappeared.
28. AGS *E* 142/134 and 134bis, Charles to Ursolina de la Penna, Rome, 13 and 19 Apr. 1536. For more on Ursolina and Tadea, see ch. 14 above.
29. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 327, prints the text, now in AGS *E K* 1483, B2 # 3, noting the double irony that although the letter can now be read by anyone, and although it travelled halfway around Europe (from Zealand, where it was written, to Spain in 1517; from there to Paris in 1812 and back again in 1942), it was never read by the sole person meant to see it because Charles plucked it from between his sister's breasts before she could open it.
30. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, II, ii–xiii and lvii–lix, published the full texts of Charles's letters (two of them holograph) from 1539, 1540 and 1556, and summaries of most of the rest. No letters from Charles to his children convey the playful yet passionate affection found in those of Philip II when separated from his teenage daughters in 1580–3: Bouza, *Cartas*.
31. Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*; von Höfler, 'Monumenta Hispanica I: Correspondenz des Gobernadors von Castilien . . . mit Kaiser Karls V. im Jahre 1520'; Viaud, *Lettres*.
32. Heine, *Briefe* (letters to Charles from 1530, 1531 and 1532, published in Spanish with a German translation and apparatus criticus), and *CODOIN*, XIV, 1–234, and XCVII, 213–84 (letters to Charles and Los Cobos from 1530 and 1531, including some to Charles omitted by Heine). On Loaysa's career see Nieva Ocampo, 'El confesor'; Martínez Pérez, *El confesor*, ch. 4; and Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 34–59.
33. Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 29*–32*, published Soto's 'parescer' to Charles 'sobre la empresa de Alemania'. See also Carro, 'Influencia'; Martínez Pérez, *El confesor*, ch. 9; and Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 65–71.
34. Beltrán de Heredía, *Domingo de Soto*, 207–36, and 615–55 (Soto to Charles, 25 Aug. 1552, a letter of consolation after hearing of the emperor's flight from Villach, at pp. 654–5). See also Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 71–5.
35. Escoriaza's letters quoted in chs 8 and 9; De Witte, 'Cornelis', published thirteen letters from Baersdorp, eleven of them from Augsburg in 1548 (although he did not write to the empress, who died in 1539, as de Witte repeatedly claimed, but to Marie); Mathys's letters appeared in GRM; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, published van Male's thirty-four letters to Louis de Praet.
36. Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja* (1592; the seven published volumes of papers by or about Borja also contain much on Charles: *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*); Sandoval, *Historia*, 'Historia de la vida . . . Iuste', Books XII–XV.
37. Confirmed in an email from Archivist David Fliri of the HHStA dated 23 July 2018.
38. The first two volumes of *CSPSp*, covering 1520–5, omitted documents from HHStA, but the *Further Supplement* edited by Garrett Mattingly, published in 1947, printed an English précis of these (except for those printed by Lanz, *Aktenstücke und Briefe*, because a précis already existed in *L&P Henry VIII*). The same volume contains a précis of many documents once in HHStA but later returned to AGRB: see details in *CSPSp Further Supplement*, vii.
39. Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt of Graz published a facsimile in 1976 (*Codices selecti*, LVII). The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.491, is a very similar Book of Hours made for Charles in 1533, perhaps copied from the Vienna item: all miniatures can be viewed online at http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=Local&Search_Arg=%22ms+m.491%22+ica&Search_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&HIST=1.
40. Aerts, 'L'âge', 579–80 (a list of Gachard's archive-seeking forays and their fruit), and 590 (quoting Reiffenberg).

41. Aerts, ‘L’âge’, 595 (list of the volumes of documents – almost entirely about politics and diplomacy – published by Gachard between 1830 and 1885). Gachard, *Carlos V* (2015), is a Spanish translation of his long essay on the emperor in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (1872), with an appreciation of Gachard and his work by Gustaaf Janssens.
42. On Gachard’s remarkable sixty-year career as archivist and historian see https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/Gachard.aspx; Wellens, ‘Études’; Aerts, ‘L’âge’ (with some criticisms of Gachard’s zeal for rearranging series by date, without regard to provenance); and, most recently, s.v. in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, XXII, 311–45.
43. Janssens, ‘Fuentes flamencas’, 201 n. 41, notes the difficulty of identifying the current location of the documents printed by Lanz, and offers some guidelines.
44. BRB *Ms.* II-2270, printed with some errors by Gossart, *Charles-Quint*, 217–20. On its provenance, see *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, Jaargang 1894, p. 175 (no. 22, 2 June 1894, p. 1), which mentioned the document in its announcement of the auction. On its content, see p. 68 above.
45. Gachet, ‘Extrait’, 269, and Gachard, ‘Notice’, 243–4.
46. It is probably not in the part of the collection that remained at Chimay, because it did not appear in E. Dony, ‘Les archives du château de Chimay. Recueil d’analyses, textes et extraits’, *BCRH*, LXXXVI (1922), 11–162. I thank Wim Blockmans, Claude de Moreau de Gerbehaye, Pierre-Jean Niebes, John O’Neill and Steven Thiry for assistance in trying to locate the Registre.
47. For an excellent example of how to exploit the documents in AS Milan from Charles’s reign that survived World War II, see Rabà, *Potere e poteri*. *CSP Milan* is available in digital form via *BHO*.
48. Gerhard, *Síntesis*, 12. Gerhard provided an analysis of the 2,911 warrants in the four volumes that cover 1548–53 – AGNM *Civil* 1271, AGNM *Mercedes* III, Kraus Ms. and Ayer Ms. – organized into twenty-nine geographical areas and six topics. This arrangement may be helpful for historians of early colonial Mexico but it precludes any measurement of the daily flow of business.
49. O’Gorman, ‘Mandamientos’, published a transcript of all ninety-two orders registered in this volume. Five warrants cited a royal decree. By 1550, Mendoza issued up to eleven warrants a day.
50. To sample this wonderful resource, type PARES [Portal de Archivos Españoles] into your browser and choose the option ‘Búsqueda Sencilla’. Under ‘Buscar’ type ‘Testamento Carlos V’ and the dates ‘1554’ to ‘1558’; of the thirteen series in four archives displayed, choose ‘Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real’, and of the five documents listed click on the last one: ‘Testamento del emperador Carlos V, 6 June 1554’. Wherever you live, and whatever the hour, you can now read all 100 folios of that document online, and print out whatever interests you.
51. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 10–16, trumpeted his efforts to relocate to Madrid the AGS transcripts that he published, and thus avoid not only palaeographic challenges but also the need to live in ‘a village where a visitor is unlikely to find decent accommodation’.
52. AGS *Estado K*, the papers of the council of State concerning France have been heavily used. By contrast, documents stolen from other series because of their importance, now in AGS *E* 8334–8343, have been largely neglected.
53. Núñez Contreras, *Un registro*, published a helpful summary of the contents of each document.
54. BNE *Ms.* 18,634 no. 58 (formerly ff. 260–2), ‘Lo que el Comendador Mayor scrivió a Su Magestad desde Gante’, undated but from the second week of Apr. 1531. *CDCV*, I, 260–3, published this fascinating *consulta*, but with numerous errors of transcription and no firm date.

55. Moreno Gallego, ‘Letras misivas’, 45–9, plausibly argues that the BR collection was acquired in Besançon by the count of Gondomar in the 1630s, and entered the BR with the rest of the Gondomar collection in 1806. Most of the documents have been digitized, but currently (2018) they can only be consulted in the library itself.
56. In 1921 the last descendant of the Requesens family entrusted the archive to the Jesuit Order in Catalonia. It entered the ANC in 2011.
57. There are three guides to ADN *Lettres missives*: a printed catalogue by Bruchet, available online, and two guard book catalogues, one arranged by correspondent and the other by date, available only in the ADN catalogue room.
58. See the ‘Note on dates and quotes’ above for more about the problems of dating these letters. Walther stressed the need for a new critical edition of the whole correspondence between father and daughter, with correct dates and transcripts: unfortunately, no one has yet answered his call.
59. The two registers of Ambassador Marillac’s correspondence in 1548–9, analysed in *BNP*, II, 88–105, are now available online: BNF *F. f.* 3098–3099 (formerly *Mss*. 8625–8626), with copies (also online) at BNF *Cinq Cents de Colbert* 397–398 and *Clairambault* 343. Marillac’s diplomatic correspondence for 1550, analysed in *BNP*, II, 106–14, is now at BNF *NAF* 7060 (formerly *Ms.* Brienne 89). It is not yet available online.
60. Two detailed catalogues of these documents were made when they were still in Paris: Daumet, ‘Inventaire’; and Paz, *Catálogo*. For some details on Tirán, and on the documents he stole from Spanish archives that migrated to ANF, see https://francearchives.fr/en/facomponent/56390733ecade52ac4b13529b82e7009b51887b9. The boxes of documents returned to Simancas by CADMA (now AGS *E* 8334–8343) bore the stamp of the German *Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*, ordering all customs officials to allow them free passage, dated 16 Oct. 1941.
61. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, III, 6–10, described these volumes.
62. Moreno Gallego, ‘Letras misivas’, offers the best explanation to date on the dispersion of the cardinal’s papers. Van Durme, ‘Les Granvelle’, provides a helpful overview of the Granvelle family and their work for Charles.
63. The New York Public Library, Obadiah Rich Collection, Mss. 79–82, contains transcripts of some but not all the RAH documents, and some other Pizarro-La Gasca material apparently not in the RAH: see Brownrigg, *Colonial*, 70–85. *CODOIN*, XLIX and L, also printed many documents connected with La Gasca’s pacification of Peru; and Saville, ‘Some unpublished letters’, published five important letters from La Gasca to the Spanish authorities in Guatemala, revealing how he adroitly mobilized the resources of the entire hemisphere to crush Pizarro’s rebellion. See also La Gasca noted on p. 579 above.
64. I thank Clay Stalls and the late Bill Frank, curators of California and Hispanic Collections at the Huntington, for their help in compiling this description of the Pizarro-La Gasca papers.
65. Saletta, ‘Il viaggio’. I thank Claudia Möller Recondo for help in calculating the emperor’s movements. See also map 1, p. xiv, above.
66. Baumgarten, *Geschichte*, III, v–vi. He continued: ‘what we really need is the publication of the entire correspondence of Charles V’. Amen.
67. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III f. 57, Young and Boleyn to Henry VIII, Brussels, 3 Nov. 1512, register copy.
68. Senatore, *‘Uno mundo de carta’*, 274, Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Giovan Pietro Panigarola, 21 Mar. 1476. Senatore’s title comes from the complaint of a Milanese ambassador in 1448 that his master’s multilateral diplomacy would create ‘uno mundo de carta’: a century later, his prediction had come true.

69. Muller, *Letters*, 81–91, Stephen Gardiner's instructions to Edmund Bonner, going to Charles's court, 20 Aug. 1538; Merriman, *Life and letters*, II, 92–4, Thomas Cromwell to Thomas Wyatt, 10 Oct. 1537; Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 34–7. Contarini served as Venetian ambassador to Charles in 1521–5, as ambassador to the pope at the Bologna summit in 1529–30, and as papal legate at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541: this allowed him to compare the young with the mature emperor.
70. Merriman, *Life and letters*, II, 116, Thomas Cromwell to Thomas Wyatt, 22 Feb. 1538; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 240, Mocenigo to the Doge, Toledo, 22 Nov. 1538. See also ibid., 67–76, a combined report from the diplomatic summit at Nice, 24 May 1538, sent 'per oratores quinque' (those accredited to the French, Imperial and papal courts) after their long audience with Charles, providing 'tutto il ragionamento di Sua Maestà con l'ordine et parole istesse quanto più fedelmente havemo potuto' because they realized they were 'di somma importantia'. De Vivo, 'Archives of speech', stressed the value of such records.
71. Nott, *The works*, II, xii; Powell, *The complete works*, I, 76–7 (diplomats concealing their failures with a bodyguard of detail) and 204–12, Wyatt to Henry VIII, 3 Feb. 1540 (Charles interrupting, laughing and wagging his head). Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, chs 11–14, provided a wonderful account of the world of an ambassador at Charles's court. On his resort to composing poems (with titles like 'Tagus, fare well') to alleviate the misery of life in Spain, see Powell, 'Thomas Wyatt's poetry'.
72. *SP*, IX, 638–47, Wotton to Henry, Speyer, 9 Apr. 1544 (italics added); TNA *SP* 1/182/157–64, 'Articles concluded between the viceroy and the king's highness commissioners for ye invasion of France', undated but 31 Dec. 1543.
73. *NBD*, XIV, 82–3, Nuncio Muzzarrelli to Cardinal del Monte, 18 June 1554 (emperor absorbed by 'questi tumulti di guerra'); *NBR* XIII, 259–61, Nuncio Imola to Julius III, 28 May 1553 (for four months Charles had been too ill to grant audiences); ibid., 116–20, Nuncio Camiani to Monte, 16 Sep. 1552, and Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 334–6, Ascham to Morison, 1 Oct. 1552 (banishment to Speyer). Nevertheless, maintaining a news blackout was easier said than done: *NBD*, XIII, 395–402, printed a detailed report by the nuncio's secretary after a secret twelve-day visit to the Imperial camp before Metz.
74. TNA *SP* 1/225/145, Stephen Vaughan to Secretary of State Paget, Antwerp, 6 Oct. 1546; Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, V, 80–1, Dantiszek to Piotr Tomicki, Barcelona, 17 Aug. 1519, Latin (Spanish translation in Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 143–4). The ambassador claimed proficiency in the first 'faculty' and said he received daily instruction in the second; but 'no one succeeds in the other two without a prior disposition'.
75. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/257–66, Lee to Henry VIII, 7 Sep. 1526; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/203v–215, Navagero to the Signory, 6 Sep. 1526 (English summary in *CSPV*, III, 601–6); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 57–71, Castiglione to Capua, 8 Sep. 1526. No dispatch from the French ambassador has survived.
76. TNA *SP* 1/22/9, endorsed 'copie of the emperours letter'. On Spinelly's career and intelligence network, see Behrens, 'The office'.
77. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 433–7, 'Las pláticas que el emperador passó con el señor de Pressiu', sent by Idiáquez to Los Cobos and Granvelle, Feb. 1538. For further details see ch. 10 above.
78. HSA *B* 2954 is a fine collection of holograph letters exchanged between Charles, Henry, Francis and his mother (and regent) Louise of Savoy in the 1520s; Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles*, published their letters; Vañes, 'Cartas' published sixty-three letters from Charles to Clement.
79. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, xxiii. I have chosen the printed numbering when citing documents from TNA *SP* and the most recent numbering when citing documents from the BL

Cotton Ms. because that is what *SPO* used.

80. *L&P Henry VIII*, V, pp. i–viii, James Gairdner's account of Brewer's achievement.
81. *RVEC*, 6. The volume, purchased by the RAH in 1801, is currently *Ms.* 9–5492.
82. *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, ed. by M. del Piazzo (Rome, 1951), 145–155: 'Germania: Corte Imperiale'.
83. ASF *MdP* 652/355, Ambassador Niccolini to Pagni, Regensburg, 25 July 1541 [Bia, Doc ID# 22385].
84. *NBD*, VIII, 717, report of a papal diplomat in Worms, 8 June 1545: Stroppiana 'dorme in camera della Maestà Cesarea'.
85. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XL, cols 285–6, reported how on 14 Nov. 1525, Contarini, 'dressed in black velvet', spent 'three and a half hours' reading his *Relazione* to the Senate 'in a very low voice that could scarcely be heard'. Only Venice required its ambassadors to present a 'Final Relation' after each embassy. A few Tuscan diplomats did so, but it never became standard practice.
86. Apparently, Andrea Navagero did not deliver a *Relazione*, no doubt because Charles arrested and imprisoned him: see ch. 8 above.
87. Alberì, *Relazioni*; Firpo, *Relazioni*. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 34–8, provides a succinct description of the genre.
88. Leva, 'Marino Sanuto', 117.
89. One tiny example: *CSPV*, III, 160–1, Contarini to the Signory, 16 July 1521, says the ambassador and Charles were 'in consultation well nigh two hours'; yet both Sanuto's text and Contarini's register copy say 'quasi hore 3' (Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXI, cols. 318–20; BNMV *Ms. Italiani Clase VII*, cod. 1009/75–7). Nevertheless, some of Brown's transcripts in *CSPV* include decrypts of passages coded in the original for which the key is now lost, and thus provide more information than the originals.
90. Fontán and Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 324, Krysztof Szydlowiecki to Dantiszek, 27 Apr. 1530, thanking him for sending a portrait of Cortés, and noting that King Ferdinand had given him a 'book of the *Cartas de Relación*', no doubt a copy of ÖNB *Codex Vindobonensis* S. N. 1600 (see p. 575 above).
91. Printing details on Snouckaert from Pettegree and Walsby, *Netherlandish books*, II, 1231, # 28103–# 28110. Snouckaert left an archive: see http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/pdf/NL-HaNA_1.10.76.ead.pdf, p. 36. See also the entries for each chronicler in the bibliography.
92. Redondo, *Antonio*, 304, and Druez, 'Perspectives', 86, both charted the overlapping appointments of Charles's chroniclers.
93. For full publication details see the entry for each chronicle in the Bibliography to this volume. Morel-Fatio never published further instalments of his *Historiographie*, but for updates see Chabod, *Carlos V*, 142–8; Kagan, *Clio*, ch. 2; Chaunu and Escamilla, *Charles*, 1,134–9; and the detailed studies of García Fuentes, 'Bernabé de Busto', and Cuart Moner, 'Juan Ginés'.
94. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 61–6, and Cuart Moner, 'Juan Ginés', 359–63, noted that Sepúlveda included material provided to him directly by Charles (for example, on the Cortes of Castile and the meeting with Francis at Aigues Mortes in 1538), as well as what he had seen for himself while accompanying the emperor in 1542–3 and what he learned from other eyewitnesses (for example, from Antonio de Fonseca concerning the burning of Medina del Campo in 1520 and from a servant whom he ordered to accompany Charles to Algiers in 1541).
95. Beinert, 'Kaiser Karls V. Rede', Redondo, *Antonio*, 303–49, and Civil, 'Enjeux', examined in detail the passages in Santa Cruz plagiarized from Guevara. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 102–3, cited a letter from Santa Cruz that recorded a conversation with Charles in 1556, on his way to Yuste.

96. Mariscal, ‘A clown’, 67. Two editions of this idiosyncratic work appeared in the 1980s: see the Bibliography under ‘Zúñiga’ for details.
97. See Delsalle, ‘Un homme’, for some details on Guyon and his *Mémoires*.
98. See details in Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, ‘Acerca de los *Hechos del Emperador*’.
99. Zimmerman, ‘The publication’, 59–61; Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera: II, Epistularum pars altera*, 105, Giovio to Saxony and Hesse, 29 Aug. 1547.
100. In 1562 his *Historiae* appeared in two distinct Spanish translations, provoking a hostile counterblast, *El antijovio*, five years later: Cuart Moner, ‘Jovio en España’.
101. Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, 282–3 (Charles called both Sleidan and Giovio liars); Sleidan, *De statu*, sig. Aiii. Sepúlveda, *Historia de Carlos V*, VI, pp. CIV–CVII, Sepúlveda to van Male, 1 June 1557, reported receiving a copy of Sleidan’s book from Luis de Ávila, ‘with assurances that it would come in useful for revising what I had written on events in Germany’, demonstrating that the work became known at the imperial court almost at once. Sleidan’s work went on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1558. For more on the author and his *Commentaries*, see Kess, *Johann Sleidan*, especially ch. 5.
102. Gomara, *Annals*, a bilingual edition in Spanish and English. The editor, R. B. Merriman, suggested that Gómara composed this work, which extols Charles at every turn, explicitly to secure a reversal of the decision to ban his earlier *Historia de las Indias*.
103. Redondo, *Antonio*, 303–49, expertly examined the overlaps between Guevara, Santa Cruz and Sandoval.
104. Thomas, *Annalium*, published posthumously in 1624 with a German translation four years later. On the frustrated love-match, see ch. 3 above.
105. Fagel, ‘Carlos de Luxemburgo’, 30 and 63 n. 2, listed these sites and included reproductions of them. For the excavations at the Coudenberg palace, and on the park that surrounded it, see Heymans, *Le palais du Coudenberg*, 195–6 and 209. By chance, the ‘chapelle de Charles-Quint’ survived the fire, but was demolished in 1775.
106. Rosenthal, *The palace*, and Tafuri, *Interpreting*, ch. 6.
107. Details in Checa Cremades, *Monumentos restaurados*; Baker-Bates, ‘The “cloister life ”’; and Martín González, ‘El palacio’.
108. See, for example, the splendid set of nineteen wooden game pieces, with a portrait on one side and an identification on the other, reproduced in Haag, *Frauen*, 82.
109. Luis Zapata de Chaves, writing about Charles in the 1580s, suggested that ‘Cobos was his Favourite in matters of state, and Don Luis de Ávila in his private affairs’: Gayangos, *Miscelánea*, 185. On the Museo Carolino, see Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, ‘Acerca de los *Hechos del Emperador*’, 436–8; and Marcks, ‘Die Antikensammlung’. For the aborted sale, see http://www.hoy.es/plasencia/busto-carlos-palacio-20171212220145-nt.html.
110. Ferer, *Music*, 240. See also pp. 24, 161–6 and 182–201, where she linked some compositions with certain events.
111. Gachard, ‘Particularités’, 128–9 (reprinted in Gachard, *Études*, II, 352–3); Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*.
112. *CDCV*, IV, 11, part of a revealing account of how the historian who commissioned the project, Cayetano Alcázar, ‘gave me a hand when so many turned their backs on me’. He repeated the story in Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V. Un hombre*, 11.
113. *CDCV* purposely omitted documents already published in major collections: not only *CODOIN* but also *LCK* (with 1,009 documents from Brussels) and *PEG* (739 documents from Charles’s reign, almost all from Besançon). Peiró Martín, *En los altares*, 174–5 and 184–5, provided interesting details on the making of *CDCV* by the ‘falangista de juventud y ocasión Manuel Fernández Álvarez’.

114. Cohn, ‘Did bribery’, 2.
115. From B. Greiff, ‘Was Kayser Carolus dem V^ten^ die Römisch Künglich Wal cost im 1520’, *Jahresbericht des historischen Kreis-Vereins in Schwaben und Neuburg*, XXXIV (Augsburg, 1868), 9–50 (also published as an offprint).
116. Tyler, *The emperor*, 357–8; *BKK*, II, 28–9; Dixon, ‘Charles V’, 106–8. Chabod, *Carlos* V, 152, also ranked Brandi’s biography the best. See also his long essay on ‘Carlos V en la obra de Brandi’ (op. cit., 577–606) and his introduction to the Italian edition of Brandi’s biography (idem, pp. 607–29). Royall Tyler (1884–1953), fluent in four languages and proficient in three more, served in both world wars (the first in the US infantry, the second in US intelligence) and worked for both the League of Nations and the United Nations, as well as editing the last five volumes of *CSPSp* between 1913 and 1954 – all activities that provided insights into Charles and the problems he faced. For a thoughtful consideration of the biographies by Brandi, Tyler and others, see Galasso, ‘L’opera’.
117. *BKK*, II, 196, admitted that a document in the RAH, Madrid, cited by an earlier historian, ‘ist mir unbekannt geblieben’. It is significant that the various archival guides published in *B&S* omit ADN. For more on Brandi and his works on Charles, see Plassmann, *Karl Brandi*, and p. 581 above.
118. Simons, *Keizer Karel*; Fagel, ‘A broken portrait’, 77–8.
119. Möller Recondo, ‘Carlos V’, 375–80, listed the categories and contents of the Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes site.
120. Atlas, *The shadow*, 327
121. *CSPSp*, VI/2, 105, Charles to Eustache Chapuys, 12 Aug. 1542; Brandi, ‘Die politischen Testamente’, *B&S*, II, 259 n. 1, Perrenot to Ferdinand, 9 May 1557 (documents from the imperial chancery that ‘etliche fur Algers verloren wordten’).
122. Vargas-Hidalgo, *Guerra y diplomacia*, xi, ‘Informe’ by Gabriel de Zayas, 4 Oct. 1592. See also Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, I, ii n. 3, Courtewille to Viglius, 23 Dec. 1559.
123. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 595/188, and 596/1/277, both record that the register ‘a esté collationé en l’an 1558 et trouvé concorder avec les lettres originalles’. Head, ‘Configuring’, 504–6, notes that compiling such registers became standard practice among Habsburg archivists in the 1520s.
124. TNA *SP* 1/88/162, Richard Pate to Cromwell, 11 Dec. 1534; *KFF*, V, 11, quoting Herwig Wolfram; *CMH*, I, 384–9 and 447–8, Mary to Charles, 3 Aug. and 4 Sep. 1532.
125. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 246, Maximilian to Margaret, 7 Dec. 1516, copy; *KFF*, II/1, 96–7, Charles to Ferdinand, 1 July 1527 (Ferdinand’s letter of 9 May has been lost, which may mean that Charles destroyed it).
126. *CSPSp*, I, xiii–xv. In 2018 the Spanish CNI began to use modern techniques of cryptanalysis on sixteenth-century documents, starting with the coded letters sent by the Gran Capitán in Naples to King Ferdinand in Spain.
127. Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel*’, 248–9, Maximilian to Margaret, 29 Apr. 1508, holograph; BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.V/241, Margaret to Wolsey, Ghent, 12 May 1517 (‘car ce sont choses que pourroit mieulx a dire de bouche que par lettre’); Danvila, *Historia*, II, 489, Adrian to Charles, 31 Aug. 1520.
128. AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.5, Charles to the count of Haro, 19 Aug. 1528; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/103–4, Charles to Ferdinand, 18 Apr. 1546, register copy.
129. ADN *B* 2249 (77,795), receipt signed by ‘maistre Adriaen Florencii’, 1 Oct. 1515; ADN *B* 2510/608 and 621, account of Receiver-General Bouloingne for 1555 (italics added).
130. *PEG*, II, 460–1, Charles to Ambassador Hannart, 25 May 1536, minute; Ball and Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 86 and 133, Charles’s instruction of 6 May 1543.

131. Caro, *The years of Lyndon Johnson: The path to power*, 776–7; Caro, *The years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate*, 1,052–3; and an interview with Caro on the NPR programme 'Fresh Air' on 13 May 2013, http://www.npr.org/books/authors/151439873/robert-a-caro. For an early modern example of 'unknown unknowns', see MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, 1–3, noting the dearth of outgoing letters in Cromwell's own archive and postulating that 'Such a vast loss of the out-tray can only be the result of deliberate destruction'. For a twentieth-century parallel, see Clark, *The sleepwalkers*, 19, noting that the leading Serbian politician Nikola Pašić (1845–1926) 'tended not to commit ideas and decisions to paper, or even, indeed, to the spoken word. He was in the habit of regularly burning his papers.'
132. Cadenas y Vicent, *Entrevistas*; Daza, *Quarta parte*, 137–8 (the vision of Fray Gonzalo Méndez: see ch. 17).

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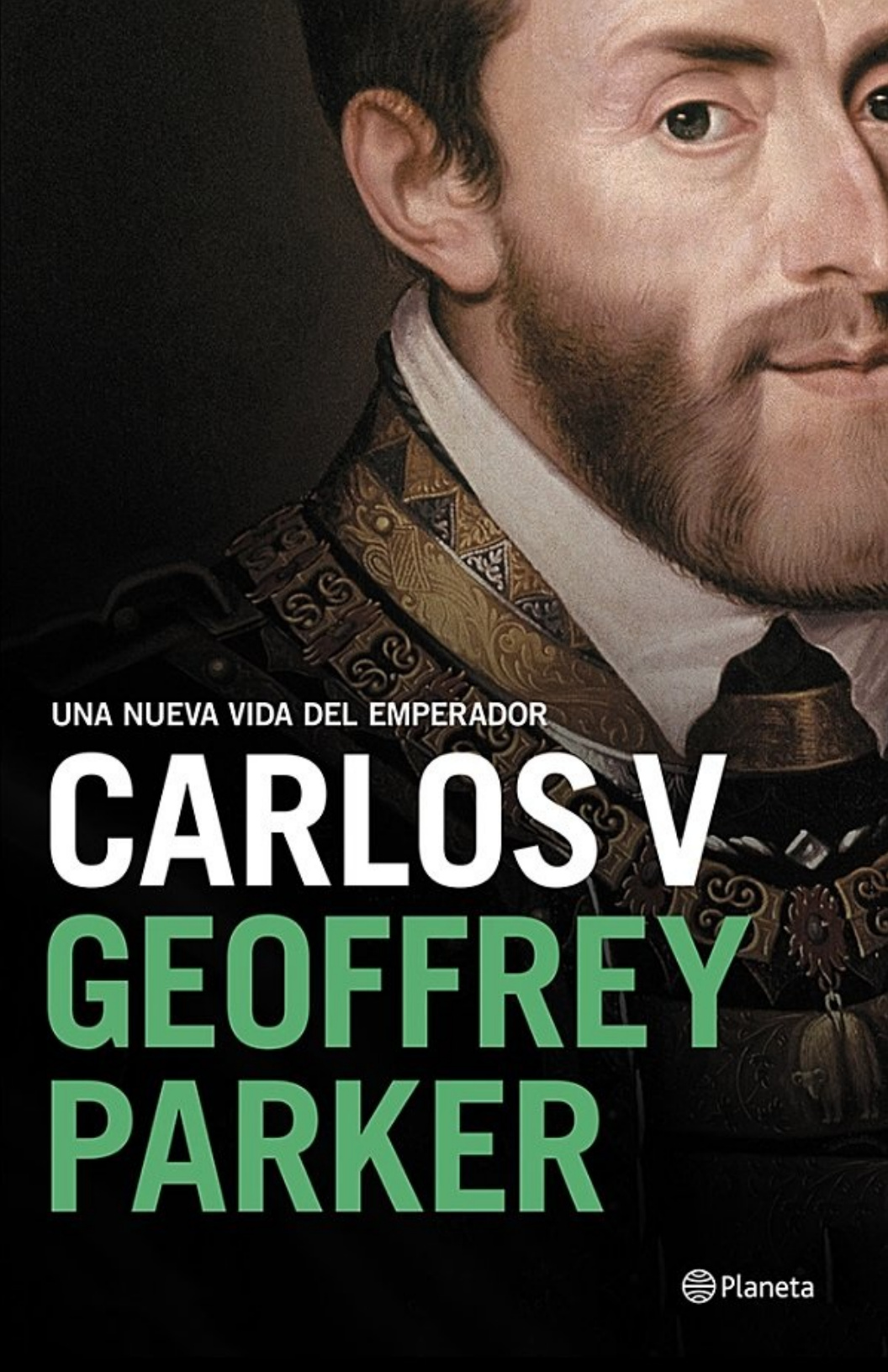

UNA NUEVA VIDA DEL EMPERADOR

CARLOS V

GEOFFREY PARKER

Planeta

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Carlos V: una nueva vida del emperador
Geoffrey Parker

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SINOPSIS

Tras el éxito de *Felipe II, la biografía definitiva*, publicado por Planeta en 2010, el prestigioso hispanista Geoffrey Parker acomete ahora la tarea de biografiar al rey Carlos I de España y V de Alemania, emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano.

Una vez más, Parker pone su particular estilo narrativo al servicio de la historia para hacer que los personajes del pasado vivan en sus páginas y el lector pueda verlos deambular por los palacios, luchar en las batallas, cazar en los bosques y reinar sobre casi un tercio del mundo…

Geoffrey Parker

Carlos V

Una nueva vida del emperador

Traducción del inglés de Victoria E. Gordo del Rey

Planeta

Dedicado a mis nietos,
Cameron, Sienna y Cordelia

Prefacio

¿Necesita verdaderamente el mundo otro libro sobre Carlos V, soberano de España, Alemania, Países Bajos, media Italia y gran parte de la América central y del sur? El propio emperador redactó sus memorias, se han escrito cientos de biografías en docenas de idiomas, y en el listado del catálogo WorldCat constan más de 500 obras publicadas en lo que va de siglo en cuyo título figura «Carlos V». Sin embargo, todas estas obras contienen errores. El emperador escribió su triunfalista autobiografía en 1550, cuando se encontraba en el momento álgido de su poder; algunas de las «vidas» escritas no son imparciales (incluso muchos de sus biógrafos de los siglos XIX y XX utilizaron sus logros con fines ideológicos), y muchos estudios recientes ignoran fuentes importantes. No obstante, a pesar de la plétora de publicaciones disponibles, Harald Kleinschmidt se lamentaba, en una biografía reciente, de que «Carlos fue una figura escurridiza, en un mundo contradictorio. Los historiadores tienen que ir en su busca, rastrear sus huellas. Pero las huellas solo pueden mostrarnos dónde estuvo, no quién fue». Además, «Existen abundantes textos que llevan el nombre de Carlos. Pero él no vio la mayoría de ellos y entre las pocas cartas escritas de su puño y letra hay algunas que no reflejan sus propias opiniones, sino las de sus consejeros». Wim Blockmans, autor de otro trabajo reciente sobre Carlos, identificaba dos escollos más a la hora de escribir sobre su vida: «pocos estudiosos son capaces de utilizar las fuentes y publicaciones para investigar en todas las lenguas requeridas»; y «el *corpus* de material documental es tan vasto que resulta imposible investigarlo en su totalidad».[1]

¿Imposible? Cierto es que el *corpus* de fuentes que ha llegado hasta nosotros es a la vez vasto y multilingüe. Carlos firmó su primera carta cuando ten ía cuatro años *(véase lámina 1),* y para

el momento de su muerte había firmado más de 100.000 documentos en neerlandés, francés, alemán, italiano, latín y español, añadiendo una posdata ológrafa a muchos de ellos. Las cartas que escribió de su puño y letra, especialmente aquellas que estaban redactadas en francés o español e iban dirigidas a sus hermanos, a su hijo y a sus confesores, abarcan miles de folios y ciertamente «reflejan sus propios pensamientos». Su producción epistolar se conserva en archivos y bibliotecas de toda Europa, porque Carlos pasó buena parte de su reinado viajando. Aunque sus primeros diecisiete años los vivió íntegramente en los Países Bajos, y más tarde pasó allí unos diez años más, vivió diecisiete años en España, casi nueve en Alemania y casi tres en Italia. Visitó Francia en cinco ocasiones y el norte de África e Inglaterra en dos. En todos los lugares donde estuvo, comió y durmió, dejó un rastro documental. Solo escapan a los ojos de los historiadores los 260 días que pasó en el mar navegando entre sus dominios.

Si bien nunca cruzó el Atlántico, Carlos también dejó su impronta en los archivos de sus dominios americanos. El primer virrey de México emitió casi 1.500 órdenes en nombre del emperador solo entre 1542 y 1543, muchas de las cuales fueron en respuesta a una orden imperial directa. Algunas de sus cédulas adquirieron un carácter icónico ya que legalizaban la creación de un nuevo asentamiento mexicano *(altépetl)*, y se convirtieron en codiciados documentos fundacionales de los cuales todavía se seguían haciendo copias en la década de 1990. Además, dado que «en el México Prehispánico la fundación de los diversos *altépetl* tuvo lugar por voluntad y bajo la protección de los dioses», Carlos adquirió un lugar de honor dentro del elenco de los dioses locales en algunas de las comunidades que fundó.[2]

El emperador se afanó por alcanzar la inmortalidad por medios más convencionales. Posaba para retratos, patrocinaba la elaboración de crónicas, encargaba obras de música y de arte, construía palacios y protagonizaba exhibiciones propagandísticas (especialmente sus solemnes «entradas» en las ciudades); su imagen era masivamente reproducida en monedas, medallas, cerámica e incluso en piezas de ajedrez y de damas *(véase lámina 31)*, adem ás de en libros y carteles; y tenía contratado un contingente internacional formado por cientos de poetas, pintores, escultores, vidrieros, impresores, tejedores, joyeros, historiadores, armeros y escribientes para proyectar su imagen de una manera controlada. Cada día, seguía meticulosamente el consejo del célebre libro *El cortesano*, de Baltasar Castiglione (publicado mientras el autor ejercía como embajador en la corte imperial, y traducido al español por orden de Carlos), en el que se recalcaba la necesidad de hacerlo todo —caminar, montar a caballo, luchar, bailar, hablar— con la vista puesta en el público.[3] Le habría horrorizado saber que en el siglo XIX se abrió su tumba y se expuso su cuerpo momificado y desnudo como una atracción turística. Algun os de los visitantes realizaron dibujos *(véase lámina 39)*, otros hicieron fotos y alguien sobornó a un guardia para cortar parte de uno de los dedos del emperador y llevárselo como recuerdo. Este vandalismo acabaría resultando una bendición, ya que un examen forense del dedo sustraído, entonces ya a buen recaudo en un armario especial, proporcionó dos importantes pruebas médicas: que el emperador había sufrido de gota crónica, de lo que él se había quejado siempre, y que había fallecido por una dosis doble de malaria *(véase Apéndice II)*.

Esta biografía pretende utilizar todas las fuentes disponibles acerca de Carlos, sean documentos o dedos, para arrojar luz sobre tres asuntos clave:

• *Cómo* tomó Carlos las decisiones cruciales que llevaron a crear, preservar y expandir el primer y más duradero imperio transatlántico del mundo.

• *Si* sus fracasos políticos se deben a defectos estructurales o a limitaciones personales: ¿un monarca con mejores habilidades políticas que las que poseía Carlos podría haber tenido éxito, o bien las circunstancias habían dado lugar a un imperio demasiado grande e imposible de defender? En términos más actuales, ¿es un problema de actores o de estructura?

• *Cómo* era vivir en el mundo de Carlos, *ser* el emperador. En este punto he seguido la manera en que Plutarco (uno de los autores favoritos de Carlos) escribía acerca de uno de sus modelos de conducta, Alejandro el Grande: «Las hazañas más gloriosas no siempre nos aportan la visión más clara de las virtudes y los vicios de los hombres. A veces, un detalle de importancia menor, un gesto o una broma nos informan mejor de su carácter e inclinaciones».[4]

Inevitablemente, las fuentes de que disponemos para dar respuesta a estas cuestiones son dispares. Como cualquier otro ser humano, Carlos durmió, comió, bebió, orinó y defecó, pero de estas actividades normalmente no quedó registro salvo cuando se producía algún tipo de anomalía (cuando no podía dormir, cuando vomitaba, cuando se emborrachaba, cuando sentía escozor al orinar o cuando padecía diarrea). También dedicaba algún tiempo todos los días a rezar, y cada Semana Santa se recluía en un convento donde rehusaba tratar cualquier asunto público, pero los historiadores no han podido saber qué otras cosas hacía durante aquellos momentos a menos que aconteciera algo inusual (cuando se desmayó durante una misa y quedó inconsciente más de una hora, cuando se retiraba a orar o

a confesar en situaciones poco frecuentes como después de ganar una batalla, o cuando fue excomulgado por aprobar la ejecución de un clérigo rebelde y esto le impidió irse de retiro por Pascua).

Además, como advertía el presidente John F. Kennedy a los historiadores en 1962, «Siempre habrá trechos oscuros y confusos en el proceso de toma de decisiones» porque «la esencia de la decisión definitiva permanece impenetrable al observador, y a menudo, incluso al propio encargado de tomar la decisión». Más de cuatro siglos antes, Carlos hacía un comentario idéntico. En sus instrucciones confidenciales de 1543 para su hijo y heredero, prevenía de que algunas cosas «están tan oscuras y dudosas que no sé cómo dezyrlas ny qué os devo de aconsejar sobre ellas, porque están llenas de confusiones y contradiçiones o por los negoçios o por la conçiençia».[5] Una noche de 1552, Carlos trató de explicarse. Su ayuda de cámara, Guillermo van Male, refirió a un colega que el emperador le ordenó

> Cerrar las puertas de sus habitaciones y me hizo prometer que mantendría el más estricto secreto sobre las cosas que iba a contarme […] No se guardó nada para él. Me quedé de una pieza cuando escuché lo que me dijo. Incluso hoy me estremezco cuando pienso en ello y moriría antes de contárselo a alguien que no fueras tú. Ahora puedo escribir con libertad, porque el emperador duerme; es plena noche y todos los demás ya se han ido.

«Me llevará largo tiempo contarte todos los detalles», proseguía tentador van Male, porque el emperador «me contó todo lo que le había pasado en su vida» e «incluso me proporcionó un documento manuscrito en el que enumeraba todas sus fechorías», incluyendo «muchas cosas que debió de hacer de otra manera, bien porque se olvidó de contarme algo o porque luego cambió la versión». Pero, desafortunadamente para los historiadores, el sueño también venció a van Male y dejó de empuñar la pluma. Si llegó a consignar «todos los detalles» en papel en algún momento posterior, su carta se ha perdido y también la lista manuscrita de fechorías del emperador.[6]

No obstante, han sobrevivido las fuentes suficientes como para que los historiadores puedan indagar muchas de las «confusiones y contradiçiones». Además de la ingente cantidad de cartas suyas de la que disponemos, Carlos atrajo la atención de un gran número de sus coetáneos, tanto amigos como enemigos: sus contemporáneos escribieron más acerca de él que de cualquier otra persona, incluido Martín Lutero. Desde su nacimiento hasta su abdicación, los diplomáticos extranjeros observaron e informaron de todas sus acciones, palabras y gestos; y una docena o más de testigos presenciales dejaron constancia de actos públicos importantes, como el de su coronación como emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano en Bolonia en 1530 y el de su abdicación en Bruselas en 1555. Los registros se multiplicaban cuando el emperador viajaba por tierra —y en el transcurso de su reinado se alojó en más de 1.000 lugares distintos por buena parte de Europa y el norte de África—, dejando a su paso un rastro documentado tan ingente que en ciertos momentos resulta posible reconstruir sus movimientos día a día e incluso hora a hora.[7] Carlos nunca estaba solo: algunos cortesanos le acompañaban incluso en sus viajes más solitarios, como durante sus primeras semanas en España en 1517, cuando cruzó a pie los Picos de Europa para reclamar su herencia, durmiendo en cabañas, rodeado de ganado, o durante su huida de Innsbruck a Villach a través del Paso de Brenner en 1552, cuando su personal tuvo que incautarse urgentemente de ropa de cama de los vecinos para él. Fue estrechamente observado incluso tras retirarse a un pequeño palacio anejo a un remoto monasterio de Yuste, en la sierra de Gredos: dos monjes como mínimo llevaban un diario en el que su augusto huésped desempeñaba un papel protagonista, y varios miembros de su séquito informaban casi a diario de lo que su señor había dicho y hecho.

«Dios mío, ¿cómo se escribe una biografía? Dímelo», preguntaba Virginia Woolf a una amiga (y biógrafa ella misma) en 1938. «¿Cómo se pueden manejar tantos y tantos y tantos datos?».[8] Cuatro siglos antes, el destacado humanista Juan Páez de Castro, a quien Carlos le había encargado escribir «la vida de Vuestra Magestad», lidiaba con el mismo dilema. En el verano de 1556, antes de empezar a trabajar, Páez le presentó a Carlos una traza para explicarle cómo tenía pensado proceder. En primer lugar, expuso sus propias credenciales: dominaba seis idiomas con fluidez (entre ellos, el caldeo), y tenía conocimientos de Derecho, Historia Natural y Matemáticas. A continuación, «como escribir historia no sea cosa de invención ni de solo ingenio, sino también de travajo y fatiga para juntar las cosas que se han de escribir, es necesario buscarlas», y para hacerlo, Páez planeaba viajar por España, Italia y Alemania, y visitar cada lugar «donde han llegado las vanderas de Vuestra Majestad, para dar el lustre que yo deseo a esta obra». En todos estos sitios pretendía tomar «relaciones de personas antiguas y diligentes; leer las memorias de piedras públicas y letreros de sepulturas; disolver [*desenvolver*] registros antiguos de notarios donde se hallan» las «muchas cosas, que hacen a la historia»; y «copiar todas las historias antiguas, y modernas, de buenos y malos autores». Finalmente, «será también necesario consultar con Vuestra Majestad muchas cosas para saber las causas» de las decisiones controvertidas. Se trataba de una excelente traza, pero desafortunadamente Carlos murió antes de que Páez pudiera entrevistarse con él, y a su vez el autor murió antes de que hubiera llegado a escribir siquiera una parte de su biografía.[9]

Esta obra presenta la vida de Carlos en cuatro secciones organizadas cronológicamente y rematadas por retratos en los que se muestra al emperador tal y como aparecía ante sus contemporáneos en tres momentos cruciales: cuando abandonó los Países Bajos por primera vez, en 1517; cuando alcanzó la

plena madurez, en 1532; y cuando llegó a la cima de su poder, en 1548. La única excepción la constituye el capítulo temático sobre «El dominio de América». Carlos, que fue el primer europeo en gobernar partes importantes de América, desarrolló un profundo interés por el continente: aunque se centró sobre todo en los recursos del Nuevo Mundo, y en cómo estos podían servir al progreso de sus diversas empresas en el Viejo, también se interesó mucho por sus gentes, tanto nativos como recién llegados. En concreto, trató de limitar las libertades de las que disfrutaban los conquistadores, entre ellas la libertad de portar armas, y proporcionar a sus súbditos indígenas una guía espiritual, así como una seguridad económica. Él entendía esto como una cuestión moral, porque «informado de cómo murieron todos los naturales de la Española y de Cuba y de las otras islas por echarse indios a las minas, está tan persuadido que se iría al infierno si permitiese que se echasen, que por ninguna vía lo quiere permitir».[10] Pocos neerlandeses de su época se preocupaban de América —incluso Erasmo «apenas llegó a hacer alusión al Nuevo Mundo en sus escritos»—, lo que convierte el interés de Carlos en algo aún más destacable. Además, fue el único gobernante del siglo XVI en tomar una postura de principios en defensa de los derechos de los nativos americanos y, aunque muchos de sus esfuerzos fracasaron, merecen minuciosa atención.[11]

Páez también tenía la intención de incluir en su biografía los logros de Carlos en el Nuevo Mundo, si bien pensaba omitir algunas otras cosas. Aunque era de la opinión de que los historiadores debían «abatir y semejante» tanto como «encarecer y alabar lo bien hecho y exortar a otra tal», también pensaba que debían determinar «qué cosas tocan a la historia, y quáles se pueden quedar en el tintero sin perjuicio de la verdad».[12] Para bien o para mal, de lo que yo sé del emperador poco dejaré que quede en mi propio tintero. Desde un punto de vista personal,

he encarecido y alabado su facilidad para los idiomas (consiguió dominar el holandés, el italiano, el español y algo de alemán, así como el francés, que era su lengua nativa); su destreza para disparar con puntería, para montar a caballo y para el combate; su valentía a la hora de comandar a sus tropas bajo el fuego enemigo; y su capacidad para alimentar la lealtad y el afecto de sus súbditos y de su familia. Según un diplomático, en 1531 Carlos se dirigió a una multitud «de forma tan conmovedora y noble que casi les hace llorar». Para cuando hubo terminado, todo el público «compartía el mismo sentir, como si se hubieran convertido en sus esclavos». El año siguiente, mientras Carlos se preparaba para encabezar un ejército que defendiera Hungría contra los turcos, su hermana Catalina no dudaba de que «Vuestra Majestad como padre de todos nos a de anparar y remedyar» en todo. Cuando falleció, los miembros de su séquito «daban gritos, y dábanse palmadas en el rostro y calabazadas en las paredes; que parecía estaban fuera de sí, como lo estaban, con la pena que sentían de ver muerto a su señor». Algunos años después, al rememorar a su hermano, Fernando le contaba a un confidente que «he amado y venerado al emperador como si hubiera sido mi padre».[13] Carlos también se jactaba de logros impresionantes en la esfera pública. Mantuvo e incluso expandió la inmanejable diversidad de territorios que heredó, a pesar de la total ausencia de precedentes que le pudieran guiar, y se aseguró de que sus órdenes se obedecían en todo su imperio transatlántico, aunque tardaran varios meses en llegar a su destino.

También he afeado «lo malo» en sus asuntos públicos, por ejemplo, cuando Carlos aseguró falsamente que no había aprobado un plan para saquear Roma y apresar al papa Clemente en 1527, o cuando incumplió su promesa solemne de casar a su hijo Felipe con una princesa portuguesa en 1553. En algunos casos, Carlos negó vehemente y públicamente estar

mintiendo (como en 1527), a pesar de las abundantes pruebas en contrario; en otros simplemente rehusó comentar su reprobable conducta. Cuando el rey de Portugal mandó un enviado especial para protestar por el repudio de la infanta en 1553, «le replicamos el necessario, sin querer justificar ni ahondar la materia… porque quando estas cosas son passadas, lo mejor es dissimular».[14] «Dissimulación» se había convertido para entonces en una de las palabras más habituales del diccionario político del emperador (a menudo como parte de una orden para proceder «con secreto y dissimulación»). En ocasiones, Carlos hacía declaraciones públicas escandalosas. En 1557, informado de que los funcionarios encargados del comercio con América habían desobedecido sus órdenes expresas, manifestó el deseo de que «yo mesmo fuera a Seuilla a ser pesquisador de donde esta vellaquería proçedía», y que «en prendiéndolos, los metiesen en la cárcel, y que luego con grillos y cadenas en vestías y a mediodía, por afrentarlos, los traigan a Simancas, y metan no en cámara ni en torre sino en una mazmorra».[15] Cuando no era él el que tenía el control, por ejemplo, con el Papa, adoptaba su característico tono pasivo-agresivo. Así, cuando Julio III ignoró sus recomendaciones con respecto al Consejo General de la Iglesia celebrado en Trento en 1552, Carlos le dijo a su embajador en Roma:

> Quando por parte de Su Sanctidad y sus ministros otra cosa se hiziesse y algún disturbio sucediesse, es conueniente que se entienda por quién queda el remedio, y que no ha sido por culpa de Su Magestad, quedando con este descargo y justificación acerca de Dios y del mundo.[16]

«Lo malo» también aparecía a veces en la vida personal de Carlos. En 1517, cuando supo que su hermana Leonor estaba enamorada de un cortesano, la obligó a comparecer ante notario para declarar formalmente que renunciaba a su amante y que juraba a partir de entonces cumplir la voluntad de su hermano. Al año siguiente la forzó a casarse con un tío suyo que como mínimo le doblaba la edad. En 1533 el emperador consintió

que el duque de Milán se casara con una de sus sobrinas, a pesar de que un familiar objetó que «ella solo tiene once años y medio, y casarse tan joven va contra el buen juicio y contra Dios», sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que el duque era tres veces mayor que ella. Carlos permaneció impasible: «La diferencia de edad supondrá mayor problema para el duque que para nuestra sobrina», se sonrió en tono de suficiencia.[17] Lo más vergonzoso de todo fue que Carlos mantuvo confinada bajo vigilancia a su madre la reina Juana hasta el fallecimiento de esta en 1555 y que durante algunos años creó a su alrededor un mundo ficticio, lleno de hechos falsos (como que tanto su padre, el rey Fernando, como su suegro, el emperador Maximiliano, seguían vivos mucho tiempo después de su muerte). Cuando visitaba a Juana, Carlos aprovechaba para desvalijarla de sus tapices, joyas, libros, objetos de plata e incluso vestiduras litúrgicas que luego reciclaba como regalos de boda para su hermana y su mujer, al tiempo que rellenaba los baúles vacíos con ladrillos de peso similar de manera que su madre no se diera cuenta al instante de que le había robado. Peor aún, cuando en 1524 acordó el casamiento de su hermana Catalina, que había pasado su vida entera recluida con Juana, mantuvo sus planes en secreto el mayor tiempo posible, y «luego marchó a Madrid para evitar estar presente en el momento en que la novia tuviera que irse para unirse a su marido, ya que temía grandes muestras de dolor por parte de su madre»; prueba evidente de que el incuestionable coraje físico del emperador era totalmente compatible con una clara cobardía moral.[18]

A pesar de todo lo que sabemos de Carlos, tanto positivo como negativo, sigue resultando imposible una biografía completa. En 1936, Sigmund Freud le advertía a un amigo que quería escribir su vida: «Todo el que escribe una biografía está sujeto a la mentira, el ocultamiento, la hipocresía, la adulación e incluso al encubrimiento de su propia falta de comprensión, ya

que la verdad biográfica no existe». Paul Murray Kendall, historiador y escritor de novela histórica, coincidía: «Una biografía siempre adolece de imperfecciones y un biógrafo es alguien que ya ha fracasado antes de empezar», sobre todo si estudia a personas que «muy probablemente han sido más ambiciosas, más sutiles, más osadas y más inteligentes». Más recientemente, James Atlas destacaba otro escollo: imaginemos «cómo sería estar en el otro lado —que alguien escribiera *nuestra* biografía»— y darnos cuenta entonces de cuántas «cosas hemos hecho que nadie conoce ni conocerá, traiciones y mentiras sepultadas tan hondo que nunca se podrán desenterrar».[19] Los riesgos se multiplican cuando el sujeto destaca en campos en los que el biógrafo carece de conocimiento directo. Por ejemplo, la guerra. Entre su primera campaña en 1521 y la última en 1554, Carlos pasó más de 600 días al frente de sus tropas en persona; aun así, como subrayó Eliot Cohen en su brillante estudio *Supreme Command*, los historiadores encuentran una gran dificultad «en ponerse ellos mismos en el lugar de un líder político en tiempo de guerra» porque esos líderes soportan «múltiples responsabilidades y cargas» que muy pocos historiadores han experimentado. Cohen consideraba esto como «el mayor obstáculo para un juicio histórico sólido de la habilidad política en tiempo de guerra».[20]

Así pues, ¿cómo puede un plebeyo de Nottingham (Inglaterra) entender el mundo de un emperador guerrero de hace cinco siglos? Mi entorno me ofrecía tan solo un elemento de comparación. Al reunirse con Carlos por primera vez en 1550, el célebre humanista Roger Ascham pensó que «parecía en cierto modo el clérigo de Epurstone. Llevaba una toga negra de tafetán y un gorro de piel en la cabeza, al estilo holandés, con una costura sobre la corona, como una enorme bragueta».[21] Epperstone está a menos de dieciséis kilómetros de Nottingham, y yo estuve allí de niño, aunque no vi ninguna bragueta, ni

grande ni pequeña. La experiencia de haber escrito la vida del heredero y sucesor de Carlos, Felipe II, me resultó mucho más esclarecedora que la conexión con Epperstone. El emperador comenzó a enseñar a su hijo el arte de gobernar poco antes de nombrarle, a sus 16 años, regente de España en 1543, y a partir de entonces no dejó de inundarle con consejos: en persona entre 1549-1551 y en 1555-1556, y, en otras ocasiones, mediante cartas e instrucciones. Mi estudio sobre Felipe reveló el inmenso impacto de estos consejos. Años después, Felipe citaba «una lición que aprendí de Su Magestad muy muchos años ha que me lo dixo. Y heme hallado bien quando lo he cumplido y muy mal de lo contrario»; y en 1574, cuando pensaba que tendría que irse de España, buscó las instrucciones de Carlos «de quando yo comencé a governar el año de 43» porque esperaba encontrar una guía útil «en los recuerdos que entonces me dexó el emperador de su mano».[22]

Obviamente, el rey aprendió otras costumbres de su padre, entre ellas la manera de escribir cartas al Papa en estilo pasivo-agresivo. Cuando en 1569 Pío V ignoró sus deseos, Felipe le indicó al embajador español en Roma (igual que había hecho su padre) que «le protestaréis a solas de mi parte que vayan sobre su consciencia, y no de la mía, los daños que de ésta resultaren, de no remediar esto y de no creerme Su Santidad».[23] Más peligroso fue que Felipe heredó el convencimiento de que Dios estaría siempre de su lado, dispuesto a solucionar con un milagro cualquier falta de recursos. Esta certeza le condujo a asumir riesgos absurdos. En 1571, tal como hiciera su padre durante la campaña de Argel treinta años antes, Felipe autorizó una compleja operación anfibia contra Inglaterra porque Dios «en causa tan suya, nos alumbraría, ayudaría y asistiría con su braço y mano poderosa para que se açertase». En 1587, como su padre en Metz treinta y cinco años antes, Felipe insistió en salir de campaña en invierno: aunque «bien se vee que es harto

aventurar», aseguró a sus comandantes que «el tiempo, Dios (cuya es la causa) se hará de esperar que le dará bueno de Su mano».[24] A Felipe también le resultaba difícil admitir la derrota en una empresa y rebajaba sus pérdidas para no ver castigada su reputación. Como él mismo apuntó cuando luchaba por sofocar la revolución holandesa, «yo no dudo de que, si uviese de durar el gasto de allí [en los Países Bajos] como agora va, no se podría llevar adelante; pero es gran lástima que, aviéndose gastado tanto, y ofreçiéndose ocasiones que con poco más podría ser remediarse todo, los ayamos de perder»; la misma decisión que había tomado su padre cuando siguió adelante con el asedio a Metz porque «si abandonamos esta empresa tendré que disolver mi ejército después de haber gastado tanto dinero sin conseguir nada. Así que he decidido gastar más aún y esperar que Dios nos favorezca en vez de abandonar sin saber lo que la Fortuna nos depara». Este llamativo paralelismo entre padre e hijo demuestra que el estilo de toma de decisiones establecido por Carlos perduró a lo largo de todo el siglo XVI.[25]

Aunque Páez de Castro no llegó a redactar una sola palabra de su biografía, nos proporcionó el mejor esbozo de lo que sería escribir la vida del emperador. Yo he seguido su ejemplo y he aprendido varios idiomas (aunque no el caldeo), aparte de estudiar algunas otras disciplinas. He intentado visitar todos los lugares «donde han llegado [sus] banderas». He leído y copiado la mayoría, si no «todas las historias antiguas, y modernas, de buenos y malos autores». He rebuscado en todos los registros escritos que he podido encontrar. Al igual que Páez, no he podido «consultar con Vuestra Majestad muchas cosas para saber las causas dellas». Sin embargo, disponemos de hechos más que suficientes para que los lectores puedan elegir entre creer a quienes reverencian al emperador o a quienes lo denostan. ¿Con quién estaremos de acuerdo, con Luis Quijada, que trató al emperador durante más de veinte años y le consideraba «el más

principal hombre que ha havido ni abrá»? ¿Con el papa Pablo III, que afirmaba que «Vuestra Magestad hera yngrato y que no tenía memoria de los amigos sino quando los avía menester»? ¿O con el embajador francés, que coincidía en esto al recordar: «Si se analiza detenidamente, se llegará a la conclusión de que al emperador nunca le ha importado nadie, salvo en la medida que ha podido sacar provecho de él»?[26] ¿Nos uniremos a Gustave Bergenroth quien, tras pasar años en los archivos de Europa occidental transcribiendo unas 18.000 páginas de documentos sobre Carlos o escritos por él, se regodeaba al ver al emperador «ir desmoronándose… política, moral y físicamente, hasta terminar su vida miserable en su miserable retiro de Yuste» y juzgar su vida como «una de las mayores tragedias jamás representadas»? ¿O respaldaremos el veredicto de Karl Brandi —uno de los pocos eruditos que ha leído más documentos que Bergenroth sobre Carlos o escritos por él—, según quien el emperador «fue alguien con las normales debilidades y caprichos de su naturaleza humana, y sin embargo, en la perseverancia en sus deseos y en el coraje de sus convicciones, algo más que un hombre, una gran figura en la historia del mundo»?[27] ¿Hay en el emperador más que alabar o que afear? ¿Necesita verdaderamente el mundo otro libro sobre él?

Juzguen ustedes, amables lectores.

PRIMERA PARTE

El joven Carlos

«Estamos encantados de que nuestro nieto Carlos disfrute tanto de la caza, porque si no fuera así se podría pensar que era bastardo.»*

1. De duque de Luxemburgo a príncipe de Castilla, 1500-1508

El duque de Luxemburgo

«Trataremos lo primero de su linaje», comenzaba diciendo Pedro Mexía en su biografía de Carlos V, escrita en 1548, y cuyo primer capítulo —titulado «De la alta, muy grande y clara genealogía y linage deste gran prinçipe»— enumeraba los antepasados de su héroe a lo largo del milenio anterior.[1] Mexía identificaba así correctamente el primer y principal activo de Carlos —su elevada estirpe—, aunque con posterioridad se llegó a exagerar este punto. Cuando nació Carlos, en 1500, su padre, el archiduque Felipe, gobernaba un reducido número de provincias de los Países Bajos heredadas de su madre, la duquesa María de Borgoña, si bien también era el heredero de las lejanas tierras austriacas bajo el dominio de su padre, Maximiliano, jefe de la casa de Habsburgo. Las expectativas de la madre de Carlos, Juana, no eran en principio comparables, dado que era la tercera de los hijos de Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón, ambos pertenecientes a la casa española de Trastámara y generalmente conocidos como los «Reyes Católicos», título que les había sido concedido por un benévolo papa español.

En la práctica, lo único que estas tres casas compartían era el temor a Francia. Borgoña había firmado varios tratados antifranceses con Aragón en la década de 1470, y Maximiliano propuso el matrimonio de su hijo con una princesa española una década más tarde, pero las negociaciones fueron perdiendo fuerza, hasta que en 1494 Carlos VIII de Francia invadió Italia con un numeroso ejército. Al año siguiente, Maximiliano se quejó a los Reyes Católicos de «que el rey de Francia, después de aver ganado el reyno de Nápoles quiere entrar en las otras tierras de Ytalia», y para convencerles de «que resistan y ofendan al rey de Francia» les propuso que su hija Margarita se casara con el

heredero de los Católicos, el príncipe Juan, y que su propio heredero, Felipe, lo hiciera con Juana. La princesa llegó a Lier, localidad cercana a Amberes, en octubre de 1496, donde la pareja consumó su matrimonio. Nadie fue capaz de prever que el hijo nacido de esta unión gobernaría el mayor imperio conocido en mil años *(véase figura 1)*.[2]

El futuro Carlos V hizo notar su presencia ya desde el seno materno: en septiembre de 1499 Felipe hizo llamar «a una comadrona de la ciudad de Lille» para que «fuera a ver» a Juana, quien por entonces estaba embarazada de cuatro meses. En principio todo parecía normal, pero la situación cambió cuatro meses después, ya que el archiduque envió a un mensajero «a toda prisa, sin parar ni de día ni de noche ni reparar en hombres ni en caballos», a pedir al abad de un convento cercano a Lille que le prestara su reliquia más preciada, el «anillo de la Virgen», que supuestamente José le puso a María cuando se casaron, y del que se decía «procuraba consuelo a las parturientas». De acuerdo con algunas crónicas, el anillo resultó ser sumamente eficaz: Juana se puso de parto mientras asistía a un baile en el palacio de los condes de Flandes, en Gante, y apenas tuvo tiempo de llegar a la letrina más cercana para dar a luz al futuro emperador. Fue el 24 de febrero de 1500, día de San Matías.[3]

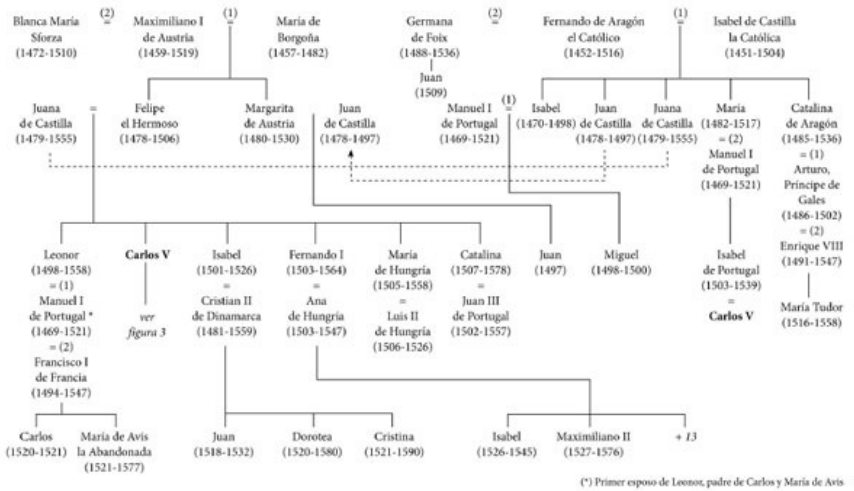
Nada más conocer la noticia del nacimiento, los ciudadanos de Gante, según un poema escrito por el máximo poeta de la ciudad, testigo del hecho,

> Se lanzaron a gritar, grandes y pequeños, «Austria» y «Borgoña»,
> por toda la ciudad durante tres horas.
> Todos corrían de un lado a otro proclamando la buena nueva,
> el [nacimiento de] un príncipe de la paz.

Entretanto, Felipe firmaba cartas en las que instaba a las principales ciudades de los Países Bajos a organizar «procesiones, fuegos artificiales y juegos públicos» para celebrar el nacimiento de su heredero, y convocaba a los principales clérigos de sus

dominios para celebrar el bautismo del niño.[4] También envió un mensajero urgente a su hermana Margarita, que entonces regresaba de España, «suplicándola que se apresurara en volver para que pudiera sostener en sus brazos a su hijo junto a la pila bautismal» y ser su madrina. Nada más llegar Margarita, presionó a su hermano para que le pusiera al niño el nombre de «Maximiliano» como su padre, o «Juan», como su difunto marido; pero Felipe prefirió el nombre de su abuelo, el duque Carlos de Borgoña, el Temerario, aunque también concedió al niño el título de «duque de Luxemburgo», una dignidad que habían portado varios antepasados de Maximiliano.[5]

Figura 1. Genealogía de Carlos V y sus hermanos


Blanca María Sforza (1472-1510)
(2) = Maximiliano I de Austria (1459-1519)
(1) = María de Borgoña (1457-1482)
Germana de Foix (1488-1536)
(2) = Fernando de Aragón el Católico (1452-1516)
(1) = Isabel de Castilla la Católica (1451-1504)
Juan (1509)
Juana de Castilla (1479-1555) = Felipe el Hermoso (1478-1506)
Margarita de Austria (1480-1530)
Juan de Castilla (1478-1497)
Manuel I de Portugal (1469-1521)
(1) = Isabel (1470-1498)
Juan de Castilla (1478-1497)
Juana de Castilla (1479-1555)
María (1482-1517) = (2) Manuel I de Portugal (1469-1521)
Catalina de Aragón (1485-1536) = (1) Arturo, Príncipe de Gales (1486-1502) = (2) Enrique VIII (1491-1547)
Leonor (1498-1558) = (1) Manuel I de Portugal * (1469-1521) = (2) Francisco I de Francia (1494-1547)
Carlos V
ver figura 3
Isabel (1501-1526) = Cristian II de Dinamarca (1481-1559)
Fernando I (1503-1564) = Ana de Hungría (1503-1547)
María de Hungría (1505-1558) = Luis II de Hungría (1506-1526)
Catalina (1507-1578) = Juan III de Portugal (1502-1557)
Juan (1497)
Miguel (1498-1500)
Isabel de Portugal (1503-1539) = Carlos V
María Tudor (1516-1558)
Carlos (1520-1521)
María de Avis la Abandonada (1521-1577)
Juan (1518-1532)
Dorotea (1520-1580)
Cristina (1521-1590)
Isabel (1526-1545)
Maximiliano II (1527-1576)
+ 13
(*) Primer esposo de Leonor, padre de Carlos y María de Avis

La mayoría de las biografías contemporáneas de Carlos incluían su genealogía, y con razón: una singular serie de nacimientos, matrimonios y muertes sirvieron para unir las posesiones de cuatro dinastías europeas bajo un solo cetro. Sin embargo, ninguno de los abuelos de Carlos deseaba este resultado, y este se habría malogrado si los enlaces entre la princesa Isabel y Manuel de Portugal, entre el príncipe Juan de España y Margarita de Austria, o entre Fernando de Aragón y Germana de Foix hubieran engendrado un heredero que lograra sobrevivir a su infancia.

Los abuelos de Carlos reaccionaron de diferentes maneras. En España:

> Cuando la reina doña Isabel su agüela supo su nacimiento, acordándose de lo que en la Sagrada Escritura se hace mención, que fue eligido por suerte el apostolado de Cristo San Matías, entendiendo en cuánta esperanza había nacido

su nieto, de poder suceder a tantos, y tan grandes reinos, y señoríos, dijo, que había caído la suerte sobre Matías.

En Alemania, Maximiliano se declaró «completamente satisfecho con el nombre» del niño «teniendo en cuenta el afecto que profeso a mi querido señor y suegro el duque Carlos».[6] Mientras, en Gante, los magistrados preparaban una serie de arcos de triunfo en representación de los dominios que el niño heredaría de su padre y su abuelo, al tiempo que otros aludían a las virtudes de la sabiduría, la justicia y la paz; y, la noche del 7 de marzo de 1500, una larga procesión acompañó al niño a través de un paso elevado especial entre el palacio y la iglesia parroquial en la que se celebraría su bautismo. Miles de antorchas colocadas a lo largo del camino «convirtieron la noche en día» (en palabras de un asombrado cronista) y permitieron a la gran multitud observar el desfile de personalidades y cortesanos que lentamente la fueron recorriendo, terminando con Carlos y sus cuatro padrinos, cada uno de ellos destinado a desempeñar un papel muy significativo en sus primeros años de vida: su bisabuela Margarita de York, viuda de Carlos el Temerario; su tía Margarita de Austria; Carlos de Croÿ, príncipe de Chimay, y Jean de Glymes, lord de Bergen, dos de los nobles más destacados de los Países Bajos. A nadie se le podía escapar el simbolismo de este acuerdo: Felipe, que normalmente habría ocupado el puesto de honor en la procesión, se lo cedió a su hijo, que de este modo tomaba posesión de su secular herencia recibiendo el homenaje de sus futuros súbditos y convirtiéndose en miembro de la Iglesia cristiana a través del bautismo.

Felipe tenía buenas razones para introducir esta innovación. Aunque poseía muchos títulos, sus antepasados los habían ido adquiriendo poco a poco a lo largo de un siglo: incluso su título de «duque de Borgoña» hacía referencia a un territorio perdido una generación antes. Como Rolf Strøm-Olsen ha señalado: «El bautismo de Carlos representaba una oportunidad fuera de lo

común para la corte Habsburgo de reivindicar su legitimidad, poder y autoridad a nivel suprarregional», lo que otorgaba a la ceremonia de Gante «en términos del ritual, parte de la significación de las ceremonias de coronación celebradas en otros lugares de Europa, que no estaban al alcance de los gobernantes de los Países Bajos» *(véase mapa 1)*.[7]

Mapa 1. Tras su emancipación en febrero de 1515, Carlos partió hacia su primer «viaje» importante: un recorrido por las provincias Habsburgo de los Países Bajos occidentales, realizando una entrada ceremonial en la principal ciudad de cada uno de

ellos para ser aclamado como su soberano. Después de cinco meses viajando, se detuvo a descansar en el coto de caza del barón Chièvres, sito en Heverlee, cerca de Lovaina. Posteriormente visitaría todas las demás provincias heredadas del sur, así como Utrecht (heredada en 1528) y Gelderland (obtenida en 1543); pero nunca encontró tiempo para visitar Frisia (obtenida en 1524), Drenthe y Overijssel (obtenida en 1528) o Groninga (obtenida en 1536).

No obstante, Felipe no confiaba del todo en la población de Gante. Tres semanas antes del nacimiento había ordenado que, en adelante, 20 arqueros y 25 alabarderos «estuvieran de guardia desde el momento en que el archiduque se levantara, y a continuación le acompañaran en su camino a la Misa». Estos «no debían abandonar el palacio» sin permiso expreso, para «dar seguridad y protección a la persona del archiduque día y noche».[8] No eran precauciones vanas. Tras la muerte de María de Borgoña en 1482, la ciudad de Gante se negó a aceptar a su marido Maximiliano como regente de los «Países Bajos borgoñones» y tutor de sus hijos pequeños. Sus magistrados se apoderaron del joven Felipe, al que mantuvieron secuestrado, y crearon un Consejo de Regencia «para mantener el derecho de nuestro señor, su hijo, al que tenemos por nuestro único y legítimo príncipe y señor».[9] En 1485 Maximiliano se puso al mando de tropas procedentes de sus territorios alemanes y austriacos para aplastar a los disidentes y liberar a su hijo, a quien trasladó a la ciudad lealista de Malinas, pero tres años después su comportamiento autocrático provocó que fuera capturado y encarcelado en Gante, y más tarde expulsado de los Países Bajos.

Las revueltas, las luchas entre facciones y la guerra caracterizaron por tanto la vida de Felipe hasta alcanzar la mayoría de edad, lo que ocurrió en su quince cumpleaños, en el año 1493, lo que llevó al nuevo soberano a adoptar un estilo de gobierno muy diferente al de su padre. Como Felipe mismo declaró en 1497: «Desde que me hice mayor de edad y nuestros territorios me otorgaron su lealtad, siempre he sentido el sincero

deseo e inclinación a poner fin a los grandes desórdenes que aquí han prevalecido debido a guerras y divisiones pasadas, tanto en nuestra casa como en demás lugares de dichos territorios, y a introducir en cambio el orden».[10] Una década después, el embajador veneciano ante la corte de Borgoña, Vincenzo Quirino, consideró un éxito esta medida. Felipe, escribió, era «por naturaleza bueno, generoso, abierto, afable, amable y hasta cercano con todo el mundo» y «su intención era defender la justicia con todas sus fuerzas. Era piadoso y cumplía sus promesas». No obstante, añadía Quirino, «aunque entendía enseguida problemas complejos, era lento para resolverlos e indeciso a la hora de actuar. Para todo recurría a su Consejo». Quirino también refería haber «aprendido por experiencia que la toma de decisiones en esta corte es muy variable y mutable», ya que «a menudo deciden una cosa en el Consejo y luego hacen otra totalmente distinta». Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, el embajador español, estaba de acuerdo: el archiduque, escribió, «es muy variable, y quien quiera terna poder para lo mudar»; por su parte, Maximiliano regañó una vez a su hijo por escuchar a «traidores y consejeros desleales que meten [falsas] ideas en tu cabeza a fin de generar divisiones entre tú y yo» y sugirió: «es mejor para ti que yo sepa tus planes antes que tus ministros, en lugar de que se me trate como a un extraño». Sin embargo, las repetidas peticiones de Maximiliano para que su hijo siguiera siempre sus orientaciones, sobre todo en lo referente a la guerra con Francia, ponían a Felipe (en palabras de Quirino) «en una encrucijada, entre el afecto paternal por un lado y la estima y confianza que le tenía a sus ministros, por el otro». En resumen, «creo que se encuentra en un laberinto».[11]

Olivier de la Marche, un veterano cortesano de los duques de Borgoña que fue preceptor de Felipe, parecía estar de acuerdo con estos desfavorables análisis porque, al final de sus *Memorias*, finalizadas justo antes de su muerte en 1502, llamaba al

archiduque «Felipe-creelotodo» [*Philippe-croy-conseil*].[12] No obstante, en la Introducción de La Marche, escrita una década antes, este había advertido expresamente a su pupilo para no seguir el ejemplo de su testarudo padre Maximiliano. «Permíteme que te diga la verdad —instaba a Felipe—: nunca des a tus súbditos poder sobre ti, pero solicita siempre su consejo y ayuda para elaborar y apoyar tus grandes proyectos». La Marche alababa al archiduque porque, tras un cuarto de siglo de guerras y rebeliones, «atendiendo a consejos, has vuelto a poner al país en pie». Para cuando Carlos llegó al mundo, su padre había logrado unificar y pacificar sus dispares territorios y conseguir la aceptación universal del gobierno Habsburgo. También había constituido un grupo de treinta consejeros de confianza, muchos de los cuales también lo serían de su hijo, estableciendo así un elemento crucial de estabilidad y continuidad política que contribuyó a prevenir la repetición de episodios de agitación interna inmediatamente posteriores a la muerte de sus predecesores.[13]

El joven duque de Luxemburgo no sabía nada de esto. Los diarios de su casa muestran que pocas semanas antes de dar a luz, «la archiduquesa y sus nobles hijos» (Carlos y su hermana Leonor, quince meses mayor que él) salieron de Gante hacia Brujas para luego dirigirse a Bruselas. Después Juana cayó gravemente enferma y «durante cuarenta y nueve días seguidos», Liberal Trevisan, médico personal de Felipe y miembro de su Consejo, se sumó a «los otros médicos y cirujanos en el cuidado de nuestra muy querida y amada esposa, para curarla de una enfermedad».[14] Carlos no sabía tampoco nada de esto. Un diplomático español refería que «crianse juntos Mossior de Lucemburch y su hermana Madama Leonor en un aposentamiento, y por él no se ha añadido hasta agora persona en el servicio de ambos sobre los que antes estauan», con una excepción: Barbe Servels quien, como Carlos recordaba cuatro

décadas más tarde, «fue mi nodriza principal durante nueve meses». Nacida en Gante, Barbe comenzó a criar a su augusto encomendado desde el primer momento, y Carlos se sintió siempre muy unido a ella: en 1540 fue padrino de su hijo, en cuya trayectoria se tomó gran interés, y cuando ella murió en 1554, ordenó que la enterraran en la catedral de Santa Gúdula de Bruselas y mandó poner un destacado epitafio en su honor.[15]

Los informes de Fuensalida a Fernando e Isabel nos ofrecen las primeras descripciones de Carlos y su hermana. En agosto de 1500, tras su primera visita, Fuensalida escribió lo que todo abuelo siempre quiere oír: con cinco meses «musyor de Lucenburc es tan creçido y rezio que pareçe de vn año», mientras que su hermana Leonor, de casi dos años, «es tan biua y tan aguda, que en el entendimiento pareçe de hedad de çinco años». Naturalmente, «las más lindas criaturas son del mundo». Para su primer cumpleaños, Carlos «ya anda en un carretoncillo» (sin duda, precursor de un andador para bebés) «y anda tan reçio y con tanta fuerça como sy fuese de tres años»; y, para agosto de 1501 «anda ya por sí, Dios le guarde, que la más rezia criatura es que yo he visto de su edad». Al mes siguiente, se complacía Fuensalida, ya era «tan rezyo como sy ovyese dos años».[16]

El interés de los Reyes Católicos reflejaba no solo la natural fascinación de los abuelos, sino también una profunda inquietud sobre el futuro de su dinastía. En 1497 su heredero y único hijo varón, Juan, había muerto, dejando a su esposa Margarita embarazada, pero el hijo que esperaba también murió casi inmediatamente. Esto convertía a Isabel, hermana mayor de Juana, en heredera de todos los territorios gobernados por los Reyes Católicos, pero Isabel también murió en 1498, nada más dar a luz a su hijo, quien la siguió a la tumba dos años más tarde. El 8 de agosto de 1500, llegó a Felipe una carta de los Reyes Católicos «anunciando la muerte del niño, de manera que

mi señor era ahora príncipe». Tres días más tarde, por primera vez, firmaba una carta como «Yo el príncipe», al estilo oficial utilizado en España por el príncipe heredero.[17]

Estos hechos afectaban profundamente al infante duque de Luxemburgo. A largo plazo, si sobrevivía, como hijo mayor de Juana y Felipe él les sucedería tanto en España como en los Países Bajos y en Austria. A corto plazo, sus padres le abandonarían, porque, aunque en España no había ceremonia de coronación, cada nuevo heredero al trono tenía que comparecer en persona ante la asamblea representativa (Cortes) de cada estado constituyente (Castilla, León y Granada juntos, y Aragón, Valencia y Cataluña, por separado) para recibir su juramento de lealtad. Al principio, Felipe no mostró un gran entusiasmo por su buena suerte. No informó a sus súbditos de su inminente partida a España hasta diciembre de 1500, fecha en la que pidió a sus súbditos neerlandeses que le financiaran los gastos del viaje; e incluso entonces sugirió que viajaría él solo. La ambigüedad del archiduque reflejaba en parte el hecho de que Juana estaba embarazada de su tercer descendiente, Isabel (nacida en julio de 1501 y llamada así por su abuela, Isabel la Católica), pero tal vez también la hostilidad de sus consejeros, quienes, según Fuensalida «no tyenen más voluntad de yr a España que de yr al infierno». El nuevo príncipe y la nueva princesa no comenzaron su viaje hasta el 31 de octubre de 1501, dejando a sus hijos al cuidado de Margarita de York en Malinas (donde el propio Felipe se había criado), ayudada por un «personal esencial» de casi cien personas. Los niños no volverían a ver a su padre hasta octubre de 1503, en tanto que su madre permaneció en España hasta después de dar a luz a otro hijo, al que llamó Fernando por su padre. No volvió a los Países Bajos hasta mayo de 1504.[18]

Como ha apuntado María José Rodríguez Salgado:

> No era infrecuente en esta época que los príncipes fueran separados de sus padres, a quienes les unían tanto lazos políticos como personales. No deberíamos por tanto esperar que las dinastías aristocráticas y principescas de aquel tiempo compartieran el entramado emocional de la familia burguesa contemporánea. Pero incluso para los estándares de la época, Carlos había nacido en una familia extraordinaria y disfuncional.[19]

Las cartas de Fuensalida a los Reyes Católicos documentaban esta disfuncionalidad. En ellas informaba que, durante el tiempo que Juana estuvo ausente en España, Felipe «huelga mucho» con sus hijos «y los vee muchas vezes», mientras que, incluso después del regreso de Juana a los Países Bajos, ella les ignoraba. Por otra parte, las infidelidades de Felipe eran fuente de tan graves tensiones entre los padres de Carlos que en julio de 1504 Fuensalida (desgraciadamente para los historiadores) no se atrevió a dejar los detalles puestos por escrito y prefirió enviar un mensajero especial para que describiera en persona dichas desavenencias a sus soberanos. Al mes siguiente, Felipe visitó Holanda sin su esposa, y el embajador comentaba con pena que «ni su Alteza [Juana] escrive al prinçipe ni el principe a ella». El archiduque hizo un esfuerzo de reconciliación a su vuelta, llevando a Carlos y a sus hermanas de Malinas a Bruselas para que vieran a su madre, «pensando que en traérselos la ablandarían», pero (según Fuensalida) ella «no hizo mucha demostraçion de holgarse con ellos». Entonces Felipe probó con otra táctica. «Esa noche el prinçipe durmió en la cámara de la princesa» (probablemente la noche en la que Juana concibió otra criatura, su hija María), pero las relaciones entre la pareja no tardaron el volver a deteriorarse. Se gritaban a menudo, y periódicamente Juana se retiraba a sus aposentos y se ponía en huelga de hambre; pero tras empuñar una vara de metal para golpear a los asistentes nombrados por su marido, Felipe la confinó en sus habitaciones bajo vigilancia.[20] Obviamente, no se podía confiar en dejar a los niños a su cuidado.

En octubre de 1504 llegó otra carta inesperada de España: Fernando de Aragón anunciaba que su esposa Isabel parecía a punto de morir. Así pues,

> Desde luego mucho secretamente el prinçipe, mi hijo, deve hordenar sus cosas de allá de manera que quedan al recabdo que convyene, syn que se pueda saber ni conoçer la cavsa porque lo haze, y secretamente sean aparejados él y la prinçesa, mi hija, para que sy tal caso viniere, en aviendo mensajero mío, partan luego y se vengan acá por la mar syn detenimiento alguno.

Una vez más, Felipe mostró una extrema renuencia a viajar a Castilla, quejándose a Fuensalida de que «la enfermedad de la reyna, mi señora» había «venido mal a punto», porque él acababa de emprender una guerra contra el duque Carlos de Güeldres, decidido y poderoso enemigo de los duques de Borgoña, «y esme gran ympedimiento para aver de yr a España, *porque avnque lo de España sea gran cosa, este es mi patrimonio verdadero, y yo no lo tengo de dexar perder*». Ni siquiera la noticia de la muerte de Isabel, llegada en diciembre de 1504, sirvió para hacer cambiar de parecer a Felipe: aunque él se hizo llamar de inmediato «rey de Castilla», continuó la guerra con Güeldres hasta que consiguió ocupar la mayoría de su ducado, para devolvérselo a continuación a cambio de la promesa del duque Carlos de permanecer en paz mientras él viajaba a España. El nuevo rey y la nueva reina partieron finalmente de Zelanda en enero de 1506.[21]

El heredero universal

Aunque Carlos nunca conoció a su abuela española, sus opulentas exequias celebradas en Bruselas en 1505 fueron probablemente el primer acto público que recordaba. Él, sus hermanas y sus cortesanos, vestidos con abrigos y capuchas negras ribeteadas con pieles «en señal de luto por la difunta reina de España», vieron a sus padres arrodillarse ante el altar en la catedral de Santa Gúdula y escucharon la magnífica «Misa para Felipe el Hermoso», de Josquin des Prés, compuesta para la ocasión. Al terminar el servicio, oyeron a los heraldos proclamar

a los «nuevos rey y reina de Castilla, León y Granada, y al príncipe y la princesa de Aragón y Sicilia», y vieron a sus padres desfilar solemnemente por las calles de Bruselas, precedidos por escudos y estandartes «sobre los que estaban escritos todos los títulos del rey, para que nadie pudiera alegar ignorancia». Poco después, el príncipe y sus hermanas se reunieron con su abuelo Maximiliano por primera vez, durante su estancia de más de un mes de duración en los Países Bajos, y sin duda asistieron a los numerosos torneos que este presidió «en el gran salón de palacio y en el parque de Bruselas», en uno de los cuales su padre participaba junto a tres de sus cortesanos, todos vestidos de rojo y amarillo, a la manera española.[22]

Asimismo, los niños disfrutaron con los animales exóticos que Felipe trajo importados desde España —cuatro camellos, dos pelícanos, un avestruz y algunas gallinas de Guinea—, que se sumaron a los leones y osos que ya tenían en los jardines de palacio de Gante y Bruselas. Fuentes llegadas hasta nosotros atestiguan que Carlos se divertía azuzando a los leones con un palo, y se batía con las figuras representadas en los tapices de sus aposentos. También se pavoneaba montado en los caballitos de juguete que le habían regalado Maximiliano y el conde palatino Federico de Baviera (dos hombres que desempeñarían un papel importante en su vida); conducía un carrito tirado por ponis en el que llevaba a sus hermanas; y organizaba a sus pajes en ejércitos de cristianos y turcos, en los que el príncipe invariablemente se ponía al mando de los primeros y siempre salía vencedor.[23]

Los niños también aprendían a leer y a escribir. Al principio, Carlos, Leonor e Isabel estudiaron juntos bajo la dirección de Juan de Anchieta, un sacerdote y compositor español que había acompañado a Juana a los Países Bajos en calidad de maestro de capilla e instructor de canto, una combinación frecuente en aquella época dado que los músicos debían escribir sus propias

partituras y eran por tanto diestros en el manejo de la pluma, en tanto que los niños por lo general aprendían a leer y escribir recitando y leyendo oraciones. Así, en abril de 1503 (cuando Leonor tenía cuatro años y medio, Carlos poco más de tres e Isabel aún no había cumplido los dos), Felipe pagó a uno de sus capellanes, a la sazón copista de manuscritos musicales, algo más de 2 libras «por un libro de pergamino que él había ilustrado, con las lecturas del Evangelio y las oraciones que se les leían» al duque de Luxemburgo y sus hermanas «cada día después de que hubieran oído misa»; y en diciembre, probablemente como regalo por su quinto cumpleaños, Felipe le entregó a Leonor «un libro llamado *ABC*, compuesto de letras de gran tamaño, con gran cantidad de ilustraciones y algunas letras de oro», que costó 12 libras, un precio bastante caro para una cartilla infantil, pero que demostró ser una buena inversión dado que un año más tarde la niña ya era capaz de enviar una carta escrita de su puño y letra a su abuelo Fernando.[24] Los progresos de Carlos eran más lentos. En enero de 1504, cuando en su nombre se envió una carta en español a su abuelo con la disculpa «perdone Vuestra Alteza la descortesía, que no le escriuo de mi mano» (algo bastante lógico para un niño que aún no había cumplido los cuatro años), el príncipe aún no sabía escribir su nombre, limitándose a copiar las letras escritas en una hoja aparte por su tutor *(véase lámina 1)*.[25]

Al regreso de Anchieta a España en 1505, Luis Cabeza de Vaca, «español de noble sangre y sobresaliente en letras y buenas costumbres», que entonces pasó a ser el preceptor de los hijos de los monarcas, tomó como primera medida crear un entorno más favorable para el aprendizaje —un carpintero local proporcionó un escritorio especial con cajonera para el material escolar y asientos, «para que el príncipe y sus hermanas pudieran ir a la escuela»— y durante los tres años siguientes Cabeza de Vaca continuó dando clase conjuntamente a sus tres ilustres pupilos

(véase lámina 2).[26] No obstante, Carlos siguió haciendo pocos progresos. Cuando en septiembre de 1506 Maximiliano expresó su deseo de que su nieto aprendiera algo de neerlandés, su gobernador replicó con bastante sequedad: «trataré de satisfacer vuestra petición cuando haya aprendido primero a hablar correctamente y a leer». Es posible que la enfermedad fuera causa del retraso en su aprendizaje, si tenemos en cuenta que a lo largo de 1505 se dispensó una importante cantidad de «drogas, medicamentos y hierbas por orden de los médicos al príncipe y a sus hermanas». Isabel llevó la peor parte, debido a que «tuvo una infección en los ojos» que obligó a sus padres a pagar a una «eminencia médica» que la estuvo «visitando cada día durante los nueve meses que duró su enfermedad».[27]

Justo después de que la eminencia médica declarara curada a Isabel, en septiembre de 1505, Juana dio a luz a otra niña, María (llamada así por su abuela paterna), lo que elevó el número de hijos que habitaban en Malinas a cuatro; pero este aumento del círculo familiar de Carlos se vio equilibrado con algunas pérdidas. Margarita de Austria, su tía y madrina, se fue para casarse con el duque de Saboya en 1501, en tanto que su bisabuela y primera aya, Margarita de York, murió dos años después. Pero, aunque Carlos todavía era demasiado pequeño para que esto le afectara, lo que sí notó fue la marcha de sus padres. Estos visitaron Malinas en noviembre de 1505, justo antes de salir para Zelanda, donde Felipe había reunido una flota que habría de trasladarles de nuevo a España. Como la flota tuvo que permanecer atracada en puerto debido a que los vientos eran adversos, Felipe pudo regresar a Malinas a ver a sus hijos en diciembre, pero esta sería la última vez: antes de pasado un año moriría en España. Isabel y María nunca volverían a verles, ni a él ni a su madre, ni a reunirse con su hermana pequeña Catalina (nacida en la primavera de 1507), ya que,

aunque Juana sobrevivió hasta 1555, no volvió a salir de España, mientras que Catalina, que les sobrevivió a todos (murió en 1578), nunca abandonó la península ibérica.

Pese a que obviamente los nuevos rey y reina de Castilla no eran conscientes de que jamás volverían a ver los Países Bajos, los riesgos y peligros de los viajes en aquella época —principios de la Europa moderna— les llevaron a tomar algunas precauciones. En junio de 1505 Felipe se reunió con su padre y su hermana, con la intención (según el embajador Quirino) de que Margarita, de nuevo viuda, «quedara al gobierno de los Países Bajos mientras [Felipe] estaba en España; pero no pudieron llegar a un acuerdo, y por tanto regresaron a Saboya». En lugar de eso, Felipe nombró al barón Chièvres, en aquel momento jefe de su Tesorería, regente y comandante en jefe durante su ausencia, con plenos poderes para tomar decisiones militares, judiciales y administrativas, así como para «firmar tratados, alianzas y acuerdos» con potencias extranjeras, «y hacer o mandar hacer todo lo que nosotros mismos haríamos o podríamos hacer».[28] Felipe además nombró al primo de Chièvres (y padrino de Carlos), el príncipe de Chimay, tutor de sus hijos, con instrucciones de que estos «debían ser cuidadosamente protegidos y enseñados en cuanto a buena conducta y todo modo de conocimiento», especificando que para cuando Carlos «alcanzara la edad de siete años, debería ser capaz de aprender y entender el latín escrito, tocar todos los instrumentos musicales y usar armas de defensa y de ataque».[29]

Por último, Felipe dictó un testamento que revelaba una profunda incertidumbre respecto al futuro de sus dominios. En él establecía que, si moría en España, habría de ser enterrado en Granada junto a su suegra Isabel, en tanto que, si su muerte acontecía en los Países Bajos o cerca de ellos, quería ser enterrado en Brujas junto a su madre María. «Pero si el ducado de Borgoña estuviera en nuestras manos» en el momento de su

muerte «quiero ser enterrado en la Cartuja de Dijon, junto a los duques de Borgoña, mis predecesores». Felipe también dejaba dicho que cada una de sus hijas «mientras permanezcan solteras, deberán ser bien y honrosamente mantenidas, de acuerdo con su condición, a expensas de mi hijo mayor», y que una vez casadas cada una debería «recibir una dote de 200.000 escudos de oro», una previsión nada realista, dado que cada dote excedía con mucho sus ingresos anuales procedentes de los Países Bajos. Lo más sorprendente de todo es que nombraba a sus «hijos varones» conjuntamente «herederos universales de todos mis reinos, ducados, condados, tierras, señoríos y demás posesiones», ordenando que «deseo que cada uno herede y me suceda en las diversas partes y fracciones conforme a los usos y costumbres de los lugares donde dichas posesiones estén situadas».[30]

Evidentemente, Felipe contemplaba una partición de la inmensa pero dispersa herencia generada por los matrimonios y muertes de sus parientes Trastámara (una medida prudente que sus sucesores contemplarían también en varias ocasiones), aunque pocos en aquel momento consideraban este resultado probable. Enrique VII de Inglaterra predijo que Carlos «serya señor de todo y podria mandar el mundo», mientras que el embajador Quirino declaraba que, dado que Carlos era en aquel momento el heredero universal de «todos los Países Bajos, y sucederá a su madre [Juana] como soberano de Castilla a su muerte, y a su abuelo el archiduque de Austria, será un gran señor». Sin embargo, añadía el embajador ominosamente, aunque Carlos era «un niño guapo y feliz, en todos sus actos se mostraba terco y cruel como el viejo duque Carlos [el Temerario] de Borgoña».[31]

Un niño guapo y feliz

Durante algún tiempo, el futuro del «niño guapo y feliz» estuvo pendiente de un hilo. Felipe llevó con él a España más de 400 cortesanos, más de 100 escoltas y unos 2.000 soldados alemanes, y su repentina muerte acaecida allí en septiembre de 1506 les dejó a todos desamparados. «No había ni uno entre nosotros que tuviera un céntimo», se quejaba uno de ellos, añadiendo que «para cuando el rey murió, él ya había gastado todo su dinero». Dado que nadie en España iba a ayudarles y temiendo que se emitiera una orden que les impidiera regresar a su país, los desesperados cortesanos se quedaron todo lo que pudieron de los bienes del rey, empezando por sus joyas, oro y plata, y «lo vendieron todo por mucho menos de lo que valía». Más adelante, «vendieron sus propias ropas, caballos y demás posesiones de valor a cambio de pan» y un pasaje de vuelta a casa. Los supervivientes flamencos albergaron desde entonces un profundo resentimiento hacia España.[32]

La noticia de la muerte de Felipe llegó a los Países Bajos mientras Chièvres se encontraba ausente de Malinas, dirigiendo las operaciones contra el duque de Güeldres que, animado por Luis XII de Francia, había retomado las hostilidades. El pánico hizo presa en el resto del Consejo dado que (en palabras de uno de sus miembros) «todavía no sabemos cómo será recibida tanto por los súbditos como por los amigos y enemigos vecinos». El temor era que se produjeran «revueltas» como las que siguieron a la muerte del abuelo de Felipe, Carlos, en 1477, y a la de su madre, María, en 1482; ya que, aunque el rey de Francia enviaba cartas «llenas de buenas palabras, como siempre, sería muy peligroso poner mucha confianza en ellas». Por otra parte, los regentes albergaban el mal presentimiento de que «no sabemos cómo saldrán las cosas en Castilla», y por otra parte Felipe había muerto de forma tan repentina que «ni siquiera

sabíamos que estaba enfermo», dejando a Juana en España y a Carlos demasiado joven para gobernar.[33] De modo que, con cierta inquietud, convocaron los Estados Generales.

Felipe había convocado a esta asamblea de representantes veinticinco veces durante su década de gobierno personal, y hasta en cuatro ocasiones solo en 1505, para tratar sobre la paz y la guerra, y para solicitar nuevos impuestos. Los delegados de cuatro de las provincias más grandes y ricas (Brabante, Flandes, Henao y Holanda) casi siempre asistían a los Estados Generales, normalmente junto a los de Artesia, el Flandes francés, Malinas, Namur y Zelanda, y ocasionalmente acompañados también por los de Limburgo y Luxemburgo. En cada una de estas ocasiones, las distintas delegaciones provinciales debatían los asuntos referidos a ellos en tres «órdenes» diferentes: prelados, nobles y ciudades. Lo mismo se hizo en la asamblea celebrada en Malinas el 15 de octubre de 1506, «para reunirse con nuestro señor, el archiduque, príncipe de Castilla, y ver si acuerdan (como esperamos) ofrecerle consejo sobre los asuntos a tratar».[34]

En este punto, el estilo consensuado de gobierno de Felipe, tanto en el ámbito interior como exterior, dio sus frutos. Todas las comunidades de los Países Bajos dieron rienda suelta a «la mayor pena y lamentación que se haya visto nunca», a la vez que, tanto Enrique VII de Inglaterra como Luis XII de Francia ofrecieron su protección al joven príncipe. De hecho, durante el resto de su reinado, Luis respetó la neutralidad de las posesiones de Carlos (aunque continuó prestando ayuda clandestina al duque de Güeldres), y algunos de los regentes (especialmente aquellos que poseían tierras en las provincias del sur, como Chièvres) se mostraron favorables a poner a los Países Bajos bajo la protección francesa. Otros, sobre todo los que tenían estados en las provincias marítimas (como Bergen), eran partidarios de una alianza con Inglaterra. Los Estados Generales, sin embargo, consideraron que Maximiliano era el que mejor podría

garantizar su futuro y enviaron una delegación, de la que formaron parte tanto Chièvres como Bergen, para invitarle a ejercer como tutor de sus nietos y como regente.[35]

Maximiliano tenía prevista esta decisión: nada más enterarse de la muerte de su hijo, ordenó al Consejo de Regencia «continuar gobernando nuestros Países Bajos, como mi difunto hijo les ordenó hacer, en nuestro nombre y en el de nuestro muy querido archiduque Carlos» hasta que él pudiera regresar y asumir personalmente el cargo, «lo que ocurrirá dentro de dos o tres semanas». Sin duda dándose cuenta de que el plazo era totalmente impracticable, mandó llamar también a su hija Margarita para que se uniera a él.[36]

La archiduquesa, que entonces tenía 27 años de edad, había llevado una vida bastante azarosa. En 1483, con tres años, fue a Francia como novia de Carlos VIII y pasó los siguientes ocho años en la corte francesa, hasta que el rey la repudió sin ningún miramiento y se casó con otra. Tras vivir dos años con su madre en Malinas, Margarita viajó a España a casarse con el príncipe Juan, pero este murió pasados solo seis meses, seguido al poco tiempo de su único hijo, y en 1500 Margarita regresó a Malinas. Dieciocho meses más tarde, Margarita partió de Saboya para casarse con el duque Filiberto, con quien vivió feliz hasta que este también murió en plena juventud en 1504. Margarita se concentró entonces en construir el magnífico mausoleo que se conserva en Brou, en el sureste de Francia, y salvo por un breve viaje en 1505 para tratar con su padre y hermano de la posibilidad de ejercer de regente de los Países Bajos, permaneció en Saboya hasta que Maximiliano la invitó a unirse a él al año siguiente. Los dos pasaron varios meses juntos, obviamente debatiendo cuál sería la mejor manera de resolver la emergencia generada por la inesperada muerte de Felipe, hasta que en marzo de 1507 Maximiliano firmó la patente real por la que aceptaba formalmente:

> La tutela, guarda, gobierno y administración de nuestros queridos y amados nietos, Carlos, príncipe de Castilla, Fernando, archiduque de Austria y sus hermanas Leonor, Isabel, María y Catalina, todos ellos menores de edad, así como sus posesiones, tierras y señoríos, como estamos capacitados y titulados para hacer por derecho y razón en calidad de abuelo y pariente más cercana.

Dado que aún no podía ejercer estos poderes en persona, nombró a Margarita su «procuradora» para recibir juramento de obediencia «de los Estados de nuestras tierras y señoríos en los Países Bajos», y envió comisionados a prestar un juramento ante los Estados Generales en virtud del cual él asumía actuar «irrevocablemente» como único tutor y regente de Carlos «hasta que cumpliera su mayoría de edad».[37]

Esto constituía una asunción de poder de dimensiones asombrosas. Chièvres y sus colegas habían gobernado los Países Bajos satisfactoriamente durante dieciocho meses con una supervisión mínima: ahora Maximiliano les despedía unilateralmente y reclamaba su absoluta autoridad sobre los Países Bajos, así como sobre sus nietos residentes en Malinas. También reivindicaba su autoridad sobre los demás territorios dejados por su hijo a sus otros nietos Fernando y Catalina, que vivían en España. Dado que el emperador no tenía autoridad en España, la herencia de Carlos quedó en efecto dividida, tal y como su padre había previsto en su testamento: el padre de Juana, el rey Fernando, lo hacía lo mejor que podía para controlar Castilla (así como Aragón y Sicilia, de las que era soberano, y Nápoles, arrebatado recientemente por sus tropas a los franceses), y educaba a su nieto y tocayo como príncipe de España. Mientras que Maximiliano luchaba por controlar los Países Bajos y asegurarse de que su heredero fuera educado como un príncipe de Borgoña.

Carlos y sus hermanas se enteraron de la pérdida en 1506, cuando su gobernador les comunicó de que su padre había muerto. «Mostraron la aflicción normal para su edad, o mayor incluso», informó a Maximiliano, y «dijeron que habían tenido

suerte de contar con un padre fiel como vos, y que ahora tendríais doble tarea». Carlos se refirió a partir de entonces al emperador como «mi agüelo y padre».[38] Aunque Maximiliano no volvió a visitarles hasta dos años más tarde, Margarita llegó a Malinas en abril de 1507 y empezó a hacerse cargo de su sobrino y sobrinas. Los niños se encariñaron con ella de inmediato: cuando poco después se marchó para cumplir sus obligaciones políticas, estos rompieron a llorar (según un testigo presencial) porque «ya no iban a ver a su tía y madrina o, más exactamente, a su nueva madre».[39]

Cuando Margarita volvió a Malinas dos meses más tarde, organizó unas solemnes exequias para su difunto hermano en la catedral de San Romualdo, en las que Carlos compareció por primera vez como soberano. En primer lugar, tomó de la biblioteca de los duques de Borgoña un magníficamente ilustrado libro de oraciones manuscrito, encuadernado en terciopelo negro, en el que aparecían las armas de Carlos el Temerario, y se lo regaló a su joven tocayo, sin duda para que lo utilizara durante el servicio. A continuación, hizo que Carlos encabezara una solemne procesión «montado en un caballo pequeño» y «flanqueado por los arqueros de su guardia personal». Después de la misa, el heraldo mayor gritó «el rey ha muerto» y, tras una breve pausa, «Larga vida a Carlos, archiduque de Austria y príncipe de España por la gracia de Dios». Los demás heraldos allí presentes fueron uno por uno proclamando el resto de sus numerosos títulos —duque de Brabante, conde de Flandes, etcétera—, tras lo cual Carlos recibió la espada de la justicia «en sus pequeñas manos, y sujetándola con la punta hacia arriba, fue hacia el altar», donde rezó brevemente antes de volver a encabezar la procesión de vuelta a palacio. Allí «el noble y joven príncipe armó a un nuevo caballero por primera vez», demostrando así a todos su nueva condición. Esta detallada narración de la primera aparición

pública de Carlos como soberano, escrita por el cronista oficial de Margarita, Jean Lemaire des Belges, terminaba con el piadoso deseo: «¡Quiera Dios que en el futuro pueda llegar tan lejos como Carlomagno en la defensa de los asuntos públicos y de la Cristiandad!».[40]

Los acontecimientos del día siguiente revelan la vacuidad de tan grandiosas perspectivas. Margarita había ordenado que volvieran a reunirse los Estados Generales «en la gran cámara de la residencia del príncipe, todavía con cortinajes negros», para escuchar la petición del canciller de instaurar nuevos impuestos para financiar una defensa eficaz contra Güeldres, satisfacer las deudas del difunto rey y «pagar los gastos de la casa de mi señor y sus hermanas». Margarita pronunció un breve discurso de apoyo antes de volverse hacia Carlos para preguntarle:

> «¿No es así, sobrino?». Y a continuación mi señor el archiduque, consciente de sus principescas responsabilidades pese a su escasa edad, solicitó a los diputados su consentimiento mediante un breve discurso que fue mejor entendido por su expresión facial que por el sonido de su voz infantil.

Pero sus palabras fueron en vano. Los Estados Generales rechazaron de plano votar ningún nuevo impuesto y Carlos aprendió así por primera vez que la recaudación de fondos para sus empresas requería una cuidadosa preparación.[41]

Pocas semanas más tarde, Margarita presentó a su sobrino a los combatientes a los que irían a parar la mayoría de los impuestos pagados por sus súbditos durante el medio siglo siguiente. Convocó a sus principales oficiales al gran salón de palacio y señaló a Carlos diciendo: «Señores: aquí tienen a la persona por la que combaten. Él nunca flaqueará. ¡Sírvanle!». Al día siguiente ella y su sobrino se asomaron a una ventana de palacio para ver partir a 500 soldados de caballería «con los estandartes desplegados y las trompetas sonando» a defender los Países Bajos contra Güeldres.[42]

La archiduquesa Margarita de Austria, duquesa viuda de

Saboya

Cuando Maximiliano nombró a Margarita su «procuradora» en 1507, adquirió para ella un conjunto de edificios en Malinas, justo enfrente del Keizerhof donde vivían sus nietos. Pronto renovado y conocido como el Hof van Savoy, se convirtió en el cuartel general de Margarita hasta su muerte en 1530. Según los libros contables de su casa, más de 150 cortesanos se sentaban allí a comer cada día, incluidos visitantes de toda Europa a quienes la archiduquesa quería que su sobrino y sobrinas conocieran. Algunos procedían de familias poderosas, como el duque Maximiliano Sforza de Milán y el conde palatino Federico de Baviera; otros estaban emparentados con los ministros de Carlos, como Guillermo de Croÿ, sobrino de Chièvres; pero otros procedían de familias de menor rango. Una de ellas era Ana Bolena, hija de un embajador inglés que quería que aprendiera a hablar el francés con fluidez. Cuando esta llegó a Malinas en 1513, Margarita le dijo a su padre: «la encuentro tan refinada y agradable, pese a su juventud, que le tengo que estar yo más agradecida a vos por haberla enviado que vos a mí». La joven permaneció allí durante un año, aprendiendo el francés que más tarde cautivaría a Enrique VIII y la convertiría en reina de Inglaterra.[43]

La corte de Margarita se convirtió en poco tiempo en el más importante centro cultural del norte de Europa. Su biblioteca contenía casi 400 libros encuadernados, muchos de ellos exquisitos manuscritos ilustrados, y tenía contratados a Barend van Orley y Jan Vermeyen como pintores de su casa, y a Peter de Pannemaker como tejedor de tapices personal. También recibía a los artistas más famosos de su época, entre ellos Alberto Durero, quien en 1521 alabó sus cuadros «y muchas otras cosas de valor, además de una muy valiosa biblioteca».[44] En el momento de su muerte, acaecida en 1530, la archiduquesa poseía más de cien tapices, más de cincuenta esculturas y casi

200 cuadros (incluidas obras de los mejores artistas neerlandeses: Rogier van der Weyden, El Bosco, Hans Memling y Jan van Eyck); y se tomaba un gran interés personal por sus posesiones. Encargó una nueva bisagra para el gran tríptico de *El matrimonio Arnolfini*, a fin de que las alas pudieran cerrarse como es debido; mandó llamar al celebrado pintor Jan Gossaert para que llevara a cabo la cuidadosa restauración de sus lienzos más valorados; y el inventario de sus posesiones contiene correcciones y anotaciones de su propio puño y letra, que revelan su implicación personal en la creación de la colección. En palabras de Dagmar Eichberger, que ha estudiado detalladamente las colecciones de Margarita, la archiduquesa «podía sentirse orgullosa de contar con una extensa galería de retratos en su comedor, una colección de artefactos etnográficos del Nuevo Mundo en su biblioteca, una galería de cuadros en su majestuoso dormitorio y un bonito surtido de pequeños objetos, científicos y exóticos, en sus dos vitrinas».[45] El ejemplo de Margarita serviría de inspiración a sus jóvenes pupilos, cada uno de los cuales mostraría más adelante un excelente gusto artístico así como amplios intereses culturales; por ejemplo, cuando en 1548 Carlos reorganizó la casa de su hijo, eligió el solemne «estilo borgoñón» que Margarita había perfeccionado en Malinas.

Carlos y sus hermanas se convirtieron en el «proyecto» de Margarita —la familia que nunca antes había tenido— y durante el resto de sus vidas estos se referirían a ella en términos de «su señora mi tía y querida madre» (o «tu humilde hijo y sobrino»). Cuando ella murió, Carlos afirmó que «su pérdida no afecta a nadie más que me afecta a mí, porque la consideraba mi madre».[46] La correspondencia que se conserva de Margarita explica por qué los niños la adoraban. Cuando en 1507 su padre nombró un sustituto para fray Jean de Witte como confesor de sus nietos, Margarita pidió que Leonor quedara exenta. Carlos y

sus hermanas menores, le exponía a Maximiliano, «no tienen aún gran necesidad» de dirección espiritual, «salvo para orientarles y animarles a obedecer los mandamientos de Dios y su santa Iglesia», pero Leonor (entonces de nueve años) «ya sabe muy bien lo que es portarse bien y portarse mal», y, dado que a ella le gustaba fray Jean, Margarita pedía a su padre que le mantuviera en el puesto. Cuatro años después, al enterarse de que el preceptor de sus sobrinos «había prohibido bailar a las damas», Margarita le informó de que «esto les causa mucho aburrimiento y pena. Así pues, por compasión de ellas, creo que se les debería seguir permitiendo bailar como hasta ahora». Enseñó a sus sobrinas a coser, a bordar y el arte de hacer conservas; y en 1514, cuando parecía que María Tudor (hermana de Enrique VIII y también huérfana) se casaría con Carlos y se trasladaría a los Países Bajos, Margarita le envió un modelo «de las ropas que las damas suelen usar aquí, para que le sea más fácil vestirse a nuestro estilo local cuando venga».[47] ¿Podía una madre haber hecho más? Mucho después de que sus pupilos se marcharan, Margarita actuó como centro de intercambio de información familiar. Así, cuando en 1518 recibió una carta de Carlos desde España, inmediatamente escribió para informar a su hermana María, entonces en Hungría, de que «todos los días participa en justas y torneos, y estoy segura de que muchas veces le gustaría que tú y yo estuviéramos allí para disfrutar con él». Sobre todo, Margarita enseñaba a todos los miembros de cada generación «a respetar y servir a la dinastía en la que habían nacido, inculcando en sus jóvenes protegidos un principio al que dedicarían toda su vida: una profunda lealtad a la casa Habsburgo».[48]

Proteger al heredero

La frecuencia de las muertes prematuras entre las dinastías Habsburgo, Borgoña y Trastámara —el archiduque Felipe y su hermana María, así como los dos hijos mayores y el nieto mayor

de los monarcas católicos— explica sin duda la obsesiva preocupación respecto a la salud de Carlos y sus hermanas. Así, en 1508, cuando Maximiliano volvió a los Países Bajos y sugirió que «para su recreo» su nieto viajara con él entre Malinas, Lier y Amberes, todas en un radio total de no más de 20 kilómetros, el príncipe de Chimay presentó una protesta formal basándose en «la joven edad de mi señor, que es vulnerable y delicado» (Carlos tenía ocho años). Si el emperador no obstante insistía, continuaba diciendo Chimay, entonces, después de cada día de viaje, el príncipe debía «no viajar en un día entero, para que tenga dos noches consecutivas para descansar y recuperarse». Seis meses después, era Maximiliano el que exageraba. Se enteró de que un sirviente de Liberal Trevisan, el médico veneciano que atendió a Juana «durante cuarenta y nueve días seguidos» tras la muerte de su hijo, iba de camino a los Países Bajos para regalarle un perro a Carlos: «Ten cuidado con esto», instaba a Margarita, y mantén al doctor a raya «mientras continúe el estado de guerra actual entre nosotros y los venecianos». Al poco tiempo, ordenó que expulsara a Trevisan de los Países Bajos «debido a nuestras sospechas respecto a él: ya que es veneciano, no queremos que siga tratando a nuestro nieto».[49] Margarita compartía estos temores. Pocas semanas más tarde insistía en que sus pupilos «deben residir [en Malinas] permanentemente, sin dejar la ciudad hasta que yo vuelva» porque «en estos tiempos no sabe uno de quién puede fiarse». También vivía obsesionada por la salud de los niños, dado que (como en una ocasión le confió a Maximiliano) «incluso la más pequeña enfermedad en personas de tal importancia causa preocupación». Por tanto, cuando llegó la noticia de que las hermanas del príncipe habían contraído la viruela en Malinas, mantuvo a Carlos en Bruselas «porque los médicos dicen que la

enfermedad es contagiosa y mi sobrino podría contagiarse» (como en efecto ocurrió, viéndose incapacitado por esta fastidiosa y peligrosa enfermedad durante más de un mes).[50]

Al parecer, las obsesiones de Margarita no afectaban a la educación de su sobrino. A diferencia de Maximiliano, cuyos cuadernos escolares de ejercicios todavía se conservan (lo que ha permitido a los historiadores realizar un seguimiento de sus progresos educativos), la única prueba que se conserva de la temprana alfabetización de Carlos es un grupo de cartas que, no obstante, le delatan como un alumno muy lento en su aprendizaje. Por ejemplo, una carta de 1508 contiene doce palabras en español y su firma como príncipe de Castilla; en tanto que otra, escrita dos meses más tarde, termina con tres palabras en francés y su firma como duque de Borgoña *(véase lámina 3)*. Todavía a la edad de ocho años, Carlos seguía escribiendo las letras de una en una y no separaba las palabras.

Su letra siempre fue mala. En 1532, tras recibir una serie de instrucciones manuscritas, su hermana María se quejaba de no estar segura de «si las había leído correctamente; porque, si se me permite decirlo, una o dos palabras están tan mal escritas que no he sido capaz de leerlas, y no sé si he acertado al adivinarlas». La descripción que hace un historiador moderno de la caligrafía madura de su hermana mayor Leonor, aprendida con los mismos preceptores (Juan de Anchieta y Luis Cabeza de Vaca), sonará deprimentemente familiar a todos los que han tenido que vérselas con la caligrafía del emperador. Leonor,

> Normalmente unía tantos caracteres de una sola palabra, e incluso de varias palabras, como le era posible, como si tratara de unir tantas letras como fuera capaz sin levantar la mano del papel. Nunca dudaba en dejar palabras borradas o en usar todas las abreviaturas conocidas… En realidad, nunca hacía uso de la puntuación, aunque a veces indicaba el final de una frase con un trazo oblicuo… Prefería la eficiencia a la legibilidad.[51]

Afortunadamente, Carlos y sus hermanas entraron en contacto con muchos hombres y mujeres cultivados y con su trabajo académico. Las cuentas del tesorero general de los Países Bajos registraban un pago de 10 libras, en octubre de 1504, «al hermano Erasmo de Rotterdam, un fraile de la orden agustiniana, como donación única de mi señor en calidad de ayuda para sufragar sus gastos en la Universidad de Lovaina, donde se halla estudiando» (y sin duda como recompensa por el Panegírico sobre el «viaje a España y feliz regreso a casa» de Felipe, enviado a la corte el enero anterior. Aunque Erasmo rechazó una invitación para ser el tutor de Carlos, mantuvo una correspondencia regular con miembros de la casa del príncipe y le dedicó dos de sus libros.[52] La corte también patrocinaba a músicos, artistas y artesanos. En 1498, el padre de Carlos encargó un órgano portátil para su casa; mientras que en 1504 (sirva para poner en perspectiva el donativo de 10 libras a Erasmo) pagó 15 libras a un encuadernador por «fabricar cubiertas de madera a cinco grandes libros para mi señor, y por reparar y dar baño de oro otras obras»; 36 libras a «Jerónimo van Aeken, llamado El Bosco», por «un cuadro de muy gran tamaño, de nueve pies de alto y once pies de ancho, que representa el Juicio Final, esto es, el Cielo y el Infierno, que mi señor le ordenó pintar»; y 174 libras a su fabricante de tapices «por cinco delicadas alfombras hechas de terciopelo turco» (dos de las cuales dio inmediatamente a sus hijos). Al año siguiente, Felipe pagó 23 libras a «un hombre que tocaba un extraño instrumento español, y a una joven de Lombardía» que «tocó varias canciones y realizó acrobacias mientras él cenaba», así como 25 libras a un pintor que le regaló «un cuadro de una mujer desnuda».[53]

Cortejo y matrimonio

Justo antes de su octavo cumpleaños, Carlos contrajo matrimonio, y no por primera vez. En 1501, los diplomáticos de su padre firmaron un tratado que le comprometía con Claudia, hija de Luis XII de Francia; pero a pesar de renovar dicho acuerdo hasta en tres ocasiones distintas, Luis no tenía intención de cumplirlo, dado que ya había prometido que su hija se casaría con su pariente varón más cercano (y por tanto presunto heredero a la Corona francesa), Francisco, duque de Angulema. Tan pronto como el engaño se hizo público, Maximiliano (en su calidad de tutor y protector de su nieto) inició negociaciones para que Carlos se casara con la hija de Enrique VII de Inglaterra, María, y en diciembre de 1507 Juan de Berghes fue a Inglaterra como apoderado de Carlos y colocó un anillo en el dedo de la princesa, tras lo cual la pareja intercambió sus votos matrimoniales. Un triunfalista tratado inglés celebraba «la más noble alianza y el más importante matrimonio de toda la Cristiandad, considerando las muchas y diversas regiones y países que dicho joven príncipe… heredará», y Carlos firmó obsequiosas cartas para Enrique VII, a quien llamaba padre, y para «la princesa de Castilla» (como llegó a ser conocida), a quien se dirigía como «su devoto esposo y compañero» *(véase lámina 3)*. La patente real, en la que se establecía una casa separada para las hermanas de Carlos, ordenaba a su tesorero incluir «a nuestra muy querida y amada esposa, María de Inglaterra».[54]

Aunque Carlos nunca consumó «el más importante matrimonio de toda la Cristiandad», obtuvo una ventaja inmediata. Enrique VII accedió a hacer a su nuevo yerno miembro de la exclusiva Orden de la Jarretera, y en febrero de 1509, en presencia de Maximiliano, «los embajadores ingleses entregaron al archiduque la insignia de la Orden, que este recibió solemnemente, vestido con una capa morada de terciopelo y capucha escarlata» y (consideradamente) la cruz de

San Jorge en el hombro. A esto siguió una semana de celebraciones, incluyendo justas en el Grote Markt en las que participó Maximiliano (pese a tener ya cincuenta años), y que sus nietos pudieron presenciar, llenos de admiración, desde el balcón del ayuntamiento.[55]

Poco antes de abandonar los Países Bajos en la primavera de 1509, Maximiliano adoptó dos importantes decisiones que afectaban a Carlos. En primer lugar, creó una casa aparte para el príncipe, con hasta doce pajes (que más tarde se convertirían en escuderos y luego caballeros) y entre seis y ocho jóvenes compañeros nobles *(enfants d'honneur)*, así como multitud de otros sirvientes. En segundo lugar, confirió a Margarita el título de «regente y gobernadora» de los Países Bajos Habsburgo y la autorizó a presidir el Consejo Privado compuesto de doce caballeros de la Orden del Toisón de Oro, que debían acompañarla en todo momento.[56]

Según el historiador belga Henri Pirenne, estos cambios representaban «una libertad de acción que nunca antes había tenido una gobernadora», pero Margarita esperaba todavía más. Instó a su padre a que le confiriera «la misma autoridad que [él] ejerce, sin excepción», y a aceptar que «ella pueda ejercer dicha autoridad por su cuenta»; pero Maximiliano insistía en quedarse para sí el control sobre las finanzas, la guerra, la paz y el patrocinio. «Dado que soy tutor y abuelo de mis nietos», le amonestaba, «me parece que debo retener algunos poderes, tanto para supervisarte a ti como para mantener mi reputación», y su correspondencia con su hija ofrece incontables ejemplos de decisiones tomadas pese a la oposición de esta.[57] Sobre todo, Margarita quería marginar a Chièvres, todavía «jefe y gobernador de finanzas» y, con este fin, convocó a «todos los grandes señores y nobles de estas provincias» a una reunión y les pidió que «dejaran a un lado todas sus diferencias y rencillas». Más tarde presumiría ante su padre de haberlo conseguido en

todos los casos salvo en uno: el príncipe de Chimay deseaba renunciar a su cargo como «primer chambelán» del príncipe en favor de su primo Chièvres, en tanto que Margarita era firmemente partidaria de nombrar a Juan de Berghes, y le pidió a su padre que así lo hiciera. Pero Maximiliano ignoró su petición: Chièvres comenzó a cobrar su salario como «primer chambelán» el 27 de abril de 1509, convirtiéndose desde ese momento en el compañero inseparable del príncipe. Las cuentas de la casa de aquel año registran la compra de tejidos a juego «para el cubrecama de mi señor [Carlos] y la cama de mi señor de Chièvres, su gobernador»; y, cuando, ocho años más tarde, Carlos decretó algunos cambios en la casa de su hermano Fernando, ordenó que uno de sus propios confidentes «duerma siempre en su cámara… como haze M. de Chiévres en la nuestra, porque quando despertare, si quisiere, tenga con quien hablar».[58]

Aunque el emperador prevalecía en estas importantes cuestiones, él también había esperado más. En 1508 anunció a una asamblea de caballeros del Toisón de Oro su intención de reunir todas sus posesiones y unificarlas en un solo reino, que sería llamado de «Borgoña y Austria» para una mejor defensa contra los enemigos comunes. Aunque esta iniciativa fracasó, dos años después anunció su intención de llevarse a Carlos con él a Austria y «hacerle inmediatamente después rey de *Austrasia*», un título prácticamente desconocido en Europa desde los tiempos de Carlomagno. En previsión de ello sus consejeros redactaron unas «Instrucciones para la casa del futuro rey de Austrasia», pero una vez más la iniciativa no prosperó.[59] Entretanto, Chièvres luchaba por mejorar las relaciones entre los Países Bajos borgoñones y Francia, mientras Margarita se esforzaba por fortalecer los lazos con Inglaterra. Durante los siete años siguientes, estas tres poderosas figuras competirían sin

cuartel por ganarse el corazón y la mente del príncipe huérfano y, a la larga, por el control de su herencia una vez llegara a la mayoría de edad.

2. El príncipe huérfano, 1509-1514

Maxi

En 1855, el historiador francés Jules Michelet elogió a la archiduquesa Margarita de Austria calificándola como «el verdadero "hombre fuerte" de la familia», cuyos esfuerzos, sobre los de todos los demás, «hicieron grande a la Casa de Austria».[1] Como en el caso del elogio de Henri Pirenne, esto es una exageración: aunque la archiduquesa demostró ser tanto una hábil administradora como una sutil diplomática, su padre Maximiliano consiguió mucho más, porque él no solo evitó que los franceses se anexionaran tanto los Países Bajos del sur como el norte de Italia, sino que además sentó las bases para tres siglos de dominio Habsburgo en Europa central.

Incluso en los documentos administrativos rutinarios quedaba expuesta la subordinación de la archiduquesa a él: ella firmaba las cartas ordinarias «por orden del emperador, Margarita», mientras que las proclamaciones salían firmadas «por orden del emperador y del archiduque». Su padre también nombraba a todos los principales funcionarios, tanto del clero como seglares, en todos los Países Bajos. Y aunque en 1510, «cansado de los peticionarios que le incordiaban continuamente», prometió aceptar en el futuro las recomendaciones que le enviara Margarita y su consejo, *Maxi* (así se llamaba a sí mismo cuando escribía a su hija) continuó bombardeándola con órdenes, de forma directa durante los periodos que residía en los Países Bajos y otras veces por carta, muchas de ellas de su puño y letra.[2]

Periódicamente, los dos chocaban. En 1507, Margarita garabateó una nota a uno de los consejeros de su padre suplicando que «le dijera antes lo que ha decidido hacer, y no hacer como suele, que es escribirme primero una cosa y luego hacer otra». Dos años después, la decisión de su padre de ceder a

uno de sus acreedores una parte del Franco Condado, una provincia que le había dado a ella, provocó su indignación. «Mi señor, me he quedado sin palabras —le dijo—, porque me da la impresión de que yo, su única hija, debería tener preferencia sobre todos los demás». Sin embargo, continuaba enojada, «si está completamente decidido a coger estas tierras, mi señor, cójalas y haga lo que quiera con ellas, de hecho, no coja solo esas, sino el resto del Franco Condado y todo lo que poseo, porque en nada deseo desobedecerle».[3] Invectivas como esta a veces provocaban un contraataque. En 1508 el emperador afirmaba que las cartas de su hija «están tan llenas de misterios que es imposible para mí entenderlas o incluso saber de qué me habla», y le sugería un modelo de cómo proceder en el futuro (sobre todo, «escribe tres líneas en lugar de diez»). Dos años después, le envió de vuelta aquellas cartas suyas «que no han sido quemadas» porque le parecían tan «poco racionales que pienso que me debes de tomar por francés» (evidentemente, el peor insulto del repertorio del emperador). A continuación le recordaba: «Te nombré para el puesto de gobernadora de nuestros dominios y súbditos expresando y proclamando siempre cosas buenas de ti»; pero, concluía con una clara amenaza: «si continúas escribiéndome cartas tan groseras sin motivo, creo que no tardaré en cambiar de opinión».[4]

Se trataba de una amenaza vana, y Maximiliano lo sabía: solo su hija podía ejecutar sus políticas de manera efectiva, y por tanto, solía tratarla con afecto y consideración. Así, después de pedirle que dejara todo lo que estaba haciendo y fuera a Luxemburgo a recibir sus órdenes, se ablandó, porque, según dijo, «eso interrumpiría tus esfuerzos diarios por conseguir que se pague a los 12.000 soldados de los Países Bajos, lo que actualmente constituye el asunto más importante para nosotros». También aprendió a aceptar su consejo político. Cuando Margarita descubrió que su padre pretendía permitir a

Fernando, el hermano pequeño de Carlos, convertirse en Gran Maestre de las Órdenes Militares de España, le manifestó con sequedad que se trataba de una decisión desastrosa, «que nada en el mundo podría justificar», porque «ello bastaría para privar al príncipe Carlos de los reinos de España». Reconociendo humildemente su error, Maximiliano cedió.[5]

A Margarita le costaba más discrepar de *Maxi* en persona. Este realizó cuatro visitas a los Países Bajos después de la muerte de Felipe —entre noviembre de 1508 y marzo de 1509, en la primavera de 1512, en el verano de 1513 y a principios de 1517 — y en cada ocasión pasó bastante tiempo con su hija y sus nietos. La primera carta que se conserva escrita por la hermana mayor de Carlos, Leonor, informaba a Margarita de que «como sé que nuestra felicidad es también la tuya, quería comunicarte que nuestro abuelo ha venido a visitarnos, lo que ha sido motivo de gran alegría para todos». Maximiliano compartía a todas luces su alegría, y así le decía también a Margarita: «Estoy muy feliz de que hayas encontrado bien a nuestros niños y que te hayan preguntado por mí. Diles que iré pronto a verles».[6] La «alegría» de los niños se explica fácilmente. Maximiliano comía con ellos, bailaba con ellos, les daba dinero para jugar a las cartas y les llevaba de excursión, tanto en barco como en carruaje, a sus varias residencias de Bruselas y Amberes. En 1509, justo después de que Carlos jurara como conde de Flandes en su noveno cumpleaños, los dos fueron abriéndose paso por las calles de Gante gritando «Largesse» mientras lanzaban y repartían monedas entre la multitud —algo que ningún niño de nueve años podría olvidar—, y cuando Maximiliano se alojó en el palacio ducal de Bruselas especificó que «nuestro nieto debe de estar en la habitación contigua a la mía».[7] También daba a los niños regalos pensados para ellos. En una ocasión envió a sus nietas «parte de un ciervo que he cazado hoy» para que «puedan prepararlo de comida o cena»; también

regaló a su hermano un par de caballeros de cobre con lanzas de madera, montadas sobre ruedas con un sistema de cuerdas y poleas unidas a los carruajes para que Carlos y sus compañeros de juegos pudieran aprender a justar *(véase lámina 4)*.[8] En 1512, el emperador encargó a su armero particular una lujosa armadura para Carlos, para que pudiera participar en las justas, decorada con oro y plata y con la insignia del Toisón de Oro. Maximiliano también hizo a su hija regalos maravillosos, como «un gran libro de pergamino, lleno de misas cantadas» encargado a un célebre amanuense «como regalo de año nuevo» en 1511. La portada mostraba al emperador mirando con be nevolencia a Margarita, y a Carlos y tres de sus hermanas sentadas a sus pies, el epítome de una familia feliz *(véase lámina 5)*.[9]

Maximiliano conocía el valor de estas cosas. Él se había criado en la oscuridad y la relativa pobreza de la Europa centro oriental hasta 1477, cuando, con 18 años, realizó un osado viaje en el que cruzó Europa a caballo para casarse con la duquesa María de Borgoña. Los quince años siguientes los pasó combatiendo casi ininterrumpidamente contra sus enemigos exteriores e internos a fin de conservar su herencia intacta. Mientras lo hacía, quedó cautivado por la cultura borgoñona, hasta el punto de que (según su más destacado biógrafo, Hermann Wiesflecker) «él mismo se convirtió en borgoñón».[10] Por encima de todo, Maximiliano adoptó el objetivo supremo borgoñón de «reconstruir un imperio cristiano mundial». Esto, a su parecer, requería la derrota de Francia seguida de una cruzada para reconquistar Constantinopla a los turcos, como preludio a una era de paz universal. Sus sueños de grandeza no conocían límites. Él mismo se bautizó «Pontifex Maximus» y aspiraba a ser canonizado como santo después de su muerte (como algunos de sus predecesores imperiales, incluido Carlomagno); ejercía de papa a la vez que emperador otorgando prebendas,

apropiándose de ingresos monacales y de los réditos de las indulgencias procedentes de las cruzadas; y trataba a los Papas como si fueran sus patriarcas, sin llegar nunca a entender por qué (se lamentaba) «en toda mi vida, ningún papa ha cumplido nunca su palabra conmigo», una queja que Carlos repetiría casi literalmente treinta años después, en sus Instrucciones a su heredero.[11] Asimismo, aunque Maximiliano tuvo que abandonar su «gran plan de guerra» concebido en 1496 para conquistar y repartir Francia, en 1513 encabezó personalmente el contingente imperial en la batalla de Guinegate, en la que «los franceses, enemigos históricos y naturales de la casa de Borgoña», sufrieron una aplastante derrota. La victoria evidentemente reavivó su odio visceral, y así presumía ante Carlos de que el resultado «debería mantener a raya el orgullo de los franceses durante al menos diez años» y conducir a «la reconquista de las tierras que con toda razón pertenecen a nuestra dinastía; y habiéndote de este modo mostrado el camino, dejo las cosas en tus manos, para que puedas defender con valentía lo que es tuyo, como nuestros predecesores han hecho durante más de cien años».[12]

No hay duda de que Maximiliano impartía consejos similares a su nieto cada vez que estaba con él. Aunque sus conversaciones no hayan dejado huella documental, pueden deducirse muchas cosas de cuatro obras semiautobiográficas que Maximiliano escribió y enseñó a Carlos. Su *Historia de Federico y Maximiliano* relataba los logros de sus primeros años; *Las aventuras y la vida heroica de Sir Theuerdank* narraban en verso su éxito al pedir la mano de María de Borgoña, así como en la caza y la cetrería; *Der Weisskunig* (en alemán quiere decir «El rey sabio» y también «El rey blanco») era un ensayo en prosa sobre su educación, su crianza principesca y sus logros militares; en tanto que *Freydal* documentaba e ilustraba cada uno de los sesenta y cuatro torneos en los que había participado. El

emperador supervisaba detalladamente la redacción de estas obras por parte de *negros* (como los llamaríamos hoy), con la expresa intención de dejar un testamento personal que, a través de su ejemplo, enseñara a su heredero cómo gobernarse a sí mismo, a sus súbditos y al mundo.[13]

Para cuando Carlos recibió su ejemplar de regalo de *El rey blanc o* en 1517, Maximiliano podía citar cuatro éxitos fundamentales. Había protegido y reorganizado los Países Bajos borgoñones, cuyo futuro político se presentaba bastante sombrío cuando cuarenta años atrás se convirtió en su gobernador. Había superado los obstáculos que representaban las diferentes instituciones, tradiciones y lenguas, para poder hacer avanzar a los territorios subalpinos que había heredado de su padre como un solo estado, «Austria», gobernado y fiscalizado por el gobierno central que él había creado en Innsbruck, y en el que los representantes de todas las partes constituyentes se reunían en una sola asamblea representativa. También había reformado el caótico gobierno central del Sacro Imperio Romano de una forma que, aunque imperfecta, duraría casi hasta su desaparición tres siglos más tarde. Por último, mediante el arreglo de matrimonios estratégicos para sus nietos, había colocado a la Casa de los Habsburgo como primera dinastía de la Europa central y oriental, creando una forma de gobierno que sus sucesores irían expandiendo a lo largo de los cuatro siglos siguientes. «La verdad es —comentaba *Maxi* a Margarita en 1516— que después de servir a Dios, el avance de nuestra dinastía está para mí por encima de todo»; y de nuevo, unos meses más tarde (ya que el emperador solía recalcar las cosas más de una vez), «mi querida hija: pienso día y noche en los asuntos de mis herederos».[14]

Muchas de las posteriores acciones de Carlos reflejarían los objetivos y valores de su abuelo, el único modelo de rol masculino que tuvo entre 1505 (cuando se conocieron) y 1517

(cuando se separaron por última vez). Carlos imitó a Maximiliano marchando al frente de su infantería «con una pica al hombro»; fue coronado rey de Romanos en una ceremonia en Aquisgrán «diseñada conforme a la investigación de los archivos» llevada a cabo bajo la supervisión de su abuelo.[15] Desafió al rey de Francia a enfrentarse en duelo con él e invitó al sultán otomano a participar en un torneo a fin de saldar sus diferencias de una vez por todas, como habría hecho Maximiliano; y planeaba recuperar los poderes de Carlomagno, de quien los Habsburgo se decían descendientes, y a neutralizar a Francia como paso previo a liderar una cruzada para reconquistar Constantinopla. Mientras decidía cómo castigar a Gante tras la rebelión contra él en 1539-1540, estudió los planos diseñados en su día para su abuelo y luego construyó una ciudadela exactamente en el mismo sitio que había propuesto Maximiliano medio siglo antes; y en el retrato que Tiziano le hizo en el momento de su victoria sobre los protestantes alemanes en Mühlberg, Carlos porta una lanza como si (al igual que sir Theuerdank) hubi era salido de caza *(véase lámina 26).*

Tal como Maximiliano, Carlos pretendía llevar a cabo unas políticas que no podía permitirse. Como su abuelo afirmaba en *El rey blanco*: «Todo monarca combate a su enemigo con hombres y dinero: un régimen y una reputación guerrera vale mucho más que el dinero» (de nuevo, unas palabras que Carlos transmitiría a su heredero). Ambos soberanos, aunque puntillosos en lo tocante a su honor, carecían de cualquier escrúpulo moral respecto al dinero, de modo que, al igual que Maximiliano, Carlos dejó un «caos financiero» cuando murió.[16] Por último, Carlos también imitó a su abuelo mostrando (en palabras de Peter Burke) una preocupación «casi obsesiva» «por su imagen y la manera en que sería recordado en la posteridad». Ambos gobernantes dictaron también sus memorias; encargaron más de un millar de bustos, retratos, medallas y otras imágenes

de sí mismos; se compararon con los emperadores de la Antigüedad clásica y la Edad Media (especialmente con Carlomagno); pidieron ser enterrados bajo el altar de una iglesia; hicieron (o permitieron que otros hicieran) comparaciones textuales y visuales de ellos con Cristo; y se consideraron a sí mismos «no solo jefe de la fe cristiana, sino más bien un individuo santificado, incluso santo, eminentemente cualificado para plantearse tomar votos [religiosos]».[17]

Educación

Maximiliano dedicó casi la mitad de *El rey blanco* a sus reflexiones sobre la educación principesca. Algunos capítulos subrayaban que un soberano sabio debería estar dispuesto a aprender de cualquiera, ya se trate de un vulgar campesino, soldado, noble o general, porque «quien entiende una cosa por sí mismo no necesita depender de otros». Otros capítulos explicaban por qué los soberanos competentes leían todas las cartas que mandaban «sobre asuntos importantes y no importantes» antes de firmarlas y aprendían a dictarlas a muchos secretarios al mismo tiempo para una gestión eficaz. Por encima de todo, *El rey blanco* insistía en la necesidad de aprender muchos idiomas y dedicaba unos capítulos a la forma en que Maximiliano había llegado a dominar el «borgoñón, que aprendió de su esposa», y «el flamenco, que aprendió de una anciana princesa», así como el inglés, español, italiano y latín, aparte de su lengua materna, el alemán. Esto significaba que «dado que sus soldados hablaban estas siete lenguas diferentes, cuando los comandantes de las distintas unidades acudían a él requiriendo consulta e instrucciones, él podía hablar con ellos en la lengua de cada uno»[18]. Los siguientes cinco capítulos explicaban cómo sobresalir en los diferentes tipos de justas y

torneos, mientras que otros seis describían los diversos métodos de caza, cetrería y pesca, pero luego el emperador se detenía a comentar:

> Si alguien que no esté familiarizado con el tema lee esto, podría pensar que el joven rey [esto es, Maximiliano] no hacía otra cosa que adiestrar halcones y cazar. No es así. El rey casi siempre practicaba la cetrería y la caza durante las grandes guerras… Si otro rey recurría a la guerra, el Rey Blanco siempre estaba dispuesto al combate porque siempre cazaba y practicaba la cetrería en tierra enemiga… Aunque era el mejor halconero, era incluso mejor a la hora de conseguir que el más poderoso de los reyes, príncipes y señores hiciera su voluntad.[19]

Maximiliano también propugnaba su personal filosofía pedagógica en sus cartas —en 1506, y de nuevo siete años más tarde, expresó el deseo «de que el archiduque Carlos aprendiera pronto holandés»—, aunque con poco éxito: si bien en 1515 Carlos fue capaz de pronunciar su juramento como duque de Brabante en holandés, nunca llegó a hablar con fluidez la principal lengua de su país natal.[20] También le llevó bastante tiempo aprender el español, pese a ser la lengua materna de varios de sus profesores. Todavía en 1516, un visitante español se quejaba de que «Su Alteza no sabe hablar ninguna palabra en español, y puesto que entienda algo, es muy poco».[21] Su manejo del latín solo era un poco mejor. Así, en una audiencia celebrada en 1518, el embajador inglés se lamentaba de que Adriano de Utrecht, su antiguo preceptor, tenía que traducir constantemente «al francés al rey lo que yo había dicho en latín», mientras que «el dicho rey católico respondía directamente de su propia boca en francés»; tres años más tarde, otro embajador inglés se quejaba de que aunque Carlos escuchaba las cartas que le leían en latín, dado que «no sabía bien el latín», «mandaba que se las tradujeran al francés a fin de poder entenderlas mejor». Una década después, las cosas seguían igual. Carlos lamentaba no llegar a comprender «la retórica y frases elegantes» de los discursos que tenía que escuchar en latín, y añadía arrepentido «que si diera crédito a las palabras de mi

buen maestro Hadriano [Adriano de Utrecht], quando me enseñaua, no tuuiera yo agora necessidad de interprete, para entender lo que aquí se me ha dicho». Aunque Carlos al final llegaría a dominar varias lenguas vernáculas, incluido el español, italiano y alemán, *la langue bourguignonne* fue siempre su lengua materna. Cuando se retiró al monasterio de Yuste en Extremadura, un miembro de su séquito comentó que «Acá con Su Magestad no hablamos sino francés».[22]

Maximiliano tuvo más éxito a la hora de poner a su nieto en contacto con el Humanismo. Margarita ensalzó ante su padre «los grandes y excelentes servicios prestados diariamente» por Luis Cabeza de Vaca, que estuvo enseñando al príncipe durante ocho años, primero conjuntamente con sus hermanas y luego con sus pajes, afirmando que Cabeza de Vaca enseñaba a Carlos «cómo comportarse, de lo que (dada su edad) ha sacado gran provecho», y *«le instruyre en lettres»*, término que probablemente englobaba los fundamentos de una educación humanista, y no solo «leer y escribir», dado que Cabeza de Vaca fue un destacado humanista.[23] Otros dos miembros del séquito de Carlos intensificaron estos esfuerzos: Miguel de Pavía, el confesor de Carlos, había sido rector de la Universidad de París (donde enseñó a Erasmo, quien le llamaba «mi antiguo profesor»); y Adriano de Utrecht, de quien Carlos más adelante declararía que «había aprendido la poca educación y buenos modales que tenía».[24]

Adriano de Utrecht no era esencialmente un humanista (Erasmo escribiría más tarde que «Adriano nunca ha mostrado muy buena voluntad hacia las Humanidades»), sino un teólogo. Alcanzó por primera vez la fama en 1478, cuando, a la edad de diecinueve años, se convirtió en «mejor alumno del año» en la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Lovaina; y para 1491 había llamado la atención de Margarita, duquesa viuda de Borgoña, que pagó tres días de celebración cuando se licenció

como doctor en Teología. Para cuando Adriano se trasladó permanentemente a Malinas para ser el preceptor del archiduque (y predicador de corte) en 1509, era decano de la facultad universitaria y «el rey no coronado de los teólogos de Lovaina de su época», un prestigio que quedaba reflejado en su salario, ya que, mientras Cabeza de Vaca recibía 12 chelines diarios, Adriano recibía 24.[25]

Es indudable que Adriano impartía el enfoque de «solución de problemas» aplicado al conocimiento que se practicaba en Lovaina, donde daba clases de Filosofía y de Teología; y ciertamente se aseguró de que el deficiente latín de su alumno no le privara del todo de la cultura grecolatina, facilitándole traducciones al francés de las obras filosóficas de Aristóteles y Séneca, las historias de Livio y Tácito, y el compendio militar de Vegecio. También patrocinó (y presentó a su alumno) la obra de algunos pensadores afines, incluido Juan Luis Vives, de España (que tuvo su sede en los Países Bajos a partir de 1513), Desiderio Erasmo, de Holanda (que mantuvo una correspondencia bastante cordial con Carlos y algunos miembros de su séquito), y Tomás Moro, de Inglaterra (que escribió la primera parte de su *Utopía* en Amberes y publicó la primera edición con la Imprenta de la Universidad de Lovaina en 1516).[26]

Dado que no ha sobrevivido ninguno de los libros escolares de Carlos, la mejor evidencia del estilo pedagógico de Adriano reside en las cartas que este envió a su pupilo mientras fue regente de España entre 1520 y 1522. En ocasiones le escribía ese tipo de cartas irritantes estilo «te lo advertí» que los que han sido profesores parecen encontrar irresistibles. «Cuando estauamos en Santiago [en 1520] yo dixe a Vuestra Alteza que hauia perdido el amor de todos estos pueblos, y no lo creía; y ahora lo veo por experiencia», le reprendía en enero de 1521; y al año siguiente, se complacía: «Me alegro de que lo que

escuchaste y aprendiste de mí en la escuela no se haya borrado de tu memoria», añadiendo enfáticamente que «Si otros hubieran absorbido la verdad de esto con igual diligencia, creo que no nos habríamos visto en los problemas y peligros a los que nos enfrentamos hoy».[27] Otras cartas contenían reproches («sobreste artículo [Vuestra Majestad] sienpre me manda responder floxamente y con mucha tibieza»), y comparaciones poco halagadoras («Dizen que entre Vuestra Magestad y la reyna Nuestra Señora [Juana la Loca] hay esta diferencia: que Vuestra Alteza es menos prudente que ella y firma, y que Su Alteza es más sabia y que no quiere firmar»). En ocasiones hacía referencia a textos que él y Carlos habían estudiado juntos («la sentencia de Aristoteles, que dize en sus *Politicos* que no deuían admetir en Consejo de Guerra personas que tuuiessen tierras vezinas de enemigos con quienes se ha de pelear…»).[28] En otras, trataba al emperador como si este todavía estuviera en la escuela. «Por el honor y conciencia de Vuestra Magestad convendría guardar al reyno lo que les es prometido por Vuestra Alteza»; «Suplico a Vuestra Magestad que luego… mande por via ordinaria ministrar justicia… *que para esto es constituydo Rey Vuestra Alteza*». Carlos debía «cumplir con lo que deue a Dios para que no le desampare ni le falte en el tiempo malo y *no le deseche como sieruo inútil por no hauer dado a usura los bienes que del ha recibido Vuestra Alteza*»; y «dirían que Vuestra Alteza ningún cuidado tiene de los negocios destos reynos y que todos se despachan por mano de otros, como si Vuestra Alteza fuese ninyo y careciesse de razón, prudencia y solicitud. *Aduierta bien Vuestra Magestad a todo lo que tengo scrito*». «Créame Vuestra Magestad, a no empeçare con más diligencia por si mismo entender en los negocios, y no despecharlos so la mano de otros, que nunca Spaña la terna verdadero amor ni acatara su real

auctoridat y persona como se le deue». Este tipo de «amor con mano firme» continuó incluso cuando su antiguo pupilo era quien tenía la sartén por el mango:

> Suplico a Vuestra Magestad que con estas prosperidades no se eleve ni mueva a la soberbia, y que antes recorra al soberano Dios, de quien ha recibido tanto beneficio, y que humilmente conozca Vuestra Magestad la obligación que tiene de dar gracias por ello, y todo esto haga para escusar ingratitud, y para que Dios no le echase de sí como echó a Saúl, cuando dejo de obedescer sus sacros mandamientos.[29]

Aunque algunos han acusado a Adriano de consentir a su pupilo, estas severas reprimendas sugieren lo contrario.

Crear un universo alternativo

No obstante, la educación de Carlos adolecía de graves lagunas. Uno de los primeros historiadores de su reinado, Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, afirmó que Adriano hacía a su alumno «leer cada día, como un adolescente, sobre las batallas y las victorias de César, Augusto, Carlomagno, Jasón, Gedeón, sobre antiguos héroes, y sobre los duques Felipe y Carlos de Borgoña», pero Snouckaert exageraba. Para empezar, importantes miembros del círculo del príncipe opinaban que un excesivo aprendizaje libresco era contraproducente. Según el historiador protestante Gregorio Leti escribiría casi dos siglos más tarde, una vez que Adriano instó a su ilustre alumno a dedicar más tiempo a tratar de dominar el latín, el príncipe le replicó: «¿Crees que mi abuelo quiere que me convierta en maestro de escuela?». Aunque Leti (como siempre) no citaba la fuente, en *El rey blanco*, el narrador (el propio Maximiliano) recalcaba exactamente lo mismo, complaciéndose en que su propio preceptor «percibía que no sería bueno ni útil cargarle más con esta instrucción. Si uno quiere enseñar más de lo que es necesario —bramaba el emperador—, eso es un exceso y dificulta otras tareas».[30] Según el historiador Gonzalo Illescas escribió poco después de la muerte de Carlos: «Solía el emperador Maximiliano decir ordinariamente que al príncipe le

estaua muy mal no saber letras, pero que muy más fea cosa le era carecer de costumbres tales que con ellas supiesse tener sus reynos en paz, y gouernarlos con clemencia, sin soberuia y crueldad». De hecho, sugería Illescas, el emperador eligió a Adriano para ser preceptor de su nieto precisamente porque «no tuuiesse tanta cuenta con enseñarle las letras, como instruyle en sanctas y loables costumbres».[31]

Los libros que Carlos se llevó con él cuando abandonó por primera vez los Países Bajos en 1517, todos ellos sacados de la biblioteca de su palacio en Bruselas, reflejaban su baja opinión del aprendizaje libresco. Primero eligió solo diez obras, la mayoría manuscritos iluminados y libros de caballería creados para ser admirados más que leí dos, como «Las crónicas abreviadas de Jerusalén y los que conquistaron Tierra Santa con Godofredo de Bouillón», un relato maravillosamente ilustrado de las hazañas procedentes de los cruzados de los Países Bajos cuatro siglos antes, lo que sin duda le servía de recordatorio constante de que sus ancestros borgoñones habían comandado cruzadas.[32]

Se trataba de obras culturalmente fundamentales en el momento en que Carlos alcanzó la mayoría de edad. Su padre había adquirido algunos de estos manuscritos en sus viajes a España en 1501 y 1506; y mientras su tía Margarita fue propietaria de casi 400 libros, solo doce de ellos estaban impresos, el resto eran manuscritos, muchos de ellos profusamente iluminados. Sus colecciones literarias parecían «gabinetes de curiosidades» más que bibliotecas modernas.[33] Por otra parte, la mayoría de las «curiosidades» estaban relacionadas con un momento y un lugar específicos: la corte de Borgoña en el siglo xv, descrita por el eminente historiador holandés Johan Huizinga como un «mundo de sueños» dominado por «un deseo de volver a la perfección de un pasado imaginario», alcanzando

> a través de la conducta, costumbres, maneras, vestuario y actitud, la ilusión de seres heroicos, llenos de dignidad y honor, de sabiduría, y sobre todo de cortesía. La imitación de un ideal pasado hacía esto posible: el sueño de la pasada perfección ennoblecía la vida en todas sus formas… Las acciones de los príncipes, incluso las cotidianas y comunes, todas ellas asumían un sentido casi simbólico y tendían a ser elevadas al rango de misterios. Nacimientos, matrimonios, muertes, se envolvían en un caparazón de formalidades solemnes y sublimes. Las emociones que los acompañaban, se escenificaban y amplificaban.[34]

En palabras de Georges Chastellain, cronista del bisabuelo y tocayo de Carlos, Carlos el Temerario, «aparte de las hazañas y proezas de guerra que conducen a la victoria», la Casa de un príncipe «es lo primero que llama la atención: es por tanto vital instituirla y gestionarla bien»; y describía con todo lujo de detalles los complejos rituales que acompañaban cada ceremonia, en la que «como príncipe y gobernador de todos, [el duque Carlos] iba siempre más rica y magníficamente vestido que todos los demás». El sucesor de Chastellain, Olivier de la Marche, descendía a más detalles aún en su «Descripción de la Casa del Duque Carlos de Borgoña». Lo único que tenía que hacer Carlos era seguir su ejemplo.[35] La Marche, que fue preceptor del archiduque Felipe, también fomentaba estos valores en su obra más famosa, *El caballero determinado [Le chevalier déliberé]*, un largo poema épico narrado en primera persona por un caballero «en el otoño de su vida» mientras se preparaba para enfrentarse a su torneo final con la Muerte, una figura femenina que ya había matado al duque Felipe el Bueno de Borgoña, su hijo Carlos el Temerario y su nieta María. El caballero está decidido a vengar estas muertes, pero primero busca quien le pueda dar consejo, tanto espiritual (la necesidad de devoción y piedad antes del combate final) como práctico (no actuar nunca con ira; no olvidar nada).[36]

El caballero determinado impresionó profundamente al futuro Carlos V. Gran parte de los consejos procedentes de *El caballero* los reutilizó en las «Instrucciones» que redactó para su hijo y heredero Felipe en 1543; en 1550 él mismo comenzó a traducir

la obra entera del francés al español «con la debida consideración no solo al idioma sino también a la poesía y el significado exacto de las palabras»; y cuando finalmente se retiró a España, se llevó con él dos copias manuscritas (una en francés y otra de su traducción española, con 19 ilustraciones) *(véase lámina 6)*.[37] No es de extrañar, por tanto, que muchas de las acciones de Carlos —desde su deseo de resolver complejos conflictos políticos mediante un duelo hasta su decisión de pasar sus últimos días en un convento— reflejaran el mundo anacrónico de *El caballero determinado*. Como uno de sus consejeros españoles apuntó en 1516, «anle criado y le crian agora muy retraydo y enpachado». El veredicto de Andreas Walther en su clásico estudio, *Die Anfänge Karls V (Los primeros años de Carlos V)*, ha resistido el paso del tiempo: el joven príncipe había crecido siendo «un extraño en su propio Tiempo».[38]

Cazar, disparar y pescar

La limitada destreza académica de Carlos se debió en parte a que fue un caso de «abandono escolar temprano» —su educación formal terminó con la marcha de Adriano a España en 1515—, pero, bastante antes de eso, él ya prefería las actividades al aire libre. Muchos años más tarde, don Juan de Zúñiga, un veterano cortesano a quien Carlos confió la educación de su hijo, el futuro Felipe II, se quejaba de que su alumno, entonces de ocho años de edad, «Aprende muy bien *después* que está en la escuela», añadiendo maliciosamente, y «¡cuando va a ella parece un poco a su padre quando era de su hedad!». Un cronista alemán, al observar que Carlos siempre había «amado las armas más que los libros», ofreció a modo de ejemplo un intercambio de pareceres con el célebre artista Lucas Cranach en 1547.

«Hay un retrato en Malinas que usted pintó de mí cuando era joven —dijo el emperador—, y me gustaría que me dijera mi edad en ese momento». El anciano Cranach contestó «tenías ocho años» y luego añadió […] «Cuando comencé mi retrato, Su Majestad no dejaba de mirar a un lado y a otro, como haría cualquier muchacho. Su tutor, que conocía Su naturaleza, dijo que le encantaba ver flechas y apoyó una especialmente fina contra la pared. Después, ya nunca más apartó Su Majestad la vista de allí y así terminé mi cuadro».[39]

Según otros cronistas, el barón de Chièvres había fomentado la aversión de Carlos por la escuela. Según Gonzalo de Illescas:

Aprendió con todo esto don Carlos de su sancto maestro [Adriano] más virtudes que no letras, porque de suyo era más inclinado a los exercicios de las armas y también porque Monsieur de Geuvres [Chièvres] su ayo (por quitar al Maestro Hadriano la privança) procuró sacársele antes de tiempo de entre las manos. Ansi dexo el estudio don Carlos mucho antes de lo que deuiera dexarle.

Pasada una generación, el biógrafo oficial del emperador, fray Prudencio de Sandoval, coincidía diciendo:

Quisiera Adriano que el duque [Carlos] se aficionase a las letras, y por lo menos que supiera la lengua Latina; pero el duque se inclinaba a las armas, caballos y cosas de guerra… Culpan en esto a Guillermo de Croÿ, señor de Xevres [Chièvres], su ayo, que por hacerse muy dueño del niño y ganarlo para sí solo, le quitaba los libros y ocupaba en armas y caballos, que sería bien fácil por ser más inclinada aquella edad a esos ejercicios que a las letras… Los ejercicios de su juventud, demás de las armas, eran luchas, pruebas de fuerzas, juegos de pelota y la caza, y todo lo que hace ágil y habilita un cuerpo para el uso de las armas y guerra.[40]

Estas acusaciones pasaban por alto el hecho de que otras dos figuras, aparte de Chièvres, consentían las preferencias de Carlos. En *Theuerdank* y *El rey blanco*, así como en su correspondencia, Maximiliano hacía hincapié en que su nieto debía perfeccionar su habilidad con el arco, la ballesta, la lanza, la espada y las armas de fuego, y sobre todo, con la caza. En 1510, en una de sus frases característicamente fanfarronas, alardeaba ante Margarita de que «estamos encantados con lo que a nuestro nieto Carlos le apasiona la caza, ya que *de otro modo podría pensarse que es bastardo*»; y sugería que «después de Pascua, cuando haga buen tiempo», Margarita debía llevarle a los parques reales y «hacerle cabalgar, por el bien de su salud y

fortaleza». Insistía en este mensaje cada vez que iba a ver a su nieto, al que enseñó a cazar con ballesta y poner trampas con redes.[41]

Carlos de la Poupée, señor de La Chaux, otro apasionado defensor de las ideas caballerescas de la corte borgoñona, llenaba gran parte del tiempo de Carlos enseñándole a destacar tanto en equitación como en puntería. El éxito de las clases de La Chaux quedó ya de manifiesto cuando Carlos fue a España y «admirable era su destreza en las armas, maravillosa su elegancia». Asimismo, cuando Carlos lideró un equipo de cortesanos en el «juego de cañas» (uno de los deportes autóctonos de España), el embajador inglés comentó que «lanzan cañas, a la manera morisca, en lo que el rey se mostró muy hábil».[42] Carlos también sobresalía en puntería. Fue proclamado «rey de los mosqueteros» en Malinas al acertar en el blanco más que ningún otro, y «rey de ballesteros» en Bruselas. En 1512, Margarita convocó a los embajadores ingleses a su corte para «ver al príncipe tirar al blanco» con el arco largo, el arma nacional de Inglaterra, y estos consideraron que «manejaba el arco muy bien». Desgraciadamente, al año siguiente Carlos mató a un hombre por primera vez: cuando «iba de camino al castillo de Tervuren a practicar con su ballesta, un lunes de Pentecostés, lanzó una flecha que hirió de muerte a un artesano local». Margarita alegó en defensa de su sobrino que la víctima estaba «ebria y en mala condición física», y reflejó que «no hay manera de evitar estas desgracias»; pero el homicidio claramente escondía algo más, porque le contó a su padre que «dado que mucha gente quizá te cuente cosas que no son ciertas», había enviado a Chièvres, «que se encontraba presente, para que te lo explique con detalle, a fin de que sepas la verdad».[43]

Mientras permaneció en los Países Bajos, Carlos también desempeñó un papel importante en el ciclo anual de ceremonias de la corte. Cada día de Año Nuevo, sacaba 100 libras de su

erario «para distribuirlas y donarlas a su real antojo»; presidía todas las celebraciones del Martes de Carnaval y de la Semana Santa; encendía una enorme hoguera después del atardecer el Día de San Juan; asistía a las justas del Día de Difuntos; y cenaba con los caballeros del Toisón de Oro el día de San Andrés.[44] Los apuntes de las cuentas de su casa en 1512 indican otras actividades y su coste correspondiente. Una compañía de «actores de Béthune que el Miércoles de Ceniza representaron varias obras [*jeux de farches*] ante mi señor» recibieron 13 libras; «algunos cazadores y otros que en varias ocasiones montaron y desmontaron escondites hechos con telas cuando mi señor fue de caza cerca de Bruselas» cobraron 18 libras para gastarlas en vino mientras trabajaban; y «un fraile dominico de Valenciennes que predicó el Miércoles de Ceniza ante mi señor y sus hermanas en Malinas» recibió 28 libras «en limosnas y donativos».[45] Carlos y sus hermanas también jugaban a las cartas con dinero (especialmente cuando Maximiliano estaba presente para aumentar la apuesta) y disfrutaban con la compañía de bufones y «locos». Aunque Carlos más adelante regañaría a su hijo, «no hareys tanto caso de locos», en 1509 su tesorero compró «tela amarilla, roja y blanca para hacerle un bonito traje al pequeño bufón, a fin de que tuviera un aspecto más respetable cuando estaba en compañía de mi señor»; mientras que su tío Enrique VIII creía que merecía la pena pagar generosamente al «Maestro Juan, el bufón del príncipe de Castilla».[46]

Pese a su falta de entusiasmo por leer y escribir, el joven Carlos disfrutaba con algunas otras actividades sedentarias. En 1515 «Jehannin el pintor» recibió 100 libras «por enseñar a mi señor el archiduque a pintar», mientras que Henry Bredeniers, «organista de la capilla del archiduque», recibía 200 libras al año a cambio de «tocar la flauta, el laúd, el clavicordio, el órgano y otros instrumentos» ante el príncipe y sus hermanas «para su

ocio y esparcimiento cada vez que lo deseaban», así como (añadía Bredeniers irrespetuosamente) enseñarles «*con gran dificultad y esfuerzo* los principios de la música y cómo tocar diferentes instrumentos melódicos».[47]

A Carlos también le encantaba bailar. En 1512, él, «sus hermanas y los jóvenes» de su corte bailaron durante varias horas durante la celebración del Día de San Juan; y cuando su hermana Isabel se casó dos años después, Margarita comentó que una vez más Carlos «participó en todos los bailes con gran perfección, y tal vez un poco más de lo que su constitución podía aguantar, porque al día siguiente tuvo fiebre». A los cuatro días, Margarita informaba alarmada de que «todavía no se le ha quitado la fiebre»; y hasta una semana más tarde no «quedó libre de su fiebre y se encontró bien, hasta el punto que su única preocupación ahora es divertirse».[48]

Cada vez con más frecuencia el príncipe «se divertía» fuera de Malinas. Puede que el origen de este cambio estuviera en una extraña protesta llevada a cabo en Bruselas a principios de 1511, cuando una excepcional nevada y una prolongada helada dieron lugar a la construcción de numerosas esculturas de hielo por toda la ciudad. Una de ellas, justo a las puertas del deshabitado palacio ducal, representaba a la Virgen María con un unicornio en su regazo, lo que todo el mundo interpretó como una petición de que fuera Bruselas, y no Malinas, la que a partir de entonces protegiera a Carlos. Cualquiera que fuera la razón, en adelante Carlos empezó a pasar cada vez más tiempo en el palacio de Coudenberg, cuyas espaciosas habitaciones, «fuentes, laberintos y jardín de fieras», dejó al artista alemán Alberto Durero sin habla: «En mi vida he visto nada más precioso y agradable, para mí es como un paraíso».[49]

El umbral del poder

Carlos también salía a cazar por dos parques cercanos a su nueva capital: Tervuren y Heverlee. Ambos lugares representaban parte de dos hojas de ruta que competían entre sí, dado que Margarita de Austria proporcionaba el acceso al primero, un parque real (tanto entonces como en la actualidad), en tanto que Chièvres era el propietario del segundo. La diferencia más notable entre las dos hojas de ruta tenía que ver con la política exterior. Margarita era partidaria de una alianza con Inglaterra, el socio comercial más importante de los Países Bajos, y la guerra contra Güeldres, cuyo duque desafiaba constantemente al poder borgoñón. Durante la mayor parte de la minoría de edad de Carlos, Margarita fue la que salió ganando. Enrique VIII, tío de Carlos en virtud de su matrimonio con la hermana de Juana, Catalina de Aragón, envió tropas para ayudar a Margarita contra Güeldres en 1511, y al año siguiente mandó un contingente más numeroso aún a España en auxilio de su suegro, Fernando de Aragón, en su lucha contra los franceses. Por último, en 1513 Enrique cruzó el Canal en persona a la cabeza un poderoso ejército para unir sus fuerzas a las de Maximiliano y derrotar al francés en Guinegate. Los vencidos perdieron tantos caballeros que el enfrentamiento dio en llamarse (al menos entre los ingleses) «la batalla de las espuelas», y las ciudades francesas de Thérouanne y Tournai se rindieron a Enrique. Poco después, Margarita llevó a Carlos a felicitar a los vencedores. Tras asistir juntos a misa, Enrique condujo a su sobrino a Tournai, su nueva conquista, «con gran pompa» y, entonces, junto con Maximiliano, presenció las «justas reales» que los ingleses organizaron para celebrar la victoria. Cuando Carlos escribió sus *Memorias* cuatro décadas más tarde, esta su primera «visita de Estado» fue el primer evento que describió.[50]

Enrique manifestaba estar «sumamente encantado con la conversación» de su sobrino, y persuadió a Margarita y Maximiliano de que el matrimonio de «la princesa de Castilla» (como María Tudor se autodenominó desde el intercambio de votos celebrado cinco años antes) debería tener lugar en un plazo máximo de seis meses. El trío también se mostraba de acuerdo en un nuevo régimen para la Casa de Carlos que despojara a Chièvres de su puesto de «gran chambelán»: en el futuro, el puesto rotaría entre varios nobles propuestos por Maximiliano, por Enrique y por Fernando de Aragón. El candidato del emperador, el conde palatino Federico de Baviera, tendría prioridad en virtud de su «consanguinidad» y sus servicios al rey Felipe (a quien había acompañado a España): este pasó entonces a ser «principal consejero en todos los Consejos después de Madame de Saboya [Margarita], y en su ausencia ocuparía su lugar en dichos Consejos, tanto financieros como de cualquier otra materia».[51]

Estos cambios parecieron marcar el triunfo de la hoja de ruta que Margarita tenía planeada para Carlos, pero Thomas Spinelly, el astuto embajador de Enrique ante su corte, seguía sin estar convencido. La archiduquesa, señalaba, solo se había salido con la suya «debido a la minoría de edad de mi señor el príncipe», y predecía que tan pronto esta terminara (en su quince cumpleaños, el 24 de febrero de 1515) Chièvres y sus francófilos aliados «obligarían» al príncipe a abandonar tanto la alianza inglesa como su matrimonio con María Tudor. Su profecía se cumpliría antes incluso, gracias a una sucesión de hechos completamente inesperados (y sin relación entre sí).[52]

En enero de 1514, la esposa de Luis XII, la duquesa Ana de Bretaña, murió, dejándole viudo en su cincuenta cumpleaños y con solo dos hijas, ninguna de las cuales podía sucederle en el trono (la ley sálica de Francia permitía solo la sucesión a los varones). Los parientes de Carlos reaccionaron a este hecho de

formas total —y fatídicamente— diferentes. Fernando propuso que Luis debía casarse con la hermana de Carlos, Leonor, entonces de dieciséis años de edad y capaz por tanto de darle un hijo que se convertiría en el rey de Francia; la propia Margarita se declaró dispuesta a casarse con el rey francés; en tanto que Maximiliano insistía en que Carlos debía aplazar su matrimonio con María Tudor dado que (según el embajador inglés en los Países Bajos) «los médicos le habían aconsejado que en el caso de que procedieran *cum copula*, lo más probable sería la destrucción del príncipe, o [en todo caso] perdería *spem proles* [la capacidad de engendrar hijos]».[53]

Margarita advirtió a su padre en varias ocasiones que este aplazamiento le enemistaría con Enrique VIII, dado que este se había implicado personalmente en los preparativos para la boda (decidiendo cómo iría vestida la novia, quién la acompañaría y dónde se alojarían), aparte de haber gastado mucho dinero en las celebraciones posteriores (incluidas las «tiendas, casas y pabellones» desde donde la comitiva real admiraría las «justas reales que tendrían lugar» después de la boda). El 6 de julio de 1514, Margarita nerviosa —y clarividentemente— le dijo a su padre que, a menos que informara de inmediato a Enrique de que aprobaba el matrimonio inglés, «temo que te abandonará a ti y a tu dinastía y pactará con los franceses».[54] Era demasiado tarde: Luis ya se había aprovechado de la desorganización de los Habsburgo y había propuesto a Enrique un tratado de defensa mutua que quedaría sellado con su propio casamiento inmediato con María Tudor. El 30 de julio, la «princesa de Castilla», entonces de dieciocho años de edad, repudió solemnemente a Carlos; una semana después, Luis firmó una promesa de pagar a Enrique un millón de coronas a cambio de la mano de su hermana; y, el 13 de agosto, mientras María yacía

desnuda en la cama, el apoderado de Luis puso una pierna «desnuda de la mitad del muslo hacia abajo» junto a la de ella, de esta forma consumando oficialmente el matrimonio.[55]

¿Cómo reaccionó Carlos a estos dramáticos acontecimientos? Todavía el 20 de mayo de 1514 (apenas dos meses antes de que «la princesa de Castilla» le repudiara), cuando un cortesano afirmó que Carlos estaba «enamorado de una dama de la corte», el archiduque «contestó dando su palabra de que no era cierto, ni que nunca lo estaría ni de ella ni de ninguna otra, sino que me reservo solo para mi señora María [Tudor]».[56] Tal vez el tortuoso camino de sus hermanas pequeñas hasta el matrimonio contribuía a esta inacción. Maximiliano había organizado primero una boda para Isabel en 1510 cuando esta apenas tenía nueve años, pero estipuló que solo podría unirse a su futuro marido, el duque de Güeldres, cuando «alcanzara la edad de dieciséis años, cuando ella podrá ya consumar el matrimonio». Tras el fracaso de estas negociaciones, en abril de 1514, el emperador firmó un contrato prometiendo a Isabel, que ya tenía casi trece años, para casarse con el rey de Dinamarca, pero se negó a permitir que se uniera a él hasta que tuviera un año más.[57] Aquel mismo mes, la hermana de Carlos, María, de diez años, partió de los Países Bajos hacia la corte de Maximiliano para permanecer allí hasta que este decidiera que era físicamente capaz de yacer con su prometido, Luis de Hungría. Maximiliano no era el único en pensar que el sexo podía matar a sus nietos, o al menos dañar su salud: muchos de sus contemporáneos creían que la excesiva actividad sexual había acabado con la vida del heredero de los Reyes Católicos, el príncipe Juan, poco después de su matrimonio con Margarita de Austria; una falacia que el propio Carlos utilizaría más adelante para regular la vida sexual de su propio hijo adolescente incluso después de que este estuviera ya casado. Del mismo modo, al enterarse de que Luis XII se había casado con María Tudor, de dieciocho años, y que

en sus desesperados esfuerzos por dejar embarazada a su mujer «se jactaba de haber roto en su primer encuentro cinco lanzas», otro contemporáneo predijo que «hay que suponer que a golpes de azadón se abrió cinco sepulturas. Si él llega a oler las flores primaverales del año que viene, tú puedes prometerte todavía alcanzar cincuenta otoños» (y de hecho, tres meses después de su matrimonio, María Tudor quedó viuda).[58]

Parece que Carlos se tomó con filosofía el fracaso del matrimonio inglés. Unos cuantos meses más tarde declaraba públicamente que su nueva esposa sería la hija de Luis XII, Renée, que aunque solo contaba cuatro años de edad, era heredera del ducado de Bretaña. Según un cortesano:

> Un día, sus amigos íntimos [*mignons*] estaban bromeando con él y le dijeron que era un cuco [*coqu*] porque había perdido a su mujer y ahora necesitaba una nueva. Le sugirieron que podía ser Madame Renée o la hija del rey de Portugal o la del rey de Hungría. Yo les dije a estos jóvenes caballeros que de las tres él preferiría a Madame Renée, y [Carlos] añadió enseguida: «Tiene razón, porque la hija del rey de Francia es el mejor premio y si ella muriera primero, yo sería duque de Bretaña».

El 19 de enero de 1515, Carlos firmó unas instrucciones en las que autorizaba una embajada especial para negociar las condiciones del enlace con la hija del rey francés.[59]

Estos documentos revelan dos cosas: que Carlos ya había aprendido a subordinar sus deseos personales a la conveniencia política, considerando a su futura esposa —la hija del hombre que acababa de «robarle» a su prometida— principalmente como un «premio»; y que su minoría de edad había terminado. En efecto, la firma de estas Instrucciones fue prácticamente su primer acto oficial tras su «emancipación».

Aunque la minoría de edad del archiduque Felipe había terminado al cumplir los quince años, Margarita había temido durante algún tiempo que la de Carlos terminara antes aún. En noviembre de 1512, suplicó a su padre que volviera a los Países Bajos y le ayudara a enfrentarse a «los extremos peligros» que

percibía a su alrededor «porque ya no sé cómo luchar contra ellos. Los Estados se muestran tan hostiles, y la gente común dice cosas tan maliciosas, que temo mucho que algo malo ocurrirá si no encontramos remedio». Suplicaba a Maximiliano que «se apiadara de ella, porque ya no sé qué hacer». Mucha gente, continuaba, «dice que estoy echando todo por la borda solo para darte gusto», y añadía la expresiva metáfora de que se sentía «tan apesadumbrada por la situación» que «a menudo me gustaría poder encontrarme de nuevo en el vientre de mi madre». Seis meses después repitió su llamamiento, informando a Maximiliano de que habían aparecido algunos «carteles» en las puertas de las iglesias «ridiculizándome y condenándome», en tanto que algunos «espíritus malvados» afirmaban que «lo único que quiero es participar en guerras y arruinarles», aparte de «otras cosas malvadas que podrían sembrar cizaña entre la gente».[60]

También encontró a su sobrino menos maleable. En 1512 la corte de Carlos sumaba más de 330 personas: 80 guardias, 75 nobles y caballeros, 32 miembros de su capilla, 25 «ayudas de cámara, pajes y gentilhombres», etcétera; y entre todos ellos sumaban un salario total de 180 libras al día (comparado con solo 37 libras al día una década antes). En septiembre de 1513 empezó a extenderse el rumor de que Carlos «era tan autoritario y obstinado que no se le podía controlar ni orientar», lo que provocó una furiosa negativa de su chambelán, el señor de Beersel. En una carta a Margarita, comenzaba diciendo, con bastante razón: «Creo que puedo atreverme a decir que si mi señor, su sobrino, tuviera ese carácter, yo lo sabría». Y a continuación contraatacaba:

> Por el contrario, en todo momento y circunstancia, su señoría se muestra absolutamente dispuesto, listo y preparado para cumplir y llevar a cabo cualquier cosa que él entiende que el emperador y usted, señora, podrían querer o desear. En cuanto a otros aspectos de su actuación, hasta el momento no pienso que se le

> haya visto ni oído hacer nada que no sea cumplir y acceder con el mejor talante a todas las bien fundadas propuestas y peticiones que se le hacen. De hecho, señora, bien mirado, no creo que se le pueda pedir más.[61]

Es posible que la protesta de Beersel fuera excesivamente vehemente, porque pocos meses antes Margarita y su sobrino habían protagonizado una indecorosa discusión a gritos en público. En enero de 1514, por órdenes expresas de Maximiliano, la regente arrestó y encarceló a don Juan Manuel, uno de los partidarios del rey Felipe que había ido a servir a Carlos a los Países Bajos; pero don Juan era caballero de la Orden del Toisón de Oro, y según los estatutos de la orden un caballero solo podía ser juzgado por sus iguales. Los parientes de don Juan presentaron formalmente una demanda legal ante Carlos, como «soberano» de la orden, a consecuencia de la cual este se presentó ante Margarita, encabezando una delegación de siete caballeros, para exigirle que liberara al prisionero. Margarita replicó indignada que dado que Maximiliano (que sí era caballero de la orden) había ordenado el arresto, ella no podía liberar a don Juan sin su permiso. Luego, «tras expresar su malestar por el hecho de que esta asamblea [de caballeros] hubiera sido convocada sin su permiso», se acercó a Carlos y «le dijo que no debía mostrarse tan dispuesto a aceptar puntos de vista contrarios a las órdenes del emperador y a los que actuaban en nombre de este» (en referencia a ella misma). Esta desdeñosa respuesta puso fin a la reunión, pero, cuatro días más tarde, su sobrino volvió «encabezando el grupo de caballeros» y manifestó de nuevo que, según sus estatutos, los caballeros solo podían ser juzgados por sus iguales. Esto provocó otra virulenta diatriba. Margarita le recordó a Carlos que él era demasiado joven para ser soberano de la orden, y luego les dijo a los caballeros que «si ella fuera un hombre en lugar de una mujer, los estatutos les habrían salido caros». Maximiliano finalmente apaciguó los

ánimos trasladando a don Juan Manuel a su corte bajo custodia, pero la autoridad de Margarita había quedado gravemente comprometida.[62]

Carlos no mencionó nada de esto en las *Memorias* que escribió muchos años después, pero sí afirmó que durante el tiempo que pasó con Maximiliano y Enrique en Tournai en octubre de 1513 «se trató y concluyó la emancipación del dicho archiduque». De este acuerdo no se ha encontrado ningún rastro escrito, pero, dado que los tres personajes mencionados pasaron casi una semana juntos, cabe pensar que lo más seguro es que esta delicada decisión fuera tomada verbalmente. Lo que quiera que fuera que el trío «concluyó», seis meses más tarde Margarita informó a su padre de que los Estados Generales habían rechazado votar los impuestos que ella había solicitado, «basándose en que pronto iba a terminar la minoría de edad de mi señor [Carlos]». Al mes siguiente, Margarita añadía que «algunos dicen que la minoría de edad de mi señor terminará cuando se case. En tal caso, deberíais avisarme para prepararlo todo, no vaya a encontrarse luego con que por este motivo las cosas salen distintamente a lo que esperáis»; y mandó a un enviado especial a advertir a su padre de que muchos miembros de la élite de los Países Bajos «se están quejando de nosotros y metiendo ideas en la cabeza de mi señor [Carlos] que no son buenas ni para vos ni para mí». Lo que es peor, estaban usando las «quejas y argumentos» como una pantalla de humo «para poner fin a la minoría de edad de mi señor antes de que vos lo sepa, y por tanto me parece a mí que su majestad debería resolver esto, y rápidamente, si quiere evitarlo». A continuación le instaba a planear inmediatamente su vuelta a los Países Bajos, ya que «de otro modo nunca llegará a tiempo aquí».[63]

Al final, fue el propio Maximiliano el que desencadenó la emancipación exigiendo que su nieto «abandonara los Países Bajos para reunirse con nosotros» en Innsbruck, «a fin de que

podamos prepararle para recibir el juramento de lealtad en todos los dominios de nuestra Casa de Austria, para mejor garantizar su sucesión, y la de su hermano, después de mi muerte» (prueba de que todavía soñaba con crear una «Austrasia» unificada). Así pues, mandaba a su hija convocar los Estados Generales en diciembre de 1514 y pedirles la financiación necesaria para el viaje de Carlos.[64] A su vez, los Estados de Brabante exigieron como condición previa a cualquier otra concesión que Maximiliano «emancipara» a su nieto «y pusiera fin a su minoría de edad, para que el gobierno de todas las tierras y dominios de la Casa de Borgoña fueran puestos en sus manos», a lo que Carlos (que estaba presente) respondió con gentileza: «Caballeros, les agradezco el honor y el gran afecto que muestran hacia mí. Sean súbditos buenos y leales, y yo seré un buen soberano». Por su parte, Chièvres y sus aliados prometieron pagar a Maximiliano 100.000 florines de oro «para disponer la tutela del príncipe». El emperador, siempre corto de dinero, firmó una patente real por la que ordenaba la convocatoria en sesión especial de los Estados Generales para autorizar la «emancipación» de su nieto.[65]

En el Gran Salón del palacio ducal de Bruselas, el 5 de enero de 1515, en presencia de la élite de los Países Bajos borgoñones, el conde palatino Federico de Baviera leyó en nombre de Maximiliano una declaración formal de que Carlos ya era mayor de edad. «En testimonio de aquello sacaron los privillejos que tenían de la governación, e en presencia de todos los ronpieron, e asimismo los sellos con unos martillos agudos los fizieron pedaços», una manera particularmente violenta de poner fin al régimen de Margarita y su padre. A continuación, todos «alçaron las manos al modo de aquella tierra y le fizieron la solepnidad devida e le reçibieron [Carlos] por señor».[66]

3. La complicada herencia, 1515-1517

Emancipación

El 8 de enero de 1515, tres días después de que «le placiera al emperador, mi señor y abuelo, emanciparme y liberarme de su custodia y tutela, poniendo en nuestras manos el gobierno de nuestras tierras y señoríos en los Países Bajos», Carlos informó a todos sus funcionarios de que «nuestros asuntos serán en el futuro gestionados en nuestro nombre», y añadió amablemente una lista de «los títulos que es nuestra intención utilizar a partir de ahora»:

> Por la gracia de Dios príncipe de España, de Sicilia y Nápoles, de Jerusalén etcétera, archiduque de Austria, duque de Borgoña, Lorena, Brabante, Estiria, Carintia, Carniola, Limburgo, Luxemburgo y Güeldres, conde de Flandes, Habsburgo, Tirol, Artesia, Borgoña, el Palatinado y Henao, landgrave de Alsacia, príncipe de Suabia, marqués de Burgau, Holanda, Zelanda, Ferrette, Kyburgo, Namur y Zutphen, señor de Frisia, Sclavonia, Pordenone, Salins y Malinas.[1]

Algunos de estos títulos eran prematuros —especialmente el de Alsacia y las tierras austriacas, todavía gobernadas por el emperador Maximiliano; el Franco Condado, feudo personal de su tía Margarita; y Frisia, gobernada por el duque Jorge de Sajonia—, pero en mayo de 1515 Jorge vendió Frisia a Carlos, que de esta forma daba su primer paso hacia la expansión de su extensa herencia.

Según un cronista, tras su emancipación, «mi señor partió a tomar posesión de sus dominios, viajando de una ciudad a otra», y el mapa 1 de la página 29 muestra cómo Carlos pasó la primavera y el otoño de 1515 en los Países Bajos jurando respetar los privilegios locales y recibiendo juramentos de lealtad. Sus nuevos súbditos hicieron todo lo que pudieron para que se sintiera bienvenido. Cuando Carlos hizo su entrada ceremonial en Brujas como conde de Flandes, la primera representación con la que se encontró fue la de tres ángeles que hacían entrega a su nuevo príncipe de tres regalos, una corona,

un escudo de armas y las llaves de la ciudad, al igual que los tres Reyes Magos habían llevado sus regalos al Niño Jesús. Las siguientes escenas equiparaban a Brujas con Jerusalén, mostraban al príncipe como descendiente del rey David y aludían a las diversas tierras de España, Italia y Alemania que pronto iba a heredar. Todo aquello no podía por menos que impactar a un joven de apenas quince años, por lo que Carlos pidió volver a ver el espectáculo entero al día siguiente. También encargó hacer un espléndido relato manus crito con 32 ilustraciones en color a toda página *(véase lámina 7)*, en tanto que los magistrados de Brujas elaboraron para su publicación una versión abreviada, también ilustrada con grabados sobre madera, impresa en París, y un texto en verso en flamenco. Esto constituye el primer uso sistemático de los medios de comunicación para glorificar a Carlos.[2]

Entre unos viajes y otros, el nuevo soberano y sus principales consejeros tomaron importantes decisiones. En enero de 1515, «dado que por nosotros mismos no podemos dar suficientes gracias a Dios, nuestro creador, por la gracia, el honor, la salud y el éxito que nos ha concedido hasta ahora, ni acumular mérito suficiente para garantizar la continuación de su gracia en el futuro», Carlos ordenó procesiones y rezos públicos por todos los Países Bajos para rogar a Dios para que continuara «haciéndonos crecer en virtud y buenos hábitos, gobernar sobre nuestros dominios y súbditos en paz, unión y concordia, y manejar nuestros asuntos en aras de su honor, nuestro bienestar y la prosperidad, utilidad y tranquilidad de nuestros susodichos dominios y súbditos». También empezó entonces a emitir ordenanzas tanto en francés como en flamenco que comenzaban con «Por orden del príncipe» y terminaban con «porque así nos place». Una de ellas designaba a Jean Le Sauvage, un destacado abogado y ministro, como «nuestro *Gran Canciller*», un puesto nuevo, y le encargaba «administrar justicia sobre todos», y

«guardar nuestros sellos y utilizarlos para sellar y enviar todo tipo de cartas y provisiones, ya vayan referidas a nosotros o a nuestro consejo».[3] Dado que el documento no limitaba la jurisdicción de Le Sauvage, esto implicaba que su autoridad se extendería a todos los dominios de Carlos, que es exactamente lo que ocurrió: el Gran Canciller acompañaba a Carlos a todas partes e intervenía en los asuntos de todos los nuevos territorios inmediatamente después de su adquisición.

En marzo de 1515, Carlos firmó una orden revocando todas las pensiones concedidas con anterioridad a su emancipación, «a la vista de los importantes y graves asuntos que tiene que tratar, cuyo número va aumentando cada día y surgen por doquier, y en vista también de las onerosas y excesivas deudas con las que se encuentra». Siete meses más tarde publicó un nuevo régimen para su casa, basado en el documento utilizado por su padre en similares circunstancias veinte años atrás:

> Desde nuestra Emancipación y entrada en el señorío y gobierno de nuestras provincias en los Países Bajos, siempre hemos tratado constantemente y deseado y querido con fervor crear un orden correcto y unas políticas sólidas en todos nuestros asuntos, así como terminar con el desorden existente en el pasado tanto debido a las guerras y divisiones, como a otras razones, e incluso en la organización de nuestra propia Casa, de lo que en gran medida depende el bienestar, el honor y la tranquilidad de nosotros y nuestros ministros, dominios y súbditos.

El documento detallaba los deberes de casi 700 funcionarios y guardias. El príncipe también empezó a asistir a las reuniones del Consejo Privado en las que (como Margarita señaló con desaprobación) hacía a cada ministro dar su opinión «e incluso les instaba a presentarla por escrito, firmada»; un antecedente de las «consultas» que más adelante serían un elemento clave en su proceso de toma de decisiones.[4]

¿Quién determinaba estas iniciativas políticas? Desde luego, no era Margarita. Apenas tres semanas después de la emancipación de su sobrino, esta informó a Maximiliano de que

ya no daría más órdenes, sino que se limitaría a obedecer las que diera «mi señor y su consejo»; de modo que, si el emperador quería algo, «será necesario que le escriba al señor de Chièvres y el canciller». Margarita se sentía especialmente resentida por el secretismo que había precedido a su destitución. A un enviado inglés le contó «casi llorando» cómo «el emperador, sin su conocimiento, en colaboración con el señor Chevers [Chièvres], se las habían arreglado para retirarle la tutela del príncipe, para gran perjuicio de su honor y reputación».[5] Pero lo peor llegaría poco después. En marzo de 1515, Margarita informó a Maximiliano de que «esta mañana mi sobrino me ha dicho haber oído que Louis Maroton [el enviado especial de Margarita] se ha visto implicado en vuestra corte en todo tipo de conspiraciones y negocios que le causan daño, pesar y desagrado, y por tanto me pide que le traiga de vuelta». Por último, en agosto, se enfrentó a Carlos en persona porque, «tras haber aguantado pacientemente y por tanto tiempo la situación, soy plenamente consciente de que algunas personas han tratado por diversos medios y maneras de hacer que desconfiéis de mí». Solicitaba que las críticas a ella «se expresaran en vuestra presencia, para yo poder responder a ellas, que prefiero que la gente me diga las cosas a la cara y no a mis espaldas». Luego, tras ofrecer una justificación detallada de su política exterior e interior, y apuntar que ella a menudo había utilizado sus propios recursos para financiarlas, concluía desafiante:

> Puede descansar tranquilo, mi señor, que cada vez que le plazca hacer uso de mí y tratarme y respetarme como manda la razón, yo le serviré bien y lealmente, y arriesgaré mi vida y mis bienes (como he hecho hasta ahora); pero si prefiere creer, sin verificarlo, lo que la gente le cuenta de mí, y permitir que se me trate como yo noto que se me trata ahora, preferiría ocuparme de mis humildes asuntos y marcharme, algo para lo que ya he solicitado la aprobación del emperador… Así pues, mi señor, le pido que declare sus intenciones respecto a todo esto.

Según una nota al dorso del documento, Carlos y su Consejo respondieron sin mucha convicción que «Madame ha cumplido bien su deber, con otras justas palabras y promesas», a raíz de lo cual Margarita mandó hacer un inventario de todas sus posesiones, aparentemente como paso previo a abandonar los Países Bajos.[6]

La emancipación de Carlos también afectó negativamente a Maximiliano. El emperador seguía esperando que su nieto se uniera a él para recorrer sus tierras austriacas, donde tomaría juramento como su heredero natural. Entonces, le confió a Margarita, «cuando le tenga en mis manos, será fácil hacer las cosas bien»; específicamente «una vez haya partido de los Países Bajos, vos los gobernaréis como solíais». Ante las largas de Carlos, el emperador anunció que «pronto viajaría a Worms y haría que el príncipe se reuniera con él allí… y caso de que el príncipe no desee venir», él iría a «los Países Bajos y habría problemas».[7] Como siempre, otras iniciativas políticas de Maximiliano, junto con su eterna falta de dinero, frustraron estos planes. Aunque él esperanzadamente facultó a sus banqueros personales para recibir el dinero prometido por dar su consentimiento a la emancipación, Carlos no firmó la orden que autorizaba dicho pago hasta mayo de 1515 y no empezó a pagar la pensión de su abuelo hasta pasados dieciocho meses.[8] En lugar de viajar hacia el oeste, el emperador permaneció pues en Viena, donde convocó una «cumbre» con sus gobernantes vecinos en la que acordó el doble enlace de sus nietos Fernando y María con los hijos del rey de Hungría y Bohemia, dejando de esta forma sentadas las bases de un nuevo superestado en mitad del Danubio, que duraría cuatro siglos.

Lo siguiente que hizo Maximiliano fue tratar de recuperar su autoridad en los Países Bajos restaurando la influencia de Margarita sobre su nieto, informándola en este sentido de que había escrito a Carlos «manifestando su deseo de que os

mantengáis cerca de él y él os trate como un buen sobrino está obligado a tratar a una tía tan buena y tan virtuosa». Le ordenaba «quedarse con nuestro susodicho nieto, y no abandonar los Países Bajos, porque vuestra presencia allí es esencial *y me será de gran beneficio*». También escribió a Carlos diciéndole que «no tenemos ninguna duda» de que él consultaría a Margarita «para todos vuestros asuntos importantes y más dificultosos, y seguiréis su consejo», porque siempre será mejor «que el de ningún otro». Y concluía diciendo que, «por naturaleza y crianza, ella se preocupa de nuestros intereses y honor, así como del vuestro: de hecho, consideramos que los tres somos uno y lo mismo, y nos une un único deseo y afecto».[9]

Maxi estaba perdiendo el tiempo. Los embajadores extranjeros se referían ya a Chièvres y Le Sauvage como los «gobernadores» o «regentes» de Carlos, y durante un tiempo los Habsburgo prácticamente perdieron el control sobre los asuntos de los Países Bajos. La ascendencia de los «gobernadores» se hizo evidente de inmediato en la deferente política que se adoptó hacia Francia. Pese a la derrota de las fuerzas de Luis XII en Guinegate, Fernando de Aragón le recordaba a Maximiliano: «La empresa de la conquista de Francia no es de qualidad y quantitad que se pueda assi acabar… y no la acabando es fazer guerra inmortal dentro de la cristiandad y estoruar la guerra contra infieles». Continuar con las hostilidades impediría «Las dos cosas que yo más en este mundo desseo», esto es, la «paz general de cristianos y guerra contra los infieles».[10] Durante un tiempo, Maximiliano se mostró de acuerdo, pero la repentina muerte de Luis el 1 de enero de 1515 desencadenó una situación muy delicada. En una audiencia celebrada dos días después de su acceso al trono, el rey Francisco I (antiguo duque de Angulema) informó al representante de Carlos de que «sería un buen pariente, amigo y señor [del joven príncipe], porque él

es mi vasallo»; pero, añadía, «no deseaba ser dirigido por él, como el emperador y rey de Aragón [Fernando] había hecho con el difunto rey». Zaherido por este insulto gratuito, el enviado replicó que, aunque Carlos viviría en paz con Francia «como el rey su padre había hecho, quiero que sepa, señor, que ningún un amigo y vasallo podría causarle más daño».[11] Los «gobernadores» de Carlos se apresuraron a desautorizar esta reacción desafiante y dieron orden de agachar la cabeza a los enviados en representación de Carlos a la coronación de Francisco. En primer lugar, debían pedir perdón por el hecho de que su señor no hubiera podido asistir en persona «debido a nuestra apretada agenda y el ascenso como señor de las provincias de los Países Bajos», y acto seguido expresar su satisfacción por el acceso al trono de Francia de «tan valeroso y virtuoso príncipe, en la flor y el pleno vigor de su edad». Tras suplicar perdón, «teniendo en cuenta mi joven edad», si «algo hubiera ocurrido durante mi minoría de edad que pudiera haber desagradado» al nuevo rey, los enviados de Carlos deberían manifestar su esperanza de que los dos soberanos «podrían hacer grandes cosas juntos por su propio bien, por el bien público y en aras de la Sagrada Fe Católica». Por último, debían confirmar su sincero deseo de llegar a un tratado de alianza que quedaría firmado por su matrimonio con la princesa Renée, que entonces tenía ocho años, y no solo era la hija del difunto rey, sino también cuñada de Francisco. Cuando Maximiliano instó a los enviados de Carlos a aumentar sus exigencias respecto a la dote de Renée, Carlos y los gobernadores le contradijeron rápidamente, informando a los enviados de que:

> Aunque queremos agradar a mi señor y padre, para que no tenga motivo de queja y no nos diga que no hemos seguido sus órdenes… debéis hacer todo lo que podáis para evitar dar al rey [de Francia] y su pueblo cualquier motivo u ocasión de sospechar o imaginar que albergamos ningún deseo de renegar o arriesgarnos a romper nuestra alianza.[12]

Los gobernadores tenían buenas razones para tratar de apaciguar a Francia. Como comentó un diplomático inglés, el emperador estaba entonces «enfermo, y el rey de Aragón es de edad provecta», y cuando ambos murieran Carlos solamente podría heredar sus tierras y títulos si podía hacer valer sus exigencias; para lo cual era imperativo que los Países Bajos estuvieran protegidos contra cualquier riesgo de guerra. El tratado que se firma en París en marzo de 1515 cumplía este objetivo: Francisco prometía no atacar las posesiones de Carlos ni acudir en ayuda de ningún otro agresor (tres semanas después prohibiría al duque de Güeldres «causar cualquier daño a las tierras del príncipe de Castilla»). También prometía apoyar las reivindicaciones dinásticas de Carlos contra cualquiera que las amenazara. Respecto a Renée, sin embargo, Francisco estipulaba que esta se uniría a su prometido cuando cumpliera doce años, lo que significaba que Carlos no podría engendrar un sucesor legítimo hasta pasados al menos cuatro años; y que ella renunciaría a toda reclamación sobre el estratégico ducado de Bretaña (que en un principio era lo que más había atraído a Carlos de ella). En su lugar, su dote consistiría en unas tierras que a su muerte volverían a ser de Francia. Además, si Carlos renegaba de su promesa de casarse con ella, tendría que renunciar a todos los territorios que mantenía como feudos franceses. «Mi señor —explicaba sumisamente Carlos a su abuelo Fernando—, en realidad habría deseado que este tratado hubiera reportado más beneficio a mi honor y a mis intereses, pero acepté lo que podía sacar de él, reconociendo que en este momento una buena paz vale más para mí que una guerra, por justa que sea. Le ruego, mi señor, recuerde mi situación y lo tome por el lado bueno».[13]

Francisco consiguió otros notables éxitos durante su primer año en el trono francés. En febrero de 1515 facilitó el matrimonio clandestino de la viuda de Luis XII, María Tudor,

la anterior «princesa de Castilla», ahora de 19 años de edad, con el duque de Suffolk, a quien Enrique VIII había enviado para que la escoltara de vuelta a Inglaterra. Gracias a la complicidad de Francisco, Suffolk no tardó en jactarse de «haber yacido» con su nueva esposa y haberla dejado «esperando un hijo», lo cual descartaba su matrimonio con Carlos (o cualquier otro).[14] Entonces, dado que el Tratado de París obligaba a Carlos a no atacar a Francisco ni apoyar el ataque de ningún otro, Francisco aprovechó la oportunidad para cruzar los Alpes y, en alianza con la República veneciana, consiguió una aplastante victoria en Marignano sobre las fuerzas suizas congregadas por Maximiliano Sforza, antiguo compañero de juegos de Carlos y en aquel momento duque de Milán, ayudado por sus aliados el emperador Maximiliano, Fernando de Aragón y el papa León X. Las tropas francesas no tardaron en ocupar Lombardía y la república vecina de Génova, y poco después los cantones suizos firmaron una «Paz Eterna» que les comprometía a no volver a luchar nunca contra Francia.

La magnitud de la victoria transformó el equilibrio de poder en Europa al convertir a Francisco en el defensor de la cristiandad, una posición tradicionalmente ocupada por el emperador. Al enterarse de la noticia, Enrique VIII no pudo disimular su disgusto cuando se encontró con el embajador francés, quien informó que «tenía los ojos tan rojos que casi se podía ver el rastro de sus lágrimas». Mientras tanto, el papa León viajó a Bolonia, donde pasó varios días difíciles tratando de apaciguar a su antiguo enemigo, al que entregó los ducados de Parma y Piacenza (territorios reclamados tanto por los Estados Pontificios como por el ducado de Milán) y sugirió, en su calidad de señor del reino de Nápoles, que Francisco pudiera, llegado el momento, suceder a su actual soberano, Fernando de Aragón.[15] Casi de inmediato, la muerte del rey Católico, acaecida el 23 de enero de 1516, brindó la posibilidad.

La sucesión española

La muerte de Fernando no fue inesperada. A los 63 años de edad, era el monarca más anciano de Europa, pese a lo cual (como señaló el enviado inglés John Stile) había «vivido voluntariosamente hasta el final, hiciera buen o mal tiempo, ocupado en la cetrería o la caza, siguiendo más el consejo de sus halconeros que el de sus médicos». Stile a continuación relataba lo impopular que se había hecho Fernando en Castilla, que queda claramente reflejado en el hecho de que solo un noble acompañó su cadáver a Granada, «sin que se celebraran grandes exequias ni se guardara luto por dicho rey, algo insólito en un príncipe». Concluía diciendo que, aunque en España todos apoyaban a Carlos «con una sola voz» y «nadie en absoluto sostenía lo contrario», no obstante «había poco amor o incondicionalidad» entre los súbditos del difunto rey, y predecía «alteraciones y revueltas» a menos que el nuevo soberano se apresurara a reclamar su herencia.[16]

El análisis y las predicciones de John Stile difícilmente podían ser más acertados, porque Fernando dejaba una herencia complicada. Para empezar, «España» no existía. Aunque su matrimonio con Isabel había dado lugar a la unión dinástica entre las Coronas de Aragón y la de Castilla y sus dominios, había dejado intactas las instituciones, leyes, moneda y estructura judicial de cada parte. Los poderes y las políticas de la Corona eran distintos en cada área (Castilla, Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia) y cada Estado mantenía sus propios aranceles y puestos de aduana. Si bien la expulsión de todos los judíos que se negaron a convertirse al cristianismo generó cierto grado de uniformidad religiosa en los reinos de España, los objetivos políticos de cada uno seguían siendo diferentes. Isabel y sus asesores habían mostrado gran entusiasmo por proseguir los ataques a sus vecinos musulmanes del norte de África, mientras que Fernando, pese a ser también partidario de una cruzada

contra el Islam, apuntaba a objetivos más lejanos (incluida la recuperación de Constantinopla y Jerusalén), y con este fin dedicó mucha más atención a consolidar su control sobre Italia.[17] Llegó incluso a pasar el año 1506-1507 en Nápoles.

La ausencia de Fernando en España no fue voluntaria. Su título de rey consorte de Castilla se extinguió con la muerte de Isabel en 1504 y, aunque en virtud del testamento de esta él se convirtió en «gobernador» del reino hasta que Juana y Felipe fueran a hacerse cargo de su herencia, se multiplicaron los desacuerdos respecto a políticas y patrocinios. En 1505, Luis XII de Francia dispuso el matrimonio de su sobrina Germana de Foix con Fernando, y cedió a su descendencia todos los derechos de Francia sobre Nápoles; descendencia que también heredaría Sicilia, Cerdeña, Aragón y todos los demás dominios de Fernando. Este hecho alarmó y enfureció a Felipe, que regresó a España al año siguiente con una escolta de 2.000 soldados alemanes, así como una gran cantidad de dinero en metálico para distribuir en forma de sobornos. Esta combinación de palo y zanahoria llevó a la mayoría de los partidarios de Fernando en Castilla a desertar de su lado para ponerse del de su rival, y cuando ambos monarcas se reunieron el 27 de junio, el nuevo rey apareció con un enorme séquito mientras que su suegro se presentó prácticamente solo. A raíz de aquello, Fernando firmó un compromiso de abandonar Castilla (a cambio de una renta garantizada), así como un acuerdo con Felipe para privar a Juana de todos sus derechos, afirmando que no hacerlo «sería total destruyción y perdimyento destos rreynos según sus enfermedades e pasiones que aquí no se espresan por la honestidad».[18] Sin embargo, horas después, ese mismo día, el astuto Fernando empleó una técnica que más adelante constituiría una pesadilla para su nieto: juró ante los notarios que firmaba ambos acuerdos con Felipe bajo coerción, porque «fiándome del, y de su palabra y juramentos, yendo a buena fe»

respecto a la reunión, se encontró con que «con [su] mano poderosa y fuerte, mi real persona está en peligro notorio y manifiesto». Declaró que solo estaba de acuerdo con desposeer a Juana de sus derechos, y que renunciaba a «la administración [de Castilla] que de derecho por muchas razones me pertenece… forçado, como dicho es, por los sobredichos peligros, impressión y miedo». Por tanto, él no consideraba que sus compromisos fueran vinculantes.[19] Desconocedor de todo ello, un mes después Felipe se reunió a solas durante más de una hora con su suegro en lo que el embajador veneciano Vincenzo Quirini denominó un *raxonamenti*, durante el cual Fernando trató de «instruyrle y conseiarle yo por menudo lo que me pareció que él debe hacer para la buena governación destos reynos y para los tener en paz, y otras cosas tocantes a nuestros comunes estados y de nuestros amigos… sobre lo qual todo quedamos en mucha conformidad».[20] Inmediatamente después partió de Aragón y el 4 de septiembre de 1506 zarpó hacia Nápoles. Tres semanas más tarde, Felipe moría.

Dado que Juana, embarazada y desolada por la repentina muerte de su marido, parecía incapaz de llevar la diaria tarea de gobernar, el cardenal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, arzobispo de Toledo y primado de España, convocó una reunión con los principales partidarios tanto de Felipe como de Fernando y les convenció para que firmaran un compromiso formal que estipulaba que cualquier desacuerdo entre ellos sería remitido a un tribunal independiente, en lugar de recurrir a las armas, hasta que las Cortes del reino pudieran reunirse y decidir qué hacer a continuación. Mientras, Cisneros creó un Consejo de Regencia mediante el cual gobernó el reino hasta el regreso de Fernando en agosto de 1507.

Fernando permaneció en Castilla durante casi todo el resto de su vida, tomando numerosas decisiones que habrían de tener importantes consecuencias para Carlos. Por el lado positivo, su

presencia ayudó a mantener el orden público tras la muerte de Felipe, garantizándose de este modo que su nieto heredaría Castilla intacta. Por el lado negativo, Fernando generó importantes deudas tanto en el ámbito exterior como en el interior. Envió una fuerza expedicionaria al norte de África en 1509-1510, que conquistó las ciudades portuarias musulmanas de Orán y Trípoli, y otra a Navarra en 1512, que arrebató la parte sur del reino a sus soberanos. Ambos éxitos provocaron la ira prolongada de rivales poderosos, los sultanes otomanos y los reyes franceses, respectivamente, que obligarían a Carlos a invertir inmensos recursos en hombres, material y dinero para conservarlas. En el frente interno, Fernando también contrajo dos deudas importantes. En primer lugar, comprensiblemente, a su regreso a Castilla persiguió a aquellos «desseosos de ver nueuo gouierno, y que viniesse a España el príncipe o el emperador su agüelo», o a quienes «se declararon demasiadamente por seruidores del rey don Felipe, y en procurar que el rey [Fernando] saliesse de Castilla»; la mayoría de los afectados, «poco después de la entrada del rey en Castilla, determinaron de salirse del reyno, para passarse en Flandes».[21] En segundo lugar, y menos comprensiblemente, Fernando trataba mal a su hija, llamada por muchos historiadores «Juana la Loca», reina propietaria de Castilla y heredera de Aragón, Nápoles, Cerdeña y Sicilia.

No todos sus contemporáneos consideraban «loca» a Juana. En 1505, el embajador Quirini comentó que Maximiliano pasó varias semanas en los Países Bajos con el fin explícito de reconciliar a la pareja antes de que partieran hacia España, «la mayor parte del tiempo con la reina [Juana], manteniéndola entretenida con continuas fiestas». «Ha hecho todo lo posible por intentar hacerla feliz, porque sabe que todos sus problemas se deben a la depresión que sufre [*tuto el mal suo procedava da melanchonia*]». En opinión de Quirini, Maximiliano lo

consiguió. Enrique VII, que estuvo con Juana pocas semanas más tarde, cuando las tormentas desviaron hacia Inglaterra el barco que la llevaba a España, coincidía con él: «Quando yo la vy —le dijo al embajador español—, muy bien me pareçió y con buena manera y conteneçia hablava, y no perdiendo punto de su autoridad»; por otra parte, «avnque su marydo [Felipe] y los que venían con él la hazyan loca, yo no la vy sino cuerda; y asy creo questa agora, y por esto es de sospechar quel rey vuestro señor [Fernando], se lo quiere todo». Fernando, también, albergaba al parecer algunas dudas. Un mes después de declarar a Juana incapaz de gobernar, en su «raxonamenti» el rey instaba a Felipe a tolerar la conducta de Juana «al igual que él había tolerado la conducta de la reina Isabel, su madre, quien en su juventud se dejaba llevar por los celos hasta extremos mucho mayores que los de su hija ahora; y, que, con el apoyo que él le dio, recobró la sensatez y llegó a ser la reina que todos conocieron».[22]

Bethany Aram, tras su exhaustivo estudio de las fuentes contemporáneas, se mostraba de acuerdo con estos veredictos, argumentando que el objetivo principal de Juana era salvaguardar los extensos dominios de su difunto marido para que su hijo Carlos los heredara intactos. Con este propósito, la reina se retiró a un convento, primero cerca de Burgos (donde murió Felipe) y a partir de 1509 a Tordesillas, llevándose con ella el cadáver de su marido, y negándose categóricamente a considerar la idea de volver a casarse. A su padre le dio carta blanca para gobernar Castilla y utilizar sus recursos como deseara; pero esto le permitía gobernar también sobre Juana, e incluso mandarla azotar. Poco después de la muerte de Fernando, el carcelero de Juana recordaba con tristeza que «nunca el rey su padre pudo más, fasta que (porque no muriese de dexándose de comer por no cumplir su voluntad) le hubo de mandar dar cuerda por conservarle la vida».[23]

Fernando obtuvo el consentimiento tanto de Maximiliano (quien le había amenazado con llevar a Carlos a España y reclamar la regencia para él mismo) como de las Cortes de Castilla para esta doble función como gobernador del reino y guardián de Juana hasta que esta muriera, o hasta que Carlos cumpliera veinte años. De modo que, aunque Fernando no resolvió el dilema que representaba el estatus de Juana como soberana jurada del reino que se negaba a ejercer sus poderes, proporcionó a su nieto «un modelo fundamental para gobernar a la reina en Tordesillas».[24] Pero ¿y Aragón? En 1509, la reina Germana de Foix dio a luz al hijo de Fernando, que inmediatamente desplazó a Juana como heredera de todos los reinos de su padre, incluido Aragón, pero el infante murió casi nada más nacer. La pareja intentó tener más hijos y (según algunos) Fernando recurrió a un «potaje» que supuestamente le ayudaría a «ejercitar su potencia», aunque (afortunadamente para Carlos) el matrimonio continuó sin hijos y por tanto la amenaza de separar las Coronas de Castilla y Aragón perdió fuerza.[25] No obstante, en 1512 Fernando firmó un testamento en el que se estipulaba que, en caso de morir «durante la ausencia del príncipe don Carlos, haya de firmar y hacer todas las cosas que tocan al gobierno el infante don Fernando su hermano» en Castilla, mientras que su propio hijo ilegítimo, el arzobispo Alfonso de Zaragoza, ejercería poderes similares en Aragón (como había venido haciendo durante las prolongadas ausencias de Fernando). Al año siguiente el rey llegó aún más lejos al proponer una partición de los territorios que él y Maximiliano dejarían a sus muertes, en virtud de la cual el joven Fernando heredaría Milán y la mitad de Austria.[26]

Estos acontecimientos alarmaron a los gobernadores de Carlos en los Países Bajos. En julio de 1515 el barón de Chièvres tranquilizó a Fernando diciéndole que Carlos haría todo «lo que un hijo bueno y obediente está obligado a hacer»;

pero, continuaba (en tono claramente amenazante), «le suplico humildemente, señor, que tenga a bien corresponderle y no darle ocasión [a Carlos] de comportarse de otro modo, lo que le haría profundamente infeliz». Tres meses después, otro hecho causó la alarma de los gobernadores: habían oído que Fernando estaba «congoxado e derribado de sus fuerzas, de suerte que se temía que no se podía muncho tiempo permanecer». Chièvres decidió enviar a Adriano de Utrecht, preceptor y consejero de Carlos, para tratar «con el rey de Aragón algunos importantes temas secretos que no es necesario explicar aquí»; esto es, que en caso de que muriera Fernando, Adriano debía convocar a las Cortes en nombre de Carlos «para declarar nuestro derecho que tenemos en la sucesión a los dos reynos».[27]

Adriano llegó finalmente a un acuerdo con Fernando. El rey aceptaba reconocer a Carlos como su heredero universal y convencer a las Cortes de cada reino para que le juraran lealtad; prometía enviar al infante Fernando a los Países Bajos en cuanto Carlos partiera de ellos; y se comprometía a restaurar «una parte de las encomiendas y de los beneficios» confiscados a los partidarios españoles del rey Felipe que habían huido a Bruselas. A cambio, Adriano afirmaba que Carlos partiría a España sin demora; que no llevaría con él tropas extranjeras (como había hecho su padre); que hasta entonces «Carlos le deje al rey las riendas del gobierno de Castilla», aun en el caso de que Juana muriera; y que expulsaría de su corte a todos aquellos que Fernando considerara que eran sus enemigos.[28] Adriano alardeaba ante un amigo de haber servido a Carlos «mejor que la mayoría de las personas de mi estado y condición podrían hacerlo», y se retiró al monasterio de Guadalupe a celebrar la Navidad, llevándose al joven Fernando con él, mientras el rey partía para Sevilla para reunir una fuerza anfibia y conducirla al norte de África para una nueva cruzada.[29]

De pronto, la salud de Fernando se deterioró, y «haviendo tan justa y urgente causa proveher en el buen regimiento e gobierno» de sus reinos, el 22 de enero de 1516 dictó y firmó un nuevo testamento. Aunque reconocía a «nuestra fija primagénita» Juana como su heredera universal, con Carlos como su sucesor, establecía que «según todo lo que de ella havemos podido conoscer en nuestra vida, stá muy apartada de entender en governación ni regimiento de reinos, ni tiene la dispusición para ello que convernía». Así pues, continuaba, «dexamos e nonbramos por governador general de todos los dichos reynos e señorios nuestros al dicho illustrísimo príncipe don Carlos, nuestro muy caro nieto, para que en nonbre de la dicha sereníssima reyna, su madre, los govierne, conserve, rija y administre». Dado que según las leyes de Aragón Carlos era demasiado joven para gobernar, Fernando invocó a «nuestro poder real absoluto, del qual queremos usar y usamos para eneste caso» para decretar que su nieto «no embargante su menor edat, pueda regir e governar luego los dichos reynos y señoríos». No obstante, dado que Carlos seguía estando muy lejos, «nonbramos e señalamos» a su hijo arzobispo Alfonso de Zaragoza para gobernar Aragón y a Cisneros para gobernar Castilla con autoridad para «que haga las otras cosas que Nos fezimos y podíamos y debíamos fazer en tiempos de nuestra gobernación». El rey murió al día siguiente.[30]

De esta manera, Fernando incumplía el acuerdo concertado con Adriano el mes anterior. En lugar de declarar a Carlos su sucesor, se limitaba a nombrarle «governador general» de sus reinos en nombre de Juana; por otra parte, hasta que llegara a España, unos representantes, a quienes Carlos no conocía, ostentarían la autoridad ejecutiva. Para complicar todavía más la situación, nada más enterarse de la muerte de su abuelo y «no sabiendo la mudanza que había hecho en el testamento del Rey Católico, creyendo que él quedaba por gobernador», el joven

Fernando convocó al Consejo Real para reunirse con él en Guadalupe y comenzó a emitir órdenes con la firma «*El Infante*, como lo hacen los reyes con sus súbditos». Adriano informó inmediatamente a Fernando del cambio de opinión de su padre y anunció que Carlos le había conferido poderes a él, y no a Cisneros, para gobernar Castilla en caso de que Fernando muriera; pero la llegada de Cisneros complicó la situación aún más. El cardenal objetó inmediatamente que las leyes de Castilla (como las de Aragón) estipulaban que ningún príncipe podía gobernar hasta cumplir la edad de veinte años y que, en todo caso, Carlos todavía no era conocedor de las restrictivas condiciones de la voluntad de su abuelo. «Sobre esta diferencia pasaron algunas pláticas», hasta que «al fin se concordaron de lo consultar con el príncipe, para que mandase lo que fuese servido», y que entretanto Cisneros y Adriano «gobernasen e firmasen juntos, e ansí lo hacían por entonces». Como ha señalado José Martínez Millán, las acciones del cardenal en Guadalupe representaban «un golpe auténtico» y tiempo después, acompañado por Adriano, el joven Fernando y el Consejo de Castilla, Cisneros partió para Madrid, que durante los siguientes veinte meses haría las veces de capital administrativa del reino.[31]

El interregno

La noticia de la muerte de Fernando, junto con una copia de sus últimas voluntades, llegó a Bruselas el 8 de febrero de 1516. Carlos declaró inmediatamente «seis semanas de duelo continuo» en todas las iglesias de los Países Bajos, «al igual que se hizo con motivo de la muerte del difunto rey mi padre». Asimismo, escribió al hermano al que aún no conocía, compadeciéndole por la «soledad y tristeza» que debía sentir y asegurándole que no solo «en nos avéys cobrado y tinéys único hermano, como lo somos, mas verdadero padre como veréis».[32] Esta era la parte fácil: lo verdaderamente difícil era cómo

responder al «auténtico golpe» de Cisneros. Al menos la mala fe de su abuelo permitió a Carlos ignorar la promesa de expulsar de su corte a todos los refugiados españoles, conocidos como «felipistas» por haber apoyado al padre de Carlos. En aquel momento apenas llegaban a sumar cincuenta, casi todos jóvenes pertenecientes a familias patricias o aristocráticas de las ciudades (como don Juan de Zúñiga, a quien más adelante encomendaría Carlos la educación de su hijo y heredero, Felipe). Ninguno poseía título nobiliario, y solo uno de ellos un cargo eclesiástico: don Alonso Manrique, obispo de Badajoz, un abierto partidario del rey Felipe a quien Fernando había tenido encarcelado tres años, hasta que consiguió escapar a los Países Bajos y entrar al servicio de Carlos como su capellán. Presintiendo que el momento de la venganza había llegado, los «felipistas» presionaron a Carlos para que adoptara el título de «rey de Castilla», sugerencia ante la cual (según informaba Manrique) «el príncipe, aunque firma "príncipe", riese y alegrase quando le llaman rey».[33]

El 14 de marzo de 1516 el obispo Manrique ofició una misa funeral por Fernando en la catedral de Santa Gúdula, Bruselas, muy parecida a las exequias celebradas por la reina Isabel doce años atrás. Una procesión de caballeros del Toisón de Oro, portando la insignia de Fernando, precedió a Carlos en su entrada en la catedral y se situó en torno al catafalco, sobre el que reposaba «una corona de oro e un espada». Por tres veces, el heraldo enumeró los títulos del difunto rey y le invocó, pero una lúgubre voz respondió desde la nave de la iglesia: «está muerto». Tras la tercera repetición, el heraldo proclamó a Carlos y a Juana «erederos destos reynos». Entonces Manrique «tomó la corona de sobre el vulto e fuése al rey don Carlos, el qual estava con la capilla de luto en la cabeça e dixo: "Señor, esto os perteneçe por rey". E asimismo tomó el espada y diósela y dixo: "Pues que soys rey, vedes aquí el espada con que fagáys

justicia"». Entonces Chièvres se aproximó y le quitó al nuevo rey el «capirote de luto, e púsole una ropa en que pudo sacar los braços y asimismo un collar de oro con el Tusón». Cuando el nuevo rey se volvió hacia la multitud que llenaba la catedral, las trompetas sonaron y los coros cantaron sus alabanzas. Una semana después, Carlos firmó una serie de cartas en las que afirmaba que el Papa y el emperador, así como muchos «varones excelentes et prudentes y sabios» y «algunas provincias y señoríos», le habían instado a declararse a sí mismo rey; pero, «porque algunos no tomaban bien el acrescentimiento que de ella se nos seguía, convino que juntamente con la reina cathólica, mi señora y madre, yo tomase nombre y título de rey, e así se ha hecho». Luego, y según parece por primera vez, añadió la firma real tradicional que utilizaría para toda su correspondencia durante los siguientes cuarenta años: *Yo el Rey*.[34]

Cisneros y su Consejo de Regencia en Madrid se quedaron horrorizados al ver cómo se desarrollaban los acontecimientos. Pocos días después, habían firmado una carta dirigida a Carlos en la que declaraban «avemos entendido que algunas personas por buen celo del servicio de Vuestra Alteza le incitan a que se intitule luego *Rey*», y le advertían de que:

> Nos pareció que no lo debía Vuestra Alteza hazer, ni convenía que se hiciese para lo de Dios, ni para lo del mundo, porque teniendo Vuestra Alteza, como tiene, pacíficamente sin contradicción estos reinos… no hay necesidad en vida de la Reina nuestra Señora, vuestra madre, de se intitular Rey, pues lo es.

También le recordaban que «los malos en estos reinos siempre han tenido y tienen de ser quejosos del que de presente reina, y procuran amistad con él que ha de venir, por poner discordia para poder más libremente tiranizar el reino». Por tanto,

> Paresce que el intitularse Vuestra Alteza desde luego Rey podría traer inconvenientes y ser muy dañoso para lo que conviene al servicio de Vuestra Alteza, oponiendo (como opone) contra sí el título de la reina nuestra señora de

que se puede seguir división, y siendo, como todo es, una parte hacerse dos, donde los que mal quisiesen vivir en estos reinos, y les pesase de la paz e unión, tomarían ocasión so color de fidelidad de servir unos a Vuestra Alteza y otros a la muy poderosa reina, vuestra madre.[35]

La carta fue en vano, y cuando recibieron la noticia de lo acaecido en Bruselas, a Cisneros y a su Consejo no les quedó mucha más opción que aceptarlo. El 3 de abril de 1516 autorizaron la ceremonia de «alzar el pendón real», forma con la que en Castilla se indicaba tradicionalmente la subida al trono de un nuevo monarca, por lo que en varias ciudades los heraldos proclamaron «Castilla, Castilla, Castilla, para la reina doña Juana y para el rey don Carlos, nuestro señor y señora». Sin embargo, otras ciudades se hicieron más de rogar: Zamora no «alzó el pendón real» hasta el 18 de mayo, Plasencia hasta el 25 de julio. Como el embajador inglés comentó, muchos castellanos «toman con gran desagrado y desdén que los flamencos hayan proclamado a su príncipe rey de Castilla sin su consentimiento».[36]

Esta incertidumbre, acompañada del deseo de ganar el favor de su nuevo soberano y sus asesores, animó a muchos de los nuevos súbditos de Carlos a emigrar desde España o desde la Italia española a Bruselas. En abril de 1516, según el embajador inglés en los Países Bajos, «llegan diariamente tantos españoles que la corte está llena de ellos», y, tres meses más tarde, según Diego López de Ayala, el representante de Cisneros en Bruselas, «La fiesta de Santyago se celebró en la capilla al modo despaña: XXIIIJ comendadores ovo a las vísperas y a la misa».[37] Esto marcó un cambio importante, dado que los «comendadores» procedían de la élite de la sociedad española y por tanto superaban en rango a los «felipistas». Otros recién llegados, que más tarde darían en llamarse el «partido Fernandino», habían estado al servicio del difunto rey, pero habían perdido sus puestos cuando Cisneros tomó el relevo. Uno de ellos era Francisco de los Cobos, que había trabajado en el secretariado

de la reina Isabel desde la década de 1490 y llevaba recibiendo recompensas de Fernando desde 1503. Presumía, por tanto, de conocer al dedillo los entresijos del sistema tanto fiscal como administrativo de Castilla y sus colonias americanas, y el 31 de octubre de 1516 Carlos ordenó a Cisneros que pagara su salario del Tesoro de Castilla «porque el vino a nos seruir y ha estado y está aca en nuestro seruicio». Seis semanas después, Los Cobos juró como secretario real y, hasta su muerte, que tuvo lugar cuarenta años después, se encargó de abrir, leer y resumir las miles de cartas dirigidas a Carlos sobre prácticamente cualquier aspecto del gobierno de España y sus posesiones de ultramar, y elaborar las respuestas que luego tendría que aprobar y firmar su señor. En 1543, en la Instrucción ológrafa confidencial que le escribiría a su hijo, Carlos dedicaría más espacio a evaluar a Los Cobos que a cualquier otro ministro; y pondría de manifiesto, entre otras cosas, el prolongado antagonismo entre los «fernandinos» como Los Cobos, que había entrado a su servicio relativamente tarde, y los «felipistas» como don Juan de Zúñiga, que había huido de España una década antes.[38]

Una de las pocas cosas en las que ambas facciones estaban de acuerdo era en la necesidad urgente de que Carlos volviera a España. Ya en marzo de 1516, el obispo Manrique informaba de que «se determinó en un consejo muy de propósito a do hablaron todos, y botaron, que el príncipe nuestro señor vaya allá [a España] muy presto, y determinóse que envarcarse por San Juan [24 de junio de 1516]». Manrique, no obstante, albergaba los mismos recelos que había mantenido el padre de Carlos una década antes y por la misma razón. Aunque «el príncipe dixo buenas palabras cerca desto», apuntó, «esta determinación [de ir] tiene agora, mas la gente de aca es muy remisa, y está oy en una cosa, y mañana lo dexan». Temía que «aunque en la yda tienen la dicha determinación, que no la pornan en obra; y si este verano no embarcase, el ynbierno es

tiempo peligroso para ello, y dilitarse ya para el otro verano». Manrique demostró ser un excelente profeta. Seis semanas después, Carlos informó a su hermano Fernando de que, aunque «no podéys pensar el deseo y voluntad que tenemos» de venir a España, y prometía que «vos seréys el primero a quien lo haremos saber cómo es razon, del lugar o puerto donde desenvacaremos, no podemos ser cierto: Dios y el tiempo lo ha de hazer». En octubre de 1516, volvió a pedir perdón a su hermano porque «subcedieron algunas cosas y negoçios de grande ynportançia, e por donde para la seguritat de todos los otros reynos e señorios de la Catholica Reyna nuestra señora madre, e míos, convino que se difiriese hasta la primavera» su viaje. Y por tanto, para marzo de 1517 había ordenado reunir una flota en Middelburg, el mismo puerto desde donde sus padres habían partido para España once años antes.[39]

Manrique supuso que la principal causa del retraso era la necesidad de proteger de posibles ataques el patrimonio de Carlos mientras él se encontraba ausente de España, e identificó tres potenciales enemigos: Inglaterra, Francia y Güeldres. El primero resultó ser el más fácil de aplacar. El 19 de abril de 1516, los diplomáticos de Enrique en Bruselas firmaron un tratado que resolvía los conflictos comerciales pendientes y prometía la ayuda inglesa en caso de que alguien atacara los Países Bajos durante la ausencia de Carlos. Enrique prometía asimismo recibir a Carlos en caso de que su flota necesitara encontrar un puerto amigo en su travesía a España. Llegar a un acuerdo similar con Francia fue más difícil. Las negociaciones mantenidas en Noyon en mayo fracasaron por las reclamaciones que mantenían enfrentadas a ambas partes sobre Nápoles, pero se retomaron en agosto. Francisco (que entonces se hacía llamar «rey de Francia, duque de Milán y señor de Génova») liberó a Carlos de su obligación de casarse con Renée, pero la sustituyó por el compromiso de hacerlo con su propia hija, que por

entonces apenas tenía un año de edad, aportando como dote de esta su reclamación sobre Nápoles. Hasta que la boda se celebrara, Carlos tendría que pagar 100.000 coronas anuales como tributo por dicho reino, reconociendo explícitamente de este modo el derecho de Francia sobre él. El Tratado de Noyon obligaba también a Carlos a «satisfacer» al aliado de Francisco, el rey de Navarra, expulsado por Fernando, «en la medida que él considere justa, tras estudiar sus reivindicaciones» dentro de los ocho meses siguientes a su llegada a España. A cambio, Francisco juraba no prestar ayuda a ningún enemigo de Carlos. Sin duda, Chièvres y Le Sauvage (que fueron los que llevaron las negociaciones en persona) consideraron las concesiones referentes a las lejanas Nápoles y Navarra un precio pequeño a pagar como garantía de que los Países Bajos estuvieran seguros mientras Carlos ejercía su autoridad sobre España y sus territorios de ultramar. Sobre el papel, la obligación de casarse con Claudia de Francia parecía más arriesgada. La princesa apenas contaba un año, lo que significaba que Carlos no podría engendrar un heredero legítimo hasta la década de 1530, pero tal vez los gobernadores dieron por hecho que más adelante podrían echarse atrás sobre esta parte del trato, al igual que Luis XII había incumplido su compromiso de casar a su hija con Carlos.[40]

El Tratado de Noyon contradecía claramente los consejos que Fernando había enviado a su sucesor justo antes de morir: «[La] condición [de los franceses] es de no guardar cosa alguna de las que promete, sino tanto quanto a ellas les comple la observancia dellas», unas palabras que Carlos repetiría con igual amargura tres décadas después en una carta de consejo a su propio sucesor. Por otra parte, advertía Fernando, «Es mejor buena guerra que paz mala o incierta»; una refutación directa a la excusa de Carlos de que él se había rebajado ante Francisco porque «una buena paz vale para mí más que una guerra, por justa que sea».[41] El

Tratado de Noyon dejó atónitos y consternados a los aliados ingleses de Carlos. «El rey de Castilla, que es por herencia el más grande príncipe que ha habido en quinientos años —señalaron los diplomáticos de Enrique— va a quedar al mando del rey francés». Además, «dicho rey francés es tan ambicioso que no soportará que haya nadie en Italia de rango igual o superior a él», por lo que lo más probable era que tanto Nápoles como el Papado acabaran quedando bajo su dominio. Y lo que era peor aún, Francisco había «afirmado» que «la Corona del imperio debía por derecho estar en la casa de Francia, cosa que él conseguiría si pudiera»; y el nuevo tratado aumentaba la probabilidad de que así fuera. Los ingleses achacaban este escenario adverso al hecho de que Carlos tenía «a su lado a unos hombres» (concretamente, Chièvres y Le Sauvage) que «preferían perder parte de sus derechos que disgustar a otros», y veían poca posibilidad de que esto cambiara; más bien, predecían, el dominio de sus gobernadores «continuaría hasta que el rey de Castilla [viera] el error por sí mismo, lo que no parece probable hasta que llegue a España, y cuándo eso ocurrirá, solo Dios lo sabe».[42]

Esto dejaba otro enemigo más al que Carlos tendría que apaciguar antes de abandonar los Países Bajos: el duque Carlos de Güeldres. Felipe se había enfrentado a un problema idéntico en 1506, y aunque había derrotado a Güeldres e impuesto una paz muy dura, tras su muerte el duque Carlos utilizó medios diplomáticos y en ocasiones militares, a veces con la ayuda encubierta de los franceses, para recuperar la influencia que había perdido. Según el obispo Manrique, en marzo de 1516, «Mucho se teme por via deste duque de Guelders» porque «los franceses le tienen para estas cosas, y le suelen faborescer en semejantes tiempos». En resumen, «este duque es cosa de mucho trabajo», y «grand verguenza será, syendo el príncipe señor tan poderoso, que no provea en esto». El obispo llegó incluso a

instar a Cisneros y al Consejo de España a que «proveran [ayuda] en la conquista de Guelders».[43] Aunque aquello acabaría siendo la solución definitiva —en 1543 Carlos recurriría a tropas y dinero español para conquistar y anexionar Güeldres—, en ese momento la necesidad urgente de partir hacia España llevó a los gobernadores a preferir un acuerdo pacífico. En Noyon, convencieron a Francisco para que indujera al duque de Güeldres a garantizar un alto el fuego mientras los diplomáticos debatían sobre la forma de conciliar todas las reclamaciones concurrentes, y le tentaron incluso con la posibilidad de que el duque pudiera casarse con la hermana pequeña de Carlos, Catalina de Austria. Aunque al final acabó en nada, por ahora era suficiente para neutralizar a Güeldres.[44]

Sin embargo, Carlos siguió posponiendo el viaje. Posiblemente los tranquilizadores mensajes que le enviaba Cisneros le habían llevado a pensar que España podía esperar. En agosto de 1516 el cardenal había escrito que:

> Todos estos rreynos vniuersal y particularmente están en la mayor paz que jamás estovieron… y syn duda es de dar graçias a Dios que en todos estos rreynos, tan grandes como son, no ay el menor mouimiento del mundo, ni sospecha de alteración alguna, y no solamente las çivdades y pueblos mas todos los grandes, sin faltar vno solo, están tan obedientes y tan paçificos que no puede ser más.

Un mes después repetía que «todas las cosas d'estos rreynos están en mucha paz y sosiego, como sjempre han estado»; mientras que a mediados de octubre el secretario de Cisneros afirmaba en el mismo sentido que «El más brauo de los grandes deste reyno no es para dar mjgas a un gato, nj ay onbre dellos que tenga un real nj una lança, sino todo es palabras como el rruiseñor».[45] Los súbditos neerlandeses de Carlos también ofrecían solo «palabras como el rruiseñor». En noviembre de 1516, presidió una asamblea de los caballeros del Toisón de Oro por última vez. Tras tomar el juramento como «Jefe y Soberano», Carlos propuso que el número de caballeros aumentara de 31 a 51, a la vista de la rápida expansión de los

territorios gobernados por la Casa de Borgoña desde la fundación de la orden; y también propuso reservar diez plazas para los más ilustres entre sus nuevos súbditos españoles e italianos. La asamblea aceptó, y a continuación ejerció su único privilegio: una revisión pública de los mutuos errores. Tras censurar a unos cuantos caballeros por avaricia, embriaguez y el vicio del juego, la asamblea se volvió hacia Carlos. Reconociendo que su juventud le eximía de la mayoría de las críticas, se quejaron de que rara vez consultara con ellos sobre medidas políticas. El nuevo soberano prometió hacerlo mejor en el futuro.[46]

Ahora todo dependía de encontrar los fondos necesarios para el viaje a España. Carlos explicó a Cisneros que, «por dexar todo lo destas partes con el recabdo que conviene para poder ir en persona a esos reynos», necesitaría como mínimo 100.000 ducados de España, a la vez que solicitaba que los Estados Generales autorizaran unos impuestos por valor de 400.000 libras. Aunque la cantidad era la misma que su padre había solicitado para el mismo fin una década antes, los delegados pusieron reparos. «Se le pide al pueblo una enorme suma de dinero y, lo que es más, inmediatamente», comentó Erasmo, añadiendo en tono mordaz: «La petición ha sido aceptada por los nobles y los prelados, es decir, por los que no van a tener que pagar nada. Las ciudades están ahora considerando la cuestión». También informaba de que «al emperador, que normalmente va desarmado, ahora le acompaña un cuerpo de guardia magníficamente equipado y los alrededores están llenos de soldadesca»; y se preguntaba por qué.[47]

La respuesta era simple: Maximiliano había regresado a los Países Bajos en enero de 1517 en un último intento por recobrar el control de las provincias de su nieto. El mes anterior, el representante de Margarita en la corte imperial le aseguró que el emperador pretendía «apartar a Chièvres y sus colegas del

poder» y que «no se marcharía hasta que [Carlos] hubiera embarcado, tomando el gobierno de los Países Bajos en sus propias manos con el fin de ponerlo en las vuestras».[48] La tarea era ardua. En abril de 1517, tras haber conseguido la promesa de su nieto de que «se daría toda la prisa posible y partiría en tres o cuatro semanas» de los puertos de Zelanda, Maximiliano hizo indagaciones «para ver qué preparativos se habían hecho y le informaron de que ninguno, y que tampoco se había desembolsado dinero al efecto». Furioso por la decepción, Maximiliano escribió «una dura carta al rey su nieto recordándole su promesa», y pasó la primera semana en Zelanda evaluando los «preparativos» él mismo. Luego se reunió con Carlos en Lier, la ciudad donde Felipe y Juana se habían casado veintiún años antes y, aunque algunos detectaron cierta frialdad entre los dos, Carlos encargó dos enormes vidrieras para conmemorar su encuentro. Nunca más volvería a ver a su abuelo.[49]

La persistencia de Maximiliano parece que funcionó, porque en junio de 1517 Carlos anunció su inminente partida a los Estados Generales. Según un testigo presencial, cuando el canciller Jean Le Sauvage expresó a su audiencia cuánto les amaba su soberano y lo que le costaba separarse de ellos, muchos de los delegados se echaron a llorar, «e incluso el canciller, pese a ser un hombre fuerte, de lágrima nada fácil, al ver a la gente llorar», simuló primero «una tos y luego se sonó la nariz con el pañuelo para disimular que tenía los ojos llenos de lágrimas». Cuando recobró la compostura, Le Sauvage formuló varias promesas en nombre de Carlos: que volvería pasados cuatro años; que organizaría un gobierno eficiente en su ausencia; y que enviaría a su hermano Fernando a los Países Bajos para que un príncipe de sangre real viviera entre ellos. Carlos volvió a reiterar su solicitud de dinero, pero, sospechando que no llegaría a tiempo, convenció a Enrique VIII

para que le prestara sus 100.000 florines de oro para el fin concreto de pagar los barcos y tripulaciones reunidos en Zelanda para trasladarle a España.[50]

Al fin, Carlos y su corte viajaron a Middelburg, y allí acabó de perfilar sus planes para el «gobierno eficiente» de los Países Bajos «en su ausencia». En primer lugar, nombró a su confidente más íntimo, el conde Enrique de Nassau, comandante en jefe de todas las tropas, con considerable libertad para decidir cómo desplegarlas. A continuación, declaró que «hemos resuelto que esta vez no nombraremos un regente», sino que en su lugar «estamos constituyendo un Consejo Privado» de catorce destacados nobles y ministros para que se ocupen de los asuntos civiles, especificando los numerosos asuntos en materia de políticas, justicia y patrocinios que debían remitirse a él. Según Carlos, Maximiliano (ya de vuelta en Alemania) había prometido que regresaría «en caso de producirse alguna situación extraordinaria en los Países Bajos… y en tal caso se convertiría en superintendente del Consejo». Aunque el nombre de Margarita encabezaba la lista de los miembros del Consejo, no recibió ningún poder especial excepto la custodia «del sello [*cachet*] que hemos mandado hacer para imprimir nuestro nombre en todas las cartas emitidas en nuestro nombre con el consentimiento del Consejo». Aunque tanto Chièvres como Le Sauvage iban a acompañar a Carlos a España, claramente no tenían intención de perder el control de los Países Bajos.[51]

La carta

Carlos emitió entonces una Ordenanza para la Casa que tenía pensado llevar con él a España, integrada por más de 600 miembros, casi el doble del séquito que había acompañado a su padre una década antes. Este incremento en parte reflejaba la presencia de un fuerte contingente ibérico, incluidos 18 de los

56 altos cargos, muchos de ellos figuras ya muy prominentes (Alonso Manrique, entonces obispo de Córdoba, y Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, obispo de Badajoz, en la capilla; don Juan de Zúñiga entre los chambelanes; Luis Cabeza de Vaca y don Juan Manuel entre los consejeros). Varios príncipes alemanes integraban también la lista, entre ellos el conde palatino Federico de Baviera, que continuó recibiendo su pensión anual de 5.000 libras como primer chambelán.[52]

La hermana mayor de Carlos, Leonor, también le acompañaba. En un principio, las quejas de sus súbditos neerlandeses de que su marcha les privaría de la presencia del último de los hijos de Felipe el Hermoso que allí quedaba (Isabel estaba en Dinamarca, María de camino a Hungría) llevaron a Carlos a decretar que se quedara en Bruselas; pero Leonor cantaba «canciones» de protesta en los jardines de palacio «y sus damas le respondían, fasta que vino a la noticia del rey, su hermano. Y Su Alteza la vino a consolar, que la quería mucho, y prometiéndole de llevar consigo a España».[53] Sin embargo, había más cosas detrás de las «canciones». La emancipación de Carlos había liberado a Leonor, así como a su hermano, del aislamiento de Malinas y ambos hicieron del palacio de Coudenberg su sede, en la que vivían en dependencias adyacentes. Cuando Carlos viajaba por sus dominios, Leonor le acompañaba, y ella también bailaba, paseaba y cazaba con él y sus cortesanos, especialmente con el «primer Príncipe de la Sangre», Federico de Baviera.

Nacido en 1483, y por tanto quince años mayor que Leonor, Federico había entrado al servicio de su padre en 1501 y le había acompañado en su primer viaje a España, tras el cual luchó junto a Maximiliano en Italia. Luego siguió manteniendo el contacto con Carlos: en 1505 le envió un caballito de madera, al que sin duda le seguirían otros juguetes, y en 1513 pasó a ser uno de los tres chambelanes nombrados para acompañar

constantemente al príncipe. Muchos le atribuyen haber curado a Carlos de cierta tendencia a la anorexia.[54] Dos semanas después, Maximiliano nombró a Federico uno de los comisionados facultados para «emancipar» a su nieto, y durante los dos años siguientes el conde palatino acompañó al séquito real en todos sus viajes. Después de que su hermana pequeña Isabel abandonara la corte para ir a Dinamarca en junio de 1515, Federico (según su biógrafo) se convirtió en «el amante de Leonor mientras bailaban en las fiestas, paseaban por el parque que rodeaban el palacio real e iban de caza; y cuando no podían intercambiar palabras, se comunicaban por señas y gestos». Fue así como «solicitó y comunicó a la noble dama Leonor de Austria si quería casarse con ella». No es de extrañar, por tanto, que esta entonara «canciones de protesta» ante el temor de que Federico se fuera a España sin ella.[55]

No obstante, el cambio de opinión de Carlos respecto a no llevarse a su hermana no fue por las canciones. En marzo de 1517 su tía María murió, dejando viudo al rey Manuel de Portugal; y, pese a sus 48 años, buscaba una nueva esposa. Carlos le ofreció la mano de Leonor. Esto amenazaba su romance secreto, y mientras esperaba en Zelanda a que soplaran vientos favorables, prometió a Federico que la víspera del «día de la Asunción», el 14 de agosto, «cuando estuviera sola con el rey en su oratorio», le pediría a su hermano permiso para casarse con él. Desgraciadamente para sus planes, Federico dudó de su determinación y escribió una carta recordándole «Querida mía, tú puedes ser la causa de mi felicidad o de mi desdicha… Estoy preparado, y no pido nada más que ser tuyo y que tú seas mía… Cariño, no te enfades si te agobio con tantas y tan irritantes cartas».[56]

Leonor nunca leyó esta apasionada petición. Una de sus damas había observado la entrega de las «irritantes cartas», que la princesa solía esconder en su corpiño hasta que podía leerlas

en secreto. Chièvres de algún modo lo descubrió, e informó a Carlos. Leonor acababa de recibir la última y desesperada carta de Federico, y la tenía escondida donde solía, cuando su hermano entró en sus aposentos, como cada mañana, para saludarla.

«¿Qué tal estás?», le preguntó, a lo que ella contestó «Bien…». «Pero parece —replicó el rey— que tus pechos parecen hoy más grandes de lo normal»; y mientras lo decía, metió la mano ahí y sacó la comprometida carta. Leonor, ruborizada, trató de recuperar aquella prueba de su amor secreto, pero Carlos no dejó que se la arrebatara y le dijo mientras se iba: «ahora averiguaré lo que has estado haciendo».

El rey volvió hecho una furia a sus estancias, donde leyó la carta antes de entregársela a Chièvres, que convocó a ambas partes ante un notario para que confesaran todos los detalles de su romance bajo juramento. Tras leer la transcripción, Carlos expulsó inmediatamente de su corte a Federico y confinó a Leonor a sus aposentos: no tuvo ocasión de alegar que la dejaba «esperando un hijo», como el duque de Suffolk había hecho para recuperar a María Tudor, la otrora «esposa» de Carlos.[57]

Estos dramáticos acontecimientos dejaron estupefactos a los diplomáticos que esperaban en Zelanda para zarpar con Carlos. Cuthbert Tunstal no salía de su asombro ante «la repentina marcha del conde palatino, que tenía todas sus cosas a bordo para partir junto al rey, y era uno de los nobles que le acompañaban en todo momento». También comentaba con sorpresa que «el rey era inflexible», pero añadía, «si todo esto había sido idea suya o no es algo que ignoro». Él, al igual que muchos otros, creía ver detrás la mano de Chièvres, que amargamente se quejaba del hecho de que «dicho conde» entonces gozaba «en gran medida del favor del rey» y había maquinado por tanto la caída de su rival. El colega de Tunstal,

Thomas Spinelly, reflexionaba que la brusca caída en desgracia y destitución de un consejero tan principal evidenciaba que Carlos tenía «buen estómago y coraje, y que no perdonaba fácilmente las ofensas». Y predecía que el joven rey «será rápido en sus determinaciones y estima en mucho el honor del mundo».[58]

No obstante, los vientos desfavorables continuaron impidiendo zarpar de Zelanda a la comitiva real. A finales de agosto, en Lovaina, Erasmo informaba a un corresponsal de que «el príncipe sigue varado en la costa, y no veo probable su salida»; mientras que el 11 de septiembre, en España, un colega de Cisneros confesaba que había cruzado apuestas sobre la venida de Carlos:

> Tenemos esperança que su Alteza no nos desmanparará el año de DXVIJ. Passan de XXX quentos [de maravedís] las apuestas que se han hecho sobre su venjda, y yo y el oste de correos perdemos más de dos cargos de ceuada: plega a Dios trayga con bien a Su Magestad, como estos rreynos han menester.

En realidad, ya había ganado su apuesta: cuatro días antes, el viento había cambiado en Zelanda repentinamente y Carlos, Leonor y su séquito se confesaron a toda prisa antes de subir a bordo de los barcos que les esperaban para llevarles a España. «El mundo» pronto vería si Carlos poseía o no el «estómago y coraje» para tomar decisiones difíciles y luego ser «rápido en sus determinaciones».[59]

Retrato del emperador joven

Sancho Cota, un poeta que huyó de España a los Países Bajos después de la muerte de Felipe I y pasó a ser secretario de su hija Leonor, redactó este íntimo retrato de Carlos justo antes de que zarpara con destino a España.

> Digamos aora cómo el rey don Carlos estava en edad de diez y seys años. Era de mediana estatura, el gesto largo, los cabellos rubios, los ojos zarcos muy hermosos, la nariz afilada bien proporçionada, la boca y la barba no tan hermosa como las otras façiones, su color blanco y todas las façiones juntas, era hermoso. Tenía las manos largas, graçioso onbre y de muy buena condiçion, onbre onesto en su vida, en su comer y bever reglado, muy entendido más que pertenecía a su edad, liberal y magnífico y de muchas virtudes, enemigo de glotones y desordenados en comer y beber.[1]

Curiosamente, Cota restaba importancia a la característica física que casi todos los demás destacaban: la prominente mandíbula inferior (prognatismo mandibular) de Carlos. Todas las esculturas y cuadros de la época (que cabría haber esperado más halagadoras con el retratado) le mostraban con la boca abierta y la mandíbula inferior colgando, que, efectivamente, sobresalía de forma llamativa, como se pudo comprobar cuando se abrió su tumba en el siglo XIX.

Los diplomáticos extranjeros también comentaron este rasgo poco favorecedor. Antonio di Beatis, que fue a visitar a Carlos poco antes de que partiera para España, señaló que, aunque «es alto y de una complexion espléndida, de piernas esbeltas y rectas, las más bonitas que se hayan visto en alguien de su rango… tiene un rostro largo y cadavérico, y la boca torcida (que tiende a abrirse sola si se descuida) con el labio inferior caído». Un enviado veneciano informaba lacónicamente que Carlos era «Delgado, pálido, con un aire muy melancólico. Constantemente deja que la boca le cuelgue abierta»; en tanto que otro de sus colegas decía algo muy parecido: «es guapo y alto, no habla mucho, siempre tiene la boca abierta, y ordena que otros hablen por él». Francesco Corner, el primer

embajador veneciano permanente en la corte de Carlos, descendía a más detalles: «Aunque no es deforme, siempre tiene la boca abierta, lo que le resta mucho atractivo… Es muy proclive a los resfriados, y como siempre tiene la nariz taponada, se ve obligado a respirar por la boca. Su lengua es corta y gruesa, lo que le dificulta mucho el habla».[2]

Todo el mundo estaba también de acuerdo en otra característica aparte de esa: las frecuentes devociones del joven rey. Según Antonio de Beatis, un diplomático papal que estaba de visita, «cada día suele asistir a dos misas, primero rezada y luego cantada», y además solía ir de retiro en Semana Santa. Por ejemplo, en la Semana Santa de 1518, la primera que pasó en España, Carlos se retiró a un monasterio acompañado de «un séquito muy reducido, para escapar de todos los asuntos temporales y estar prácticamente solo, lo mejor para hacer examen de conciencia y una confesión con pleno significado». Comulgaba a diario durante la Semana Santa, y después «iba a visitar todos los lugares sagrados de las inmediaciones para ganar perdones». Dos años después, el rey «volvió a un monasterio por Semana Santa para practicar sus devociones» y se negó a mantener ninguna actividad oficial.[3]

Algunos observadores expresaban preocupación por la salud del joven Carlos. Una de las pocas cuestiones en las que sus dos abuelos estaban de acuerdo era en que «se deben diferir las nupcias» con María Tudor, programadas para mayo de 1514, «porque Carlos no ha sido dotado por la naturaleza de mucha robustez de cuerpo». Tres años después sus médicos advertían de que parecía «tan débil que no vivirá más de dos años», lo que llevó a sus ministros neerlandeses a suplicar a Maximiliano que le dejara estar más tiempo «para que mejore su salud en su país natal».[4] Tantas preocupaciones contradicen los informes sobre la habilidad de Carlos a caballo y su resistencia física para la caza y las justas, y tal vez sean solo producto de los mismos prejuicios

manifestados por los ministros de su padre Felipe: «No tyenen más voluntad de yr a España que de yr al infierno». Sin embargo, un dramático acontecimiento acaecido en enero de 1519 parece respaldar la tesis de que el joven Carlos en efecto carecía de «mucha robustez de cuerpo». Según el embajador francés, que fue testigo presencial, «Mientras estaba de rodillas oyendo misa mayor [Carlos] cayó al suelo y así estuvo más de dos horas, sin moverse, con el rostro desfigurado como si estuviera muerto. De allí fue llevado a su habitación, donde permaneció varios días. «Todo el mundo habla de esto», aseguraba el embajador, entre otras cosas porque Carlos «cayó enfermo con los mismos síntomas que hace menos de dos meses», mientras jugaba al tenis.[5]

No obstante, aunque «todo el mundo» estuviera «hablando de esta enfermedad» (que parece un ataque epiléptico), solo otro testigo, el humanista e historiador Pedro Mártir de Anglería, parece haberlo dejado registrado e incluso restado importancia al hecho: «Mientras el Rey oía misa en cortines, cayó exánime, aunque se recobró inmediatamente». Y continuaba: «Algunos dicen que en parte se debe a la copiosa cena del día anterior. No faltan quienes atribuyen el origen de este vértigo a los abusos venéreos».[6] La explicación de la «copiosa cena» no parece plausible. La mayoría de los que observaban al joven Carlos comentaban (al igual que Sancho Cota) su frugalidad en la comida y la bebida, no sus excesos. Según Beatis, el rey «come parcamente y siempre —lo he visto en muchas ocasiones— solo, aunque en público… No comía con gran ceremonia». Francesco Corner, que pasó cuatro años en la corte itinerante de Carlos, resaltaba también su moderación en todas las cosas: «Su majestad no muestra gran afición por ninguna actividad concreta, pero le gustan las justas, los juegos de cañas y el tenis», en todo lo cual destacaba; y «a veces juega a las cartas y a los dados con sus íntimos». En cuanto a los «abusos venéreos»,

Corner afirmaba categóricamente que Carlos «no es demasiado mujeriego, y en general se cree que hasta ahora no ha practicado el sexo».[7] En esto, sin embargo, estaba casi con toda seguridad equivocado.

En febrero de 1517, un diplomático inglés destinado en Bruselas informaba (sin citar ninguna fuente) que «el Lord Chevers había empezado a satisfacer el placer del rey, y le consentía jugar *in ludum Veneris*». Esta sugerencia, al igual que la afirmación de Pedro Mártir, podía ser simplemente reflejo del obsesivo interés de los diplomáticos en las hazañas sexuales de las cortes donde residían; pero encuentr a apoyo en la primera carta ológrafa de Carlos que se conserva, escrita en enero de 1518 a Enrique de Nassau, a quien había dejado en los Países Bajos como comandante en jefe de sus tropas *(véase lámina 8)*. El saludo de entrada («Henri») evidenciaba una clara familiaridad entre ambos corresponsales, como también lo hacía la queja de que había recibido «tantas cartas tuyas» que no había podido responder a todas «de mi puño y letra» pese a la amenaza de Nassau de que «si no lo hago, seré enviado al diablo». El rey declaraba, por tanto, que «respondería primero a tu tonta carta [*fole lettre]*, porque a todo el mundo le gusta hablar de lo que más le place», y bromeaba sobre las aventuras amorosas de algunos cortesanos de vuelta en los Países Bajos. Luego, sin embargo, descargaba una retahíla de quejas sobre España: cuánto echaba de menos las delicadas exquisiteces de los Países Bajos; cómo añoraba un vino decente; y cómo «me disgusta no ver ya a mi Enrique *[je suis bien mary de ne plus voir mon Henry]*». Sobre todo, echaba de menos «bellas damas *[belles dames]* porque aquí no se ven muchas, aunque creo que he encontrado una de mi agrado», pese a lo cual, se lamentaba, «no es que sea gran cosa, dado que lleva, aproximadamente, un dedo de espesor de maquillaje». No obstante, «si la dama se muestra dispuesta, me resultará más fácil y barato tenerla que allí».

Evidentemente, tuvo éxito, porque según su ayuda de cámara, Laurent Vital, Carlos «había conquistado y poseído a una dama por amor *[avoit conquis et fait une dame par amour]*». ¿Quién podría ser «la dama»? Solo el embajador Thomas Spinelly ofreció siquiera una respuesta parcial, al informar a Enrique VIII (tío político de Carlos) de que «el rey estaba enamorado de una hermosa y gentil dama de la reina de Aragón», Germana de Foix (la abuelastra de Carlos).[8]

Ningún diplomático, ministro o cronista parece mencionar a la *belle dame* y su silencio puede parecer sorprendente, pero, entonces, pocos de ellos encontraban algo de particular que referir sobre el joven Carlos. Laurent Vital, que fue su ayuda de cámara durante al menos una década antes de escribir la crónica de su «Primer viaje a España», dedicó un capítulo entero a «Las buenas costumbres que Dios ha concedido al rey católico nuestro señor», pero daba pocos ejemplos concretos salvo que el rey «no soportaba las blasfemias», que «era sincero de palabra y obra» y que «odiaba a los aduladores y a los chivatos». Además, Vital solo citaba una prueba concreta en apoyo de estas «buenas costumbres»: a la edad de 12 años Carlos reprendió a «uno de sus viejos sirvientes», que habló mal de otro con la intención de que lo despidieran.[9]

Esta falta de pruebas refleja sin duda el hecho de que Carlos hablaba muy poco. Vital solo incluía una conversación extensa en su detallado relato del «Viaje» de Gante a Zaragoza, que duró nueve meses: una charla intrascendente relativa a compartir comida y bebida entre los diversos barcos de la flota real, mientras navegaban hacia España. Beatis, al escribir justo antes del inicio de esta travesía, refería que «inmediatamente después de comer o cenar su majestad concedía gentilmente audiencia a quien lo quisiera desde su asiento en la cabecera de la mesa», pero «su majestad no hablaba». También Francesco Corner señaló que Carlos «habla poco en audiencias y reuniones». En

lugar de ello, «hace que responda el Gran Canciller o algún otro ministro presente durante la audiencia, y cuando él habla es para decir que remitirá la cuestión al Gran Canciller, a M. de Chièvres, o a algún otro, dependiendo de la importancia del tema».[10]

Corner y otros embajadores se referían reiteradamente a Chièvres como «alter rex [un rey alternativo]», en tanto que Erasmo comentó que «la más mínima palabra» de Chièvres «es la ley». Laurent Vital justificaba la disposición de Carlos a «favorecer y estimar el consejo de las personas más mayores» citando un paralelismo con el Antiguo Testamento: «Jeroboam, que fue expulsado de su reino porque ignoraba a los viejos y los sabios, y escuchaba a los jóvenes e ignorantes».[11] Otros eran menos benévolos. Un enviado español afirmaba en 1516 que Carlos

> Está muy governado, que no sabe hacer otra cosa, ni de dezir otra palabra syno lo que le aconsejan y le dicen. Sigue mucho a su consejo, y está muy sujeto a él; mas todavía queríamos, pues ya anda en diez y siete años, que hablase y se demostrase en alguna manera, no dejando de comunicar las cosas, y hacerlas con su consejo.

Al año siguiente, otro visitante español se quejaba de que Carlos «estaba gobernado por otros y que después de haber estado tres veces en su presencia nunca le habían oído pronunciar ni una sola palabra, sino que todos los temas estaban en manos de sus consejeros»; en tanto que un diplomático inglés opinaba con cruel simplicidad que «El rey de Castilla no es más que un idiota, y su consejo es deleznable».[12]

Esto era claramente injusto. Laurent Vital sabía exactamente «por qué sus gobernadores controlaban los asuntos de su joven señor» como lo hacían; tenían que «hacer de la necesidad virtud» y realizar concesiones nada agradables con el fin de evitar la guerra y de este modo «proteger los bienes de su príncipe huérfano» hasta que llegara a una edad en la que él pudiera

«defender sus derechos» por sí mismo. Chièvres preparaba cuidadosa y conscientemente al «príncipe huérfano» para ese día. Martin du Bellay, un diplomático francés que no tenía razón alguna para ensalzar al principal rival de su señor, comentó durante su visita a la corte de Carlos en 1515: «Todos los expedientes llegados de todas las provincias le eran presentados al príncipe, incluso por la noche, y después de verlos él mismo informaba de su contenido a su Consejo, donde todo era tratado en su presencia». Cuando uno de los colegas de Du Bellay le dijo a Chièvres que

> Estaba asombrado de que cargara tanto sobre los hombros del joven príncipe, teniendo medios para no hacerlo, Chièvres replicó: «Mi primo, yo soy su tutor y guardián mientras es joven… Si para cuando yo muera no entiende de sus asuntos, va a necesitar otro tutor porque no habrá sido formado para el trabajo de gobernar y siempre necesitará depender de otros.

A Chièvres no le faltaba ocasión para formar a su «joven señor», porque «duerma siempre en su cámara», para que, en palabras del propio Carlos, «quando despertare, si quisiere, tenga con quien hablar».[13]

No obstante, el exceso de control de Chièvres, y antes que él, de Margarita y Maximiliano, parece haber reprimido la autoconfianza e independencia de Carlos, y esto probablemente explique su dependencia de hombres mucho más mayores que él, no solo de Chièvres y Adriano, contemporáneos exactos de Maximiliano, sino también de Federico de Baviera y de «mi Enrique» de Nassau, que también le duplicaban la edad. Sin duda estos hombres, así como el resto de los consejeros supervivientes de Felipe el Hermoso, constituían un vínculo importante con el mundo de su padre, lo que explica la continuidad, a menudo subestimada, en su política. Pero, más avanzada su vida, Carlos supo ver con claridad los inconvenientes de depositar excesiva confianza en unos ministros determinados. Las Instrucciones secretas que escribió en 1543 para su hijo, entonces casi de la misma edad que él

tenía cuando llegó a España por primera vez, contenían una seria advertencia contra precisamente el tipo de dependencia que caracterizó sus relaciones con Chièvres:

> Tratad los negocios con muchos y no os atáis ni obligáis a uno solo, porque aunque es más descansado no os conviene, principalmente a estos vuestros principios porque luego dirían que sois gobernado y por ventura que sería verdad y que él a quien tal crédito cayese en las manos se ensoberbecería y se levantaría, de arte que después haría mil hierros; y en fin todos los otros quedarían quejosos.[14]

Sabias palabras, en efecto, aunque el emperador solo las añadiera como una idea sobrevenida en una página que contiene más enmiendas que ninguna otra de las que forman sus Instrucciones, una curiosidad que puede reflejar un sentimiento de vergüenza y embarazo de que su incapacidad para seguir este consejo hubiera provocado unas rebeliones que a punto estuvieron de privarle de su herencia española *(véase lámina 9)*.

SEGUNDA PARTE

Juego de tronos

«Cuando se juega al juego de tronos solo se puede ganar o morir.
No hay término medio.»*

4. De rey de España a rey de Romanos, 1517-1519

España, al fin

Pocas semanas después de la muerte de Fernando el Católico en enero de 1516, el embajador John Stile escribió desde Madrid que, a menos que Carlos llegara a España «este verano, los inconvenientes y problemas aquí aumentarán sin remedio». Durante un tiempo, pareció que Stile exageraba. No solo el cardenal Cisneros envió al nuevo rey una ristra de mensajes tranquilizadores sobre el estado de Castilla, sino que, en Aragón, el «Justicia Mayor» (la más alta instancia de la ley del reino) reconoció a Carlos como heredero y a la vez como tutor legal de Juana mientras durara su «enfermedad, alienación mental y demencia». Entretanto, el virrey de Nápoles informó de que «está todo el dicho reyno tan quieto y en tanta justicia y tranquilidad en servicio del príncipe y rey mi señor, como estaba en vida del rey nuestro señor que gloria aya». Aunque algunos miembros de la élite de Sicilia se rebelaron nada más conocer la noticia de la muerte de Fernando, el virrey consiguió restaurar el orden. La oleada de informes optimistas animaron a Carlos a resucitar el plan de su abuelo de emprender una nueva campaña en el norte de África: en mayo de 1517, desde Bruselas, ordenó a Cisneros lanzar un ataque anfibio sobre Argel.[1]

Para entonces Castilla empezaba a estar fuera de control. Pese a la ambigüedad de su posición, al principio el cardenal mantuvo el tipo con relativa facilidad. Cuando una delegación de grandes de España fue a preguntarle «con qué poderes governava», Cisneros «señaló con el dedo a un patio, en el qual, y en otros lugares altos, tenía puestas a punto muchas piezas de artillería, y les dixo: "Estos son los poderes que el Rey me dexo, y con ellos, en buena gracia del príncipe, governaré a Castilla hasta que su Alteza venga a ella o me mande otra cosa"». Tácticas tan toscas como esta no podían funcionar

indefinidamente. Desde la retrospectiva, el cronista Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola se quejaba de que «Despachava el cardinal imperiosamente». En concreto, «privó de sus oficios a muchas personas que los avían servido con satisfación, a otras de los salarios, y a muchas principales de sus rentas y alcabalas». Muchos de los afectados partieron «a Flandes, al refugio del príncipe», lo que debilitó la autoridad de Cisneros, porque «no se oía en aquella corte sino quexas de la de Castilla».[2]

Muchos de los que se quedaron en Castilla también se quejaron. Algunos nobles y algunas ciudades se opusieron abiertamente a las políticas de Cisneros, y aunque el cardenal continuaba acentuando lo positivo en sus cartas a Carlos —«está todo en mucha paz y sosiego», según le escribió en marzo de 1517—, las ciudades amenazaron con convocar las Cortes del reino en octubre si Carlos no había llegado para entonces a España. Carlos cumplió el plazo en el último momento, poniendo por primera vez el pie en suelo español el 20 de septiembre de 1517.[3]

El nuevo soberano venía bien preparado. Carlos había patrocinado libros que promovían su legitimidad (incluida una nueva edición de *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*, de Pedro Mártir de Anglería, y la *Crónica de Juan II*, bisabuelo de Carlos); y había conseguido hacerse con copias de las cuentas de la casa de su madre durante los viajes que esta hizo a España en la década anterior, cabe suponer que para hacerse una idea de lo que necesitaría gastar él. La vela mayor del buque insignia de la flota que le llevó a España exhibía un emblema muy apropiado, diseñado al parecer por el propio Carlos: los pilares de Hércules, que marcaban los límites del mundo romano, con las palabras *Plus Ultra*: «Más allá».[4] Gracias al préstamo de su tío Enrique, Carlos llevaba 40.000 ducados en monedas españolas recién acuñadas en Amberes para sus gastos, aunque al principio encontró poco que comprar. Los pilotos a bordo de su flota no

supieron identificar el puerto de arribada correctamente y Carlos, Leonor y unos cuantos cortesanos desembarcaron en el pequeño puerto de Villaviciosa, en lo que hoy es Asturias, que carecía de las instalaciones necesarias para el manejo del equipaje y provisiones. Según un miembro del séquito real: «Entre doscientas personas —señores, caballeros y damas— no había ni 40 caballos y tampoco forma de proveerse de ninguno, primero por causa de las grandes montañas y el tipo de campo tienen que andar a pie y segundo porque los sitios principales estaban infectados por la enfermedad».[5] La «enfermedad» —peste bubónica— continuó asolando España durante la primera visita de Carlos, lo que afectó a sus decisiones y fue motivo de desafección entre sus súbditos.

Lorenzo Vital, que desembarcó con su señor, trató como siempre de extraer un lado positivo a estos hechos. «El rey y sus señores hicieron de la necesidad virtud —afirmaba— echando una mano» en lo que fuera que necesitaba hacerse «como si estuvieran protagonizando una especie de fantasía bucólica, deleitándose con tortillas y obleas hechas con huevos y harina del lugar»; pero el fingimiento perdió atractivo cuando vieron que «gran parte de ellos tenían que dormir sobre paja y bancos de madera», y se desvaneció del todo una vez acabaron con toda la comida del lugar. Ello obligó al cortejo real a continuar viaje, pero dado que solo encontraron unos cuantos carros de bueyes, en los que subieron a las señoras, y algunos caballos y mulas de carga en los que montaron Carlos y algunos otros, el resto tuvieron que hacerlo a pie.[6]

Tras avanzar con gran dificultad por la «terrible y extenuante senda costera», enfrentándose a lluvias torrenciales y a «una niebla negra y fría», los embarrados viajeros llegaron por fin al puerto de San Vicente de la Barquera, donde encontraron un alojamiento algo mejor y comida fresca para elevar el ánimo. Carlos presumió ante su tía Margarita de que «durante nuestra

ruta, todos los príncipes y grandes de la zona nos salían triunfalmente a saludar, trayendo con ellos a mucha gente, llena de buena voluntad y obediencia». De hecho, añadía pomposamente, «Creemos que nunca un rey fue tan universalmente bienvenido y adorado por todos como nos»; pero, casi inmediatamente, cayó enfermo y tuvo que guardar cama, sin apenas comer, mientras sus médicos le atiborraban de diversas medicinas, «añadiendo a menudo polvo de cuerno de unicornio». Se puso tan enfermo que «hasta sus bufones eran incapaces de hacerle reír».[7]

Los médicos concluyeron que «la culpa fue de la brisa marina» y en lugar de continuar hacia Santander, donde había atracado la flota con el resto de sus suministros, el rey y su pequeño séquito partieron directamente hacia Castilla, atravesando montañas que alcanzaban los 2.000 metros de altura sobre el nivel del mar; una decisión insensata en todo caso, pero aún más teniendo en cuenta la frágil salud de Carlos. Las aldeas en las que incluso «en los alojamientos del rey las pieles de oso sustituían a los tapices» dieron paso a casuchas «sin nada más que las paredes desnudas», y posteriormente a un lugar «donde fue imposible encontrar una casa que no apestara y estuviera llena de enfermedades por el ganado que normalmente dormía dentro». La comitiva real procedió por tanto a montar las tiendas y prepararse para dormir fuera, pero casi inmediatamente volvió a caer «una niebla negra y fría», seguida de fuertes vientos, lluvias torrenciales y nieve, lo que les obligó a pasar la noche bajo techo, rodeados de ganado maloliente y cubierto de moscas. Hasta la moral del por lo general siempre animoso Vital flaqueó: «Veintiséis días habían pasado desde que el rey desembarcó y llegó a España», escribió tristemente, y no habían hecho más de 80 kilómetros.[8]

Las condiciones mejoraron algo una vez la comitiva pudo reencontrarse con su cadena de suministro en Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia), pero su calvario estaba lejos de haber terminado. El 31 de octubre pasaron por «varios pueblos donde solo se veía la iglesia, porque las casas y moradas de sus habitantes estaban enterradas, en lugares escondidos y oscuros, como madrigueras de conejo»; y una vez Carlos hizo su solemne entrada en la pequeña localidad de Becerril de Campos, a última hora del día anterior al de Todos los Santos, «ordenó cantar solemnemente Vísperas en sus aposentos, aunque no comió nada aquella noche», porque no había nada que comer.

Los cuatro meses transcurridos entre la salida de Carlos de Gante en junio de 1517 y su llegada a Becerril la víspera de Todos los Santos probablemente fueran los más deprimentes de su vida, aparte de los menos productivos. Durante aquel periodo prácticamente no se ocupó de negocio alguno, pese a los dramáticos acontecimientos que estaban teniendo lugar en otros lugares. En África, los defensores musulmanes de Argel acabaron con la mayoría de la fuerza expedicionaria española enviada a luchar contra ellos, causando gran ira y consternación en toda España. Más hacia el este, el sultán Selim supervisaba la conquista de Egipto y la península arábiga, reclamando para sí el título de califa. Según el historiador otomano Andrew Hess, esto «no solo catapultaba a los otomanos a una posición de liderazgo dentro de la extensa comunidad musulmana, sino que dotaba al régimen de Estambul de recursos suficientes para proyectar su poder hasta las puertas de Viena, al norte, y hasta Gibraltar, al oeste». En ambos lugares se encontraron con defensores Habsburgo. Esto marcó «el comienzo de la guerra mundial del siglo XVI» que acapararía toda la atención y recursos de Carlos durante el resto de su reinado.[9] De forma igualmente inquietante, Martín Lutero, hasta entonces un desconocido profesor de Teología de la Universidad de Wittenberg,

recientemente nombrado por el elector de Sajonia, preparaba una lista de objeciones a la teoría y práctica de las Indulgencias, otorgadas por la Iglesia a aquellos que hacían donaciones para causas piadosas. El 31 de octubre, cuando Carlos comenzó su ayuno involuntario en Becerril de Campos, Lutero publicó sus *Noventa y cinco tesis sobre el poder y la eficacia de las indulgencias*. A finales de ese año, había disponibles cientos de copias impresas en alemán y en latín. Esto marcó el comienzo de otra «g uerra mundial del siglo XVI».

Una madre y sus hijos

Carlos había planeado que las Cortes de Castilla se reunieran y recibieran su juramento como rey en Valladolid, y sus cortesanos por tanto se dirigieron allí; pero él y Leonor no. Como Carlos explicó a su hermano Fernando:

> La prinçipal causa que me conpelió a venir en estos reynos fue por veer e servir e consolar a Su Alteza [Juana] en todo lo a mi posible. E asy, queriendo cumplir esto, he determinado primero, e antes que en ninguna otra cosa del reyno entienda ni me ocupe, de yr mi camino derecho a vesar las manos de Su Magestad.[10]

El 4 de noviembre de 1517, Carlos y Leonor entraron a caballo en Tordesillas para visitar a su madre, a la que no habían visto en doce años. Tras retirarse brevemente a los aposentos preparados para ellos, cada uno espléndidamente decorado con tapices que Juana había traído consigo de los Países Bajos, Carlos y Leonor, acompañados del barón de Chièvres, entraron a presentar sus respetos a la reina. Cuando Carlos se arrodilló ante ella, Juana «preguntó al rey si era su fijo tres vezes», y añadió que cuánto había crecido en tan poco tiempo. Entonces, «besóle en el carrillo, y asimismo a madama Leonor. E dixóles "Ýos a reposar que venís cansado"».[11] Sus hijos se retiraron obedientemente a sus estancias, pero Chièvres se quedó hablando con la reina «más de media hora». Juana afirmó recordar perfectamente al barón de su estancia en los Países Bajos, y este aprovechó la ocasión para sugerir que la reina

«haría bien en conceder [a Carlos] poder soberano desde este momento, para que pueda aprender en vida de vos a dirigir y gobernar a vuestro pueblo».[12] Al parecer, ella se mostró de acuerdo (o eso afirmarían más tarde sus ministros). Esto fortalecía decisivamente la autoridad de Carlos en Castilla, dado que las Cortes habían reconocido a su madre (y solamente a ella) como su legítima soberana. En adelante, aunque su madre conservó su cargo de «reina propietaria» de Castilla hasta su muerte en 1555, y su nombre aparecía junto al de su hijo en todas las monedas y documentos oficiales, Juana jamás puso en cuestión el derecho de Carlos a gobernar en nombre de los dos.

Además de esto, Juana nunca reclamó el título de «reina de Aragón», en un principio, porque los que la rodeaban actuaban como si Fernando de Aragón siguiera vivo. El engaño se inició cuando Cisneros y el Consejo de Regencia decidieron, nada más morir Fernando, que la noticia afectaría a su hija y acordaron, por tanto, no comunicársela. Aún seguía sin conocer la verdad en marzo de 1518, cuando Carlos nombró a don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, marqués de Denia, gobernador de la Casa de su madre y de la ciudad de Tordesillas en la que ella vivía, y el marqués comenzó a crear (en palabras de Bethany Aram), «con la aprobación del rey, un mundo ficticio para Juana».[13]

Este «mundo ficticio» dependía de crear un doble muro de silencio en torno a la reina. Denia le prohibió entrar en ninguna habitación con ventana, para evitar que viera o se comunicara con nadie del exterior: en lugar de ello, «no le dexen salir a la sala y corredores, y la encierran en su cámara que no tyene luz ninguna sino con velas». Asimismo, permitía solo acompañantes femeninas cuidadosamente seleccionadas, y supervisadas por la esposa de Denia, para asistir a la reina, en tanto que sus rigurosamente escogidos guardias impedían la entrada de nadie más. Estos eran igualmente prisioneros, pues les estaba prohibido salir del palacio o comunicarse con nadie de fuera, ni

siquiera con los otros ministros de Carlos, porque (según el propio Denia): «A todos deve ser secreto lo de aquí, y mucho más a los del consejo». Además, el marqués nombraba a sus propios parientes y clientes para mantener el doble muro de silencio en torno a Juana, y cuando uno de ellos moría o se jubilaba, ascendía al puesto a sus hijos, perpetuando de esta manera el aislamiento de la reina. Denia también insistía en que solo él y su esposa podían conversar con Juana, y cuando era inevitable que una persona extraña la visitara (por ejemplo, un médico), le hacía prometer que no diría nada que contradijera el «mundo ficticio» que él había creado.[14] Cuando un día Juana acusó a Denia de «que le negava la muerte del rey [Fernando] su señor, que le dixese sy era vyvo porque le convenya savello, yo le respondy que yo le avya dicho la verdad» y que «sy otra cosa fuera, que Vuestra Magestad ge lo dyxera». Al conocer la muerte de Maximiliano, Denia no dudó en ascender un nivel más en la escalada de mentiras:

> Le dixe como Vuestra Magestad es enperador por renuncyacyon del enperador y nueva elecyon de los eletores, y que desto devya Su Alteza dar grandes gracias a Nuestro Señor. Respondióme, sy era asy que fuese vyvo el enperador [Maximiliano], porque creya quera muerto. Yo certifiqué a Su Alteza que era vyvo.[15]

¿Por qué todas estas mentiras? Gustave Bergenroth, que fue quien publicó por primera vez parte de la cruel correspondencia entre Carlos y el carcelero de su madre, conjeturaba que su objetivo era perpetuar el mito de que Juana estaba loca y por tanto incapacitada para gobernar; pero ello pasaba por alto el hecho de que nadie aparte de los iniciados en el «mundo ficticio» sabían de la existencia de este. Parece más probable que su pretensión fuera alimentar la creencia de Juana de que su padre seguía al mando y de este modo garantizar que ella nunca cuestionaría el derecho de Carlos a gobernar. En resumen, como Denia explicó, el engaño la hacía más fácil de controlar:

> Yo e dicho a la Reyna nuestra señora que el Rey mi Señor, su padre, es vyvo porque todo lo que se haze que no es en tanto contentamiento de Su Alteza, dygo que lo manda y ordena asy el Rey, porque con el acatamiento que le tiene pasa lo mejor que lo pasarya sy supiese que es muerto.

Por otra parte, dicho engaño permitía a Denia asegurar ante Juana que su hijo trataba constantemente «de remedyar y descansar a Su Alteza», pero que hasta el momento «no lo a podydo azer» porque el «rey Fernando» se negaba.[16]

Estas ventajas explican sin duda por qué Carlos no solo no se limitaba a tolerar los múltiples engaños, sino que contribuía a aumentarlos. En octubre de 1518, cuando la peste amenazó Tordesillas y la prudencia sugería evacuar a Juana a un lugar más seguro, Carlos le indicó a Denia que, si su madre se negaba a abandonar su palacio,

> [Dado que] Su Alteza es temerosa de la muerte, especialmente de pestiliencia, avéys le de decir que… la pestilençia es tan cruda que los heridos mueren en dos días y en más breve tiempo, y para esto será bien que fingidamente hagáis que los clérigos pasen por delante palacio con su cruz, o algunas vezes al día, so color que llevan a alguno a enterrar.

Un año después, Carlos mandó también a Denia que ocultara a su madre la muerte de Maximiliano: «Devéis dezir que Su Magestad que aya Gloria me dexó todo su estado y se retraxo a un monasterio porque yo de todo pudiese mejor gozar». Asimismo, Carlos reafirmaba su absoluto apoyo al «mundo ficticio»:

> Sin duda, como dezís, lo que más conviene es escusar que no hable ninguno a Su Alteza demás de lo que allá para este efeto vos ocurrirá. Parésceme que será bien que quando Su Alteza demande por alguno, se le diga que fue herido de pestilencia y que lo llevaron fuera de la villa.

Además, ordenó a todos los que atendían a Juana que obedecieran al marqués «como sy yo mysmo en persona vos lo mandase».[17] No parece que Carlos se parara a considerar nunca el daño que las mentiras y el prolongado confinamiento causarían a su madre.

Carlos mostraba la misma insensibilidad hacia su hermano. Poco después de humillar a su hermana Leonor al interceptar su carta de amor, Carlos recibió un informe en el que se le comunicaba que algunos miembros de la Casa del joven Fernando estaban conspirando para «que en ausencia nuestra nombrasen por governador desos reynos, en nombre de la reyna mi señora, al dicho illustríssimo infante». Por tanto, envió un mensajero urgente a Cisneros y Adriano con instrucciones para despedir y mandar al exilio a más de 30 de los criados de Fernando. Según un testigo presencial,

> Dentro de vn dia se executó, de que se espantó todo el mundo de tanta osadia, porque como Su Alteza [Carlos] no tiene al presente otro heredero y subçesor, sino a este [Fernando], ninguno se atreviera a lo que nosotros, y a le enojar en tanta manera (especialmente que todos, por la mayor parte, pensaban que Su Alteza no viniera) […] En esto se le hizo a Su Alteza más servicio que nadie puede pensar […] que no fuera mucho que se rrevolviera el rreyno todo.[18]

Investigaciones posteriores al parecer revelaron la existencia de una conspiración para llevarse secretamente a Fernando a Aragón y otros planes tan «diabólicos» que no podían mencionarse.

Con la ventaja de la retrospectiva, Prudencio de Sandoval comentó que «la mayor parte de aquellos criados siguió las Comunidades, que dentro de dos años se levantaron en Castilla»; pero eso correspondía al futuro. En aquel momento, Carlos se concentró en asegurarse la lealtad de su hermano escribiéndole una carta personal en la que aseveraba «que todo se haze por vuestro bien y vos acordéys sienpre del amor que vos tengo», y prometía «mandaré escribir, y entenderé en dar horden donde vengays a juntaros conmigo. Entre tanto, holgad e abed placer». Carlos también instó a Cisneros a que le hiciera comprender a Fernando «que lo que mandamos proueer fue por su bien y acrecentamiento, y porque el mucho amor que le tenemos vaya siempre adelante y que en Nos ha de hallar hermano y padre verdadero».[19]

El cardenal no estaba convencido. Sabiendo que Carlos planeaba enviar a su hermano a los Países Bajos, Cisneros manifestaba que «su pareçer es que en ninguna manera esten él y el infante juntos, porque sy juntos están, podría ser que se consumiesen el vno al otro». No obstante, continuaba:

> Quando le saque [de Castilla] le suplica que lo haga dando a todo el rreyno mucho contentamiento, esto es, no embiándole pobre y syn esperança ninguna y que, pues en aquellas partes le casó, que no le duela, pues Nuestro Señor le dio tan amplios patrimonios y le dará más, de prometerle para después de los días del emperador [Maximiliano] la parte que a Su Alteza cabe de los mayoradgos y patrimonios que espera, o la parte que a Su Alteza le paresciere.[20]

Carlos rechazó este consejo en su totalidad. Se reunió con Fernando poco después de dejar Tordesillas y pasó los siguientes seis meses en su compañía. Cuando finalmente ordenó al infante que dejara Castilla para irse a los Países Bajos, le envió sin título, ni tierras y, prácticamente, sin dinero.

Perder terreno

Cisneros murió antes de poder reunirse con Carlos en persona, lo que le hizo más fácil al rey ignorar su consejo. No obstante, dicho consejo era irremplazable, dado que el cardenal había trabajado estrechamente tanto con Isabel como con Fernando, así como gobernado Castilla en cuatro ocasiones distintas (1506-1507, 1510, 1512 y 1516-1517). Conocía por tanto por experiencia propia los puntos débiles y fuertes de cada parte del reino, pero sus percepciones secretas murieron con él. La muerte del cardenal representó además para Carlos un regalo envenenado, ya que dejaba vacante la sede de Toledo, cuyo valor era de 60.000 ducados al año. Decidió proponer a Guillermo de Croÿ —sobrino del barón de Chièvres, antiguo paje de Carlos y entonces sacerdote de 19 años que estudiaba en la Universidad de Lovaina— para suceder a Cisneros. Fue el primer error importante del nuevo rey de España.

Tal vez por no tener hijos, Chièvres siempre se esforzó por promover la carrera de su sobrino y tocayo, convenciendo a Carlos para que le nombrara abad de dos de los conventos más ricos de los Países Bajos, así como arzobispo de Cambrai y obispo de Coria (en Castilla) y, finalmente, cardenal (honor que le fue concedido justo antes de que Carlos partiera para España). Chièvres entonces le rogó a Carlos que nombrara a su sobrino arzobispo de Toledo.[21] Según Vital, «al principio el rey no quería conceder ni tampoco retener el nombramiento, alegando que lo tenía que pensar», porque otros habían expresado también interés, y él tenía que «pedir a su consejo que considerara a quién debía conferirle este puesto, porque quería conocer antes sus opiniones»; pero, según Vital, «la diversidad de solicitantes dejó al rey y a su consejo absolutamente perplejos». La «diversidad de solicitantes» reflejaba las amargas divisiones existentes dentro del Consejo Real. Erasmo afirmó en cierta ocasión que había rechazado la invitación de Carlos para acompañarle a España principalmente porque «Veía la corte dividida en demasiadas facciones, con sectas de españoles, judíos y franceses, partidarios de Chièvres y del emperador [Maximiliano], napolitanos, sicilianos y quién sabe qué más». Quizá, predeciblemente, fueron los «partidarios de Chièvres» los que prevalecieron.[22]

Carlos ya había nombrado antes a extranjeros para sedes castellanas —a su médico Luigi Marliano como obispo de Tuy y al propio Croÿ como obispo de Coria— incumpliendo claramente el testamento de la reina Isabel, donde se estipulaba que solo los nativos del reino tenían derecho a ocupar cargos seglares y eclesiásticos. Dado que esto levantó algunos comentarios hostiles, Carlos tomó la precaución de firmar unos papeles donde se declaraba que Croÿ estaba naturalizado castellano antes de nombrarle arzobispo de Toledo, pese a lo cual su nombramiento provocó una protesta inmediata. Sancho

Cota, que viajaba con la comitiva real como secretario de Leonor, contaba que cuando llegó la noticia de que Alfonso de Aragón —hijo ilegítimo del rey Fernando, arzobispo de Zaragoza y regente de la Corona de Aragón tras la muerte de su padre— iba de camino a Tordesillas a solicitar la sede de Toledo, «el rey le enbió a dezir que no viniese, porque él avía ya proveýdo del arçobispado a otra persona y que no trabajase de venir». Esta desconsiderada respuesta lógicamente ofendió a Alfonso: más adelante Carlos suplicaría en vano para que le ayudara a ganarse a sus súbditos aragoneses. Entretanto, en Valladolid, Pedro Mártir se hacía eco de la misma historia: «En boca de todos cunde que el Rey se ha comportado descortésmente y con mucho descaro» con su tío Alfonso. Mártir reparaba también en que el nombramiento de Croÿ era «algo más duro contra las leyes y costumbres del reino, que puede ser levante algún día a las turbas», y predecía que, dado que «a nadie le hacen gracia los comienzos estos, el tiempo dirá los frutos de estas semillas».[23]

Mientras las «semillas» crecían, Carlos se ocupaba de los asuntos familiares. En Tordesillas, él y Leonor pasaron algún tiempo con su hermana menor, Catalina, que entonces tenía diez años, y organizaron un tardío funeral por su padre, cuyo cadáver guardaba Juana en Tordesillas. La tumba en sí era modesta, dado que Carlos pretendía trasladar el cuerpo de su padre a Granada para que yaciera junto a los Reyes Católicos (como pedía en su testamento), pero el cadáver estaba «embalsamado, y sellado dentro de un ataúd de plomo». Celebrar las «honras» antes de reunirse con las Cortes de nuevo resaltaba la legitimidad de Carlos como soberano. El 18 de noviembre de 1517, Carlos y Leonor partieron de Tordesillas para encontrarse con otro hermano: Fernando, de 14 años de edad. Tras abrazarle, el rey armó a su hermano caballero del Toisón de Oro, y «le expuso algunas cuestiones refinadas, nobles

y caballerescas relativas a la Orden». Luego, acompañados por un cortejo de 6.000 personas, los tres nietos de la reina Isabel hicieron su entrada ceremonial en Valladolid. Según el siempre obsequioso Lorenzo Vital, hasta «los más viejos residentes y comerciantes» de la ciudad afirmaron que nadie en Castilla «había visto la entrada de un rey tan noble y triunfante como este».[24]

Las Cortes de Castilla se encontraron en Valladolid y votaron casi de inmediato un subsidio de 600.000 ducados —sustancialmente mayor que cualquier dotación anterior— y reconocieron a Carlos como rey, junto con su madre, pero también presentaron casi un centenar de quejas que debían ser atendidas. Algunas eran habituales y nada controvertidas («suplican a Vuestra Alteza mande que las carnes no salgan destos reynos», «que Vuestra Alteza mande vedar el juego de los dados» y «que mande labrar vellón e moneda menuda, porque hay necesydad della en estos reynos»); mientras que otras, aunque más críticas, no representaban ninguna amenaza («Suplican a Vuestra Alteza que nos haga merced de hablar castellano»; y mantener «ahudiencia personalmente a lo menos dos días en la semana»). Sin embargo, había unas cuantas que rezumaban preocupación por la influencia extranjera: «Suplicamos a Vuestra Alteza… nos haga merced que el infante [Fernando] no salga destos reynos fasta tanto que Vuestra Alteza sea casado y tenga herederos»; que ningún cargo en Castilla, ya sea seglar o religioso, «se den nin concedan a extranjeros»; «que nin dé nin conceda carta de naturaleza a ningún extrangero, e sy algunas son dadas, las mande revocar»; y «que el arzobispo de Toledo venga y resyda en estos reynos».[25]

Carlos atendió algunas de estas quejas inmediatamente, incluyendo su incapacidad de «hablar castellano». Para la primavera de 1518, según un ministro borgoñón, el rey «habla con sus nobles en castellano, y ya domina la lengua y las

costumbres del país». Pedro Mártir se mostraba de acuerdo, y así informaba a sus corresponsales españoles: «Prestad oídos a un asunto que os ha de hacer reir. El Rey ya se ha soltado en hablar la lengua española, y se expresa como si hubiera nacido y hubiera sido criado entre vosotros. Parece haber hecho su aprendizaje de repente». Carlos también comenzó a hablar él mismo en las audiencias —si bien brevemente y a menudo con frases hechas— en lugar de delegar en sus «gobernadores» para que hablaran en su nombre.[26]

El día que Fernando cumplía 15 años, Carlos creó una corte aparte para él, y luego, junto con Leonor, partieron los tres hermanos hacia Zaragoza para reunirse con las Cortes del reino de Aragón. Sin embargo, durante el camino y, aparentemente sin previo aviso, Carlos contravino los deseos expresos de las Cortes de Castilla y ordenó al infante que abandonara su tierra natal y emprendiera viaje por mar para irse a vivir con su tía Margarita a los Países Bajos. Este, por supuesto, venía siendo desde hacía mucho tiempo el plan familiar, y satisfacía la promesa que Carlos había hecho a sus súbditos antes de su marcha; pero su abrupta ejecución fue consecuencia del miedo. Según la biografía de Fernando redactada por su preceptor (que formaba parte del grupo de los que habían sido separados del infante el septiembre anterior):

> Al Ynfante don Fernando se le haçia rreçibimiento como a príncipe, aunque no fuesse el prínçipe (que su hermano lo hera, questaua en Flandes) mas los pueblos lo mirauan con amor de príncipe porque en estos rreynos no auia otro, puesto que por esto ningún perjuyçio se pensase haçer al prínçipe don Carlos su hermano, ca todos lo rreconoçían e tenían por prínçipe heredero destos rreynos, mas su ausencia causaba al ynfante tal acatamiento.

Así pues, según Alonso de Santa Cruz, cronista de Carlos:

> Chièvres y el gran canciller [Le Sauvage] sintiesen, hablando con algunos caballeros en las Cortes de Valladolid […] cómo el rey don Carlos era aborrecido de muchos, y el infante, su hermano, amado de todos […] le aconsejaron cómo

convenía que le enviase fuera del reino, porque si en algún tiempo algunos caballeros se amotinasen en España no tuviesen al infante don Fernando por su cabeza; lo cual pareció muy bien a Su Alteza.

Sancho Cota, mientras seguía de viaje con la comitiva real, anotó que «de todo esto peso mucho a toda España, así de grandes como a los pueblos, porque le querían mucho e les pareçía muy mal»; mientras que el embajador francés se hacía eco de que «la gente no está muy contenta con esto».[27]

Incluso Lorenzo Vital comentó la creciente hostilidad. Mientras estuvo en Valladolid, algunos clérigos se negaron a dar alojamiento a la comitiva del rey y excomulgaron a los funcionarios reales encargados de encontrar hospedaje. «Libelos difamatorios» aparecieron en las puertas de las iglesias, expresando frustración por el hecho de que el reino fuera gobernado por extranjeros, y, nada más dejar el rey la ciudad, un fraile empezó a dar sermones que contenían «palabras escandalosas» contra los «Flamencos» que tenían «prisionero» al nuevo soberano y habían derogado las leyes de Castilla nombrando a extranjeros para los cargos. El rey mandó a los magistrados que arrestaran al fraile transgresor «porque el castigo que a él se fiziera fuera exemplo para otros que no predicaron en semejantes tiempos sino la verdad».[28] La antipatía era mutua. El representante del cardenal Cisneros en Bruselas había predicho en noviembre de 1516 que los asesores de Carlos pretendían «jamas salir de aqui y haser a Castilla subjeta al condado de Flandes, trayendo a el quantas cabsas y negoçios sucedieren»; mientras que dieciocho meses más tarde, según Pedro Mártir, «los Flamencos» —muchos de los cuales habían sido obligados a huir de España de forma tan ignominiosa una década antes— «tienen a los españoles en menos que si hubieran nacidos en sus cloacas».[29]

¿Es posible que estos comentaristas exageraran? Según lord Berners, un diplomático inglés en la corte de Carlos, escribió en septiembre de 1518, «todos los asuntos de España van por buen camino y las tierras están en manos del rey, si bien con algo de celos y desconfianza entre los españoles y los borgoñones»; en tanto que la destreza del rey en «triunfos diarios, luchas, justas y juegos de cañas» despertaba la admiración de todos los que le veían.[30] No obstante, Berners y otros embajadores señalaban cómo los aragoneses «mantenían al rey aquí en estas tierras, y todo para su propio beneficio». «De cuánto tiempo el rey católico tendrá que pasar aquí en Zaragoza no podemos estar seguros», se quejaba Berners, «porque hasta el día de hoy (aunque le hayan tomado juramento como su rey y se hayan declarado sus súbditos) no le han entregado ni su obediencia ni su dinero». Son, opinaba, «el pueblo más obstinado del mundo». Dos meses después otro diplomático frustrado predecía que las Cortes de Aragón serían «infinitas y, como supongo, no acabarán nunca (aun cuando el rey en persona está allí dos o tres veces por semana)».[31]

Estas demoras tenían raíces muy profundas. Tras la muerte de Fernando,

> En la Corona de Aragón solo se reconocía a Carlos como príncipe, sus órdenes, mandatos y despachos no se abrían y se guardaban hasta que fuera admitido como rey, y aquéllos en los que utilizaba título de rey y no de príncipe eran devueltos […] [Y como] la ley de sucesión no reconocía la trasmisión por vía femenina tanto el juramento a doña Juana como el debido a don Carlos non era una ratificación o confirmación, como en Castilla, sino una elección.[32]

En abril de 1518, mientras avanzaba lentamente hacia la frontera aragonesa, Carlos ordenó a su tío Alfonso que se reuniera con él y le jurara lealtad; como era de esperar, dada su gestión respecto a la sede de Toledo, el arzobispo no apareció. La comitiva real esperó impacientemente durante una semana, hasta que llegó una carta de los magistrados de Zaragoza declarando que, antes de que pudieran tomar el juramento a

Carlos, debían jurar primero ante Juana en persona. Aunque las Cortes finalmente acabaron por aceptar que esto era imposible, y acordaron a regañadientes aceptar el juramento de Carlos de respetar todas las leyes del reino, se negaron a llamarle «rey» mientras viviera su madre; e incluso cuando Carlos cedió ante esta objeción, las Cortes exigieron permiso para reconocer a Fernando como «príncipe heredero». Las luchas entre cortesanos castellanos y aragoneses empezaron a extenderse por las calles de Zaragoza, y aunque Carlos consiguió reconciliarlos, las negociaciones con las Cortes continuaron alargándose durante el resto del año.

La prolongada lucha de poder en Zaragoza permitió a los diplomáticos acreditados ante la corte de Carlos evaluar por primera vez la forma en que se tomaban las decisiones en el nuevo estado Habsburgo. «Pocas personas intervienen en dirigir los asuntos de este joven príncipe», señalaba el embajador francés, añadiendo que la influencia de Chièvres seguía siendo la misma. Su colega Francesco Corner aseguraba asimismo al gobierno veneciano en varios de sus despachos que Chièvres era el «alter rex» de la corte de Carlos, en tanto que Pedro Mártir empezó a llamarle «el capro» («la cabra», un juego de palabras con la palabra francesa *chèvre*), y (mezclando metáforas descaradamente) afirmaba que Chièvres era «el cepo que aprisiona» a Carlos, de manera que «nada puede susurrarse al oído del Rey que se escape».[33] Muchos consideraban al Gran Canciller, Jean Le Sauvage, tan poderoso como Chièvres, y algunos seguían refiriéndose a los dos como los «gobernadores» de Carlos, pero Le Sauvage murió en junio de 1518 y seis meses después Carlos nombró a Chièvres marqués de Aarschot, conde de Beaumont y barón de Heverlé; una señal inequívoca del favor continuado del que gozó.[34]

Algunos esperaban que Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara, que fue quien juró el cargo de Gran Canciller en octubre de 1518, desafiara a Chièvres, pero, por el contrario, se convirtió en el mayor partidario del nuevo marqués. Nacido en Italia, abogado de profesión y perteneciente a la misma generación que Chièvres, Adriano y Maximiliano, Gattinara había servido al emperador como diplomático, y a Margarita de Austria como consejero confidente. Según el embajador inglés, cuando el «señor Mercurius» llegó a la corte de Carlos, era «un hombre de 60 años, muy serio, con buena formación y buen latín». Un enviado veneciano iba más allá: el nuevo canciller era «prudente, muy instruido (dicen), justo, y entiende el latín, español, francés y alemán», además de su italiano materno, «y todo el mundo le aprecia por sus muchos idiomas»; una velada crítica a los demás asesores de Carlos, en su mayoría monolingües.[35] Gattinara ya había despertado bastante atención en diciembre de 1516 con un manuscrito dirigido «Al divino Carlos el Grande, Rey Católico» y titulado *Oración suplicatoria, que incluye un sueño de la última monarquía mundial y el triunfo de la cristiandad, expresado en términos generales, con los medios para conseguirlo*. Aunque escrito en latín, y por tanto difícil de entender para el destinatario, Gattinara tomó la precaución de entregar el tratado a su paisano Luigi Marliano, médico y consejero de confianza de Carlos, con la esperanza de que llegara a «los oídos de cierto adolescente». Tras muchas páginas en las que narraba un disparatado sueño en el que presentaba a Carlos como el mesías que pacificaría Italia, reformaría la Iglesia, uniría la cristiandad y traería la paz universal, Gattinara comparaba de forma crítica los recursos de los que disponía Carlos (incluyendo sus posesiones en América) con los de otros estados cristianos, para demostrar que el sueño podía hacerse realidad. Hasta su muerte en 1530, Gattinara dedicó todas sus energías a conseguir que este sueño se cumpliera.[36]

Un reducido número de españoles también consiguieron hacerse un hueco dentro del círculo de máxima confianza de los consejeros de Carlos. Francisco de los Cobos empezó a redactar por entonces la mayoría de las cartas de Estado sobre Castilla (incluidas las que iban dirigidas al marqués de Denia sobre la perpetuación del engaño a la reina Juana). En noviembre de 1518, al enterarse de que Chièvres estaba dispuesto a devolver Navarra a sus anteriores gobernantes para preservar la paz con Francia, un grupo de nobles españoles fueron «a ver al rey y le informaron de que no debía entregar un reino como aquel, porque era la llave para el resto de España». Tres meses después, como preparación para la propuesta de un encuentro cara a cara con Francisco I para tratar de los temas pendientes, Carlos «reunió a cuatro o cinco de los más principales clérigos de Castilla y Aragón para debatir su derecho sobre el reino de Nápoles» (quienes también le aconsejaron no entregar nada, consejo que Carlos seguiría).[37]

Finalmente, Carlos partió de Zaragoza y condujo a su séquito hacia Barcelona, donde esperaba convencer a otra asamblea más de súbditos descontentos de que reconocieran su sucesión y le proporcionaran fondos. Para cuando llegó allí, había perdido a dos miembros más de su familia: a su hermana y al único abuelo que le quedaba. En octubre de 1518, Leonor, su inseparable compañera desde que nació, partió de mala gana a reunirse con su futuro marido Manuel de Portugal y (como en el caso del exilio del joven Fernando) su marcha «pareció mal a todos los de la Corte y de todo el reyno».[38] Cuatro meses después, cuando llegaba a Barcelona, Carlos supo de la muerte de Maximiliano, un acontecimiento que transformó tanto su situación personal como el equilibrio de poderes en Europa.

«Cómprese un emperador»[39]

La primera vez que Maximiliano se planteó conseguir la Corona imperial para Carlos fue en 1513. Su pariente y confidente el conde palatino Federico recordaba más adelante las palabras exactas del emperador:

> Vea que yo he dado mi sangre, mi dinero y mi juventud por el imperio y no he conseguido nada a cambio. Puestos a la tarea, me gustaría que este joven señor, mi nieto Carlos, sea elegido emperador, porque como puede ver nadie tiene la capacidad ni el poder de mantener la reputación del imperio excepto él. Si los electores están de acuerdo, yo estaría preparado para entregar el cargo.

Según la constitución del Imperio, dicho cambio requería los votos a favor de al menos cuatro de los siete príncipes llamados electores *(Kurfürsten)* —los arzobispos de Maguncia, Tréveris y Colonia, el elector palatino, el margrave de Brandeburgo, el duque de Sajonia y el rey de Bohemia— en una reunión especial convocada para elegir a un «rey de Romanos» al que el Papa más tarde conferiría el título de «emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano». Poco después de esta conversación con Federico, Maximiliano se reunió con cuatro electores (incluido el elector palatino, hermano mayor de Federico) para tantear el terreno, pero estos rechazaron la oferta con la gélida respuesta: «Ninguno de nosotros quiere que entregue su cargo».[40]

Aparentemente, el asunto quedó en suspenso durante los tres años siguientes, tras los cuales se convirtió en un «feroz y prolongado juego de póquer» con apuestas extraordinariamente altas, y cuyo resultado permanecería en la incertidumbre hasta la votación final. El juego en serio comenzó en noviembre de 1516, cuando el elector de Tréveris mandó a un enviado a ofrecer su voto a Francisco I como siguiente rey de Romanos, en cuanto Maximiliano abdicara o muriera. En junio de 1517 el elector de Brandeburgo siguió su ejemplo, garantizando su voto a cambio de que su hijo se casara con la princesa Renata (anteriormente prometida de Carlos), además de 150.000 escudos y una pensión para él mismo. Como Robert Knecht ha señalado, «Francisco no supo ver que los electores alemanes

estaban menos interesados en el éxito del rey de Francia que en promover una elección disputada» y «el hecho de que dejara que se aprovecharan así de él no deja en buen lugar su criterio político».[41]

No obstante, los rumores de una candidatura francesa aterrorizaron a los Habsburgo. Carlos tuvo conocimiento de ellos mientras esperaba en Zelanda a que soplaran vientos favorables para su viaje a España, y afirmó (de manera un tanto pomposa) que «Desde el mismo momento que nos despedimos del emperador nuestro abuelo, y recibimos su bendición»,

> Hemos pensado mucho en la sucesión imperial, y varias veces hemos comentado el asunto con nuestros principales y más fieles consejeros informados del tema. Cada vez nos hemos ido dando más cuenta de lo importante que es para nosotros, y preguntado cuál sería la mejor manera de que los reinos, dominios, señoríos y súbditos del emperador y nosotros mismos, en Alemania, España e Italia, así como aquí en los Países Bajos, estuvieran a buen recaudo, en paz y tranquilidad, para que nadie pudiera causarles daño; y que si algún soberano, por poderoso que sea, intentara oprimirlos, atacarlos o invadirlos, fuéramos lo suficientemente fuertes para defenderlos.

En cambio, opinaba Carlos, si otro soberano se convertía en emperador, esto daría lugar a «problemas y divisiones, y podría suponer una ruina total» para él. Por tanto, informó a su abuelo de que estaría dispuesto a repartir hasta 100.000 florines en metálico entre los electores que le votaran, además de unas pensiones anuales, así como a distinguirles con la Orden del Toisón de Oro y otras recompensas de menor categoría. Tres meses después, Carlos le recordó a Maximiliano la necesidad de garantizar «que, después de su muerte, el Imperio no cayera en manos del rey de Francia», porque esto «dañaría gravemente a la Casa de Habsburgo». Así pues, encarecía a su abuelo «que no escatimara en regalos, promesas de pensiones, beneficios ni ninguna otra cosa».[42]

Pero ya casi era demasiado tarde. En octubre de 1517, mientras Carlos tiritaba de frío en las montañas de Asturias, el elector de Maguncia (hermano del elector de Brandeburgo)

vendió su voto a Francia, y seis meses más tarde el elector palatino hizo lo propio, otorgándole de este modo a Francisco la mayoría que necesitaba para ganar la elección. Aún más, Francisco presumía ante un embajador extranjero de que «su reino le reportaba VI millones anuales», y que estaba dispuesto a «gastar III millones de oro con tal de ser el emperador».[43] Maximiliano recalcó entonces la necesidad urgente de igualar este desembolso, pero su nieto replicó con petulancia que «no sería necesario comprar el imperio» porque gracias a sus raíces austriacas «toda la nación alemana le sería más favorable a él que al rey de Francia». En abril de 1518, envió, por tanto, cartas de crédito a Alemania por valor de 100.000 florines, mientras Chièvres (que controlaba las finanzas públicas de España y las de los Países Bajos) advertía que «esto es lo máximo de lo que su majestad puede disponer por el momento» y añadía altaneramente: «A veces uno debe conformarse con lo que es posible y encontrar la manera de cubrir lo que falta por otros medios».[44]

Maximiliano rápidamente le recalcó a su nieto que «Si aspiráis a ganar esta Corona, no debéis escatimar ningún recurso», y añadió una larga lista de «recursos» necesarios, en la que incluía no solo dinero, sino también el matrimonio de Catalina, hermana de Carlos, con el joven margrave de Brandeburgo, acompañado de una sustancial dote (para evitar que él se casara con Renata de Francia). Carlos, continuaba, debía «dejarme todas las decisiones a mí» porque «estáis demasiado lejos de nosotros para que pueda deciros y pediros todo lo que necesitamos: antes de que pudiéramos recibir vuestra respuesta, todo podría haber cambiado». Por si su nieto todavía no se había percatado de la gravedad de la situación, una semana más tarde Maximiliano escribió otra carta con el estilo

pasivo-agresivo que el propio Carlos perfeccionaría más adelante. A menos que su nieto pagara todo lo requerido, y a no ser que delegara plenos poderes en él, Maximiliano advertía:

> No vemos forma de llevar este asunto como el deseo y el honor de ambos exige; y si se produce cualquier fallo o negligencia, nos sentiremos muy defraudados de que después de todas las dificultades y esfuerzos que hemos pasado a lo largo de toda nuestra vida para engrandecer y ensalzar nuestra dinastía y nuestra posteridad, por vuestra negligencia todo se venga abajo y se pongan en peligro todos nuestros reinos, dominios y señoríos, y con ellos, nuestra sucesión.

«Tomaos este asunto en serio por el bien de nuestra dinastía, como nos lo estamos haciendo», reprendía a Carlos en una posdata de su puño y letra.[45]

Pocos días después, Jakob Villinger, tesorero de Maximiliano, envió un mensaje de reproche similar a Chièvres. Si Carlos «realmente quiere el imperio», insistía Villinger, debía mandar otros 100.000 florines de oro a Alemania de inmediato, sin restricciones sobre cómo Maximiliano debía gastarlos. «Vos ya debéis conocer la importancia de este asunto —continuaba incansable—, pero dejadme que os refresque la memoria». La elección de Carlos permitiría a la Casa de Habsburgo:

> Someter a nuestros enemigos y a los que desean nuestro mal, mientras que lo contrario nos hundiría en una miseria y confusión total, que lamentaríamos amargamente por siempre. Debemos recordar que cualquier pequeño enfrentamiento o conflicto, dondequiera que se produzca, nos obligará a gastar y perder en poco tiempo lo mismo —si no más— que nos costará este asunto; y, además, como sabéis, ganar el imperio resolverá muchos de los problemas a los que de otro modo estaríamos abocados.

«Prestad atención a lo que os acabo de decir, porque si no estaremos perdidos —concluía Villinger secamente—: No os durmáis respecto a esto […]. Ni se os ocurra dejar estas cosas para más tarde».[46]

Humillado por este rapapolvo, Chièvres se limitó a visar la carta como «Recibida en Zaragoza el 10 de junio», y un mes después se sobrepuso a su rivalidad con la archiduquesa Margarita recomendando a Carlos que esta recuperara al menos

algunos de los poderes que había perdido con la emancipación de Carlos. En aquel momento pasaría a ser «superintendente de todas nuestras finanzas en los Países Bajos»; se le concedería la autoridad exclusiva de firmar todos los documentos oficiales en nombre de su sobrino (que debían obedecerse «como si dichos documentos fueran firmados de mi propia mano»); y adquiriría amplios poderes de patrocinio.[47]

Carlos también afirmó que «él quería convertirse en rey de Romanos, a toda costa, sin reparar en gastos»; y Maximiliano, seguro ya de que su nieto cumpliría todas las promesas que pudiera hacer, convocó una reunión plenaria de la Dieta Imperial en Augsburgo en julio de 1518.[48] Durante los siguientes tres meses, la ciudad se convirtió en el centro de atención internacional. Alberto Durero, el artista más famoso de Europa, acudió a pintar a numerosos miembros de la élite alemana; Martín Lutero fue allí a explicar, a un legado papal enviado a la Dieta, sus críticas sobre las prácticas de la Iglesia; y en septiembre, cinco electores prometieron que votarían a favor del rey de España para ser el nuevo rey de Romanos. A cambio, Maximiliano les prometió (en nombre de Carlos) unos 500.000 florines a entregar el día de la elección y más de 70.000 florines en pensiones anuales, aparte de un surtido de tapices, oro, plata y otros sobornos. Pero el plan de Maximiliano adolecía de un error fatal: aunque era universalmente llamado «emperador», nunca había conseguido una coronación papal y seguía siendo por tanto rey de Romanos. Como un embajador francés señaló con regocijo, «no podía haber elección hasta que él mismo hubiera sido coronado» emperador. Aunque Carlos y él intentaron convencer al Papa de que rectificara este descuido autorizando una coronación en Trento, en la frontera entre Alemania e Italia, era demasiado tarde. El 12 de enero de 1519 murió Maximiliano.[49]

«Las cosas son ahora muy distintas por aquí», comentó uno de los enviados de Carlos a Alemania nada más morir Maximiliano: el difunto monarca «sabía tomar decisiones, y era a la vez amado y temido», mientras que Carlos «está muy lejos y es poco conocido en Alemania». Además, «los franceses han hablado muy mal de él». «Los franceses» no se limitaban a extender rumores. En cuanto supo de la muerte de Maximiliano, el rey Francisco mandó un enviado especial a recordarle al elector palatino la necesidad de elegir un emperador capaz de proteger a Alemania contra un posible ataque turco, y de comparar «la inmadurez y mala salud» de Carlos con su propia «fortaleza, riqueza, pericia y experiencia en la guerra». El enviado también debía sacar partido de «la ofensa infligida contra Federico por el Rey Católico, que le había expulsado y exiliado de su casa y no le dejaba casarse con su hermana [Leonor], pese a lo mucho que ella deseaba casarse con él». Francisco también comenzó a hacer preparativos militares porque, como recordó a sus representantes en Alemania, «En estos tiempos, si de verdad quieres algo —ya sea el Papado, el imperio o cualquier otra cosa— solo puedes conseguirlo mediante el soborno o la fuerza». Poco tiempo después, llegó una carta del Papa en la que prometía dar su apoyo a Francisco en la próxima elección.[50]

Para mediados de febrero de 1519, Margarita y su Consejo en los Países Bajos estaban convencidos de que Francisco se impondría y se habían resignado. Por tanto, propusieron, de forma unánime, una estrategia radicalmente diferente a Carlos. Debía abandonar su intención de convertirse en rey de Romanos y asegurar en cambio la elección de su hermano Fernando, que entonces estaba en los Países Bajos y podía fácilmente viajar a Alemania, donde aseguraría el control Habsburgo sobre los territorios hereditarios de la dinastía, además de negociar directamente con los electores. Si los

electores se negaban a elegir a Fernando, Carlos debía proponer a un príncipe alemán aceptable, por ejemplo el conde palatino Federico, como candidato de compromiso. Margarita y sus asesores informaron a Carlos de que, a menos que tuvieran noticias suyas antes del 13 de marzo —solo tres semanas después—, llevarían a efecto su plan.[51]

La división de la inmensa herencia austro-borgoñesa-trastámara entre los dos nietos de Maximiliano tenía sentido y, al final, Carlos acabaría estando de acuerdo; pero en 1519 la sugerencia provocó un rechazo feroz y una reprimenda del joven soberano, que transmitió a los Países Bajos tanto por carta como mediante un enviado especial. Tras reafirmarse en que «estamos absolutamente decididos a no escatimar nada y hacer todo lo que esté en nuestra mano para conseguir nuestra elección, que es lo que más deseamos en este mundo», Carlos recalcaba que él no era solo «el nieto mayor sino también el que había elegido» Maximiliano para sucederle. Por otra parte, retirarse en ese momento «no solo supondría la pérdida del imperio, sino también la de nuestro honor y el dinero que ya llevamos gastado». También afirmaba que dividir la herencia con su hermano «facilitaría el desmantelamiento de nuestra fuerza conjunta y la destrucción de nuestra dinastía por completo» porque, sin acceso directo a los recursos de España y los Países Bajos, Fernando no podría mantenerse. Carlos llegó a especular incluso con que aquellos que habían sugerido la partición «son los mismos que intentaron en el pasado crear dificultades entre el rey de Aragón y mi padre [Felipe], y posteriormente conmigo, y ahora alimentan continuos desacuerdos y divisiones entre mi hermano y yo». Dado que los correos rara vez conseguían cubrir la distancia entre España y los Países Bajos en menos de dos semanas, encontró la amenaza de Margarita de llevar a cabo esta iniciativa en un plazo de tres semanas sumamente indignante.[52] Carlos también transmitió su descontento de otras maneras.

Margarita informó a uno de los intervinientes en las conversaciones que «Sabe Dios que está enfadado por lo que le hemos aconsejado, a juzgar por las cartas privadas que me ha escrito» (aparentemente perdidas hasta hoy); en tanto que la posdata de puño y letra de Carlos a su carta principal incluía la amenaza: «Haz lo aquí te digo, porque ninguna otra cosa me satisfacerá».[53] El rey no obstante reconocía que necesitaba tranquilizar y apaciguar a su hermano, y en este sentido hizo dos concesiones importantes: la primera, que, una vez elegido rey de Romanos, cedería al menos algunas de las tierras austriacas a Fernando; y que, «cuando seamos coronado emperador, podremos fácilmente y sin peligro hacer que sea [Fernando] elegido rey de romanos, para que el imperio permanezca para siempre dentro de nuestra dinastía».[54]

Para entonces a Carlos se le pedían más concesiones. Como fríamente respondió Margarita a sus enojados reproches: «Solo vemos dos formas de que ganéis esta elección: una es mediante dinero», porque cada elector pedía mucho más a cambio de su voto de lo que Maximiliano había ofrecido en Augsburgo. «La segunda, señor, es que uséis la fuerza», lo que significaba movilizar las tropas en los Países Bajos y España para impedir la intervención armada francesa, así como en Alemania para intimidar a los electores que, por supuesto, también costarían dinero. De cualquier manera, proseguía, «dado que su intención es guardarse nada» con el fin de ganar (¿escondía esta frase cierto sarcasmo?), «debéis dejar a criterio de vuestros embajadores ofrecer y pagar cantidades superiores a las ya prometidas, en función de cómo vean la situación […] sin necesidad de consultarlo todo con su majestad, porque la larga espera de vuestra respuesta podría ser perjudicial». Además de todo esto, Margarita insistía en que Carlos autorizara a Jakob Fugger de Augsburgo, el banquero más rico de Europa, a garantizar todos sus compromisos, dado que solo así superaría «la prodigalidad

de los franceses en este asunto, que es insólita». Cuando su sobrino protestó vanamente diciendo que «el caballo que pretende montar es muy caro», Margarita contestó inapelable: «Somos plenamente conscientes de que el caballo es caro, pero la cuestión es que si vos no lo queréis, hay otro comprador dispuesto a quedárselo».[55]

El razonamiento de su tía no le dejaba alternativa, de modo que Carlos autorizó de mala gana a su confidente Enrique de Nassau a hacer todos los pagos y promesas que Margarita considerara necesarios para aumentar las posibilidades de ser elegido, y ordenó a Jakob Fugger que los avalara. Aparte de eso, prohibió a todos los banqueros de los Países Bajos que concedieran créditos o transfirieran dinero fuera del país sin el permiso expreso de Margarita durante los siguientes seis meses, e inició una campaña de seducción copiando laboriosamente las cartas para cada elector en alemán, letra a letra, de su propia mano *(véase lámina 10)*.[56] También reconoció la necesidad de hacer las paces con el hermano del elector palatino. Según Louis Maroton, encargado de la campaña de seducción, Federico «había oído que [Carlos] no está contento con él por causa de la reina de Portugal [Leonor] y me dijo: "Si yo pensara que el rey seguía enfadado conmigo, Monsieur Louis, daría pasos que no serían en su favor"». Un mes más tarde, Federico repetía la amenaza: aunque aseguró a Maroton que haría lo posible por procurar la elección de Carlos, «ello dependía de que se mantuvieran las promesas que le habían hecho; y que quería garantía firme de ello, recordándome el trato descortés [*rude traictement*] que había recibido en una ocasión anterior». Federico también escribió directamente a Margarita confirmándole que haría todo lo que pudiera para conseguir la elección de Carlos «a menos de que alguien me dé motivo para reconsiderarlo», y terminaba su carta ológrafa, y seguramente no por casualidad, pidiéndole que «no se tomara a mal *mi irritante*

carta»; exactamente la misma frase con la que acababa su última carta de amor a Leonor. Carlos se tragó su orgullo: escribió «dos amables y corteses cartas de su puño y letra» para expresarle a Federico su afecto, restauró la considerable pensión del conde y prometió otras recompensas después de la elección.[57]

Carlos también se ganó a otros importantes partidarios alemanes, entre los que cabe destacar a Jakob Fugger, que no solo le hacía efectivas las cartas de crédito emitidas por otros banqueros, y le prestó casi 550.000 florines de sus propios fondos, sino que se negó a pagar ninguna carta de crédito recibida de Francia. Fugger no mantuvo su postura en secreto. Así, en febrero de 1519, escribió una nota de su puño y letra al elector de Brandeburgo anunciando que acababan de llegarle cartas de crédito de Carlos, «de las cuales tengo orden de pagarle a Vuestra Excelencia 100.000 florines», y adjuntaba copias de las cartas procedentes de España, describiendo además los planes que se estaban haciendo para el matrimonio de la hermana de Carlos, Catalina de Austria, con el hijo del elector.[58]

La preocupación sobre los importantes impagos de préstamos efectuados a Maximiliano, que solo el rey de España podía en aquel momento devolver, contribuyó sin duda a la decisión de Fugger de respaldar al cien por cien su candidatura, si bien en ello influyó el temor que le infundía el vencedor de Marignano. No era el único. En marzo de 1519 el elector de Maguncia suplicó a su hermano el elector de Brandeburgo que «considerara a este respecto el honor del imperio, el vuestro propio, el de nuestra dinastía y el de toda la nación alemana» porque, si ganaban los franceses, «ellos intentarían apropiárselo todo y convertirse en dueños y señores para siempre». Pocos días después, un portavoz de los nobles de Renania declaró que «daremos todo, hasta la última gota de nuestra sangre, para evitar un éxito francés». Margarita hacía todo lo que podía para avivar estas llamas y, así, le decía a su agente en Alemania: «Me

complace mucho que encuentre a la gente de allí tan desafecta hacia los franceses, y le ruego busque todas las formas posibles de ponerles aún más en su contra, ya sea mediante sermones, mediante los magistrados de las ciudades, o de otro modo». Efectivamente, muchos sermones y hojas informativas ilustradas demonizaban al rey Francisco y representaban la «servidumbre» de sus súbditos con tonalidades intimidatorias mientras se exaltaba la libertad que se disfrutaba en la Casa de Austria.[59]

No obstante, para muchos, la codicia se había convertido en el principal, si no el único factor. Como apuntó un diplomático francés en Alemania en febrero de 1519, «Las cosas han llegado a un punto en el que aquel de los dos reyes que más cosas dé y prometa será el que triunfe». El elector de Maguncia cambió de chaqueta seis veces en los dos años previos a la elección, en cada ocasión a cambio de una promesa de recompensas mayores.[60]

En mayo, la actitud de Carlos cambió. Se hizo más filosófico, y así le escribe a su tía Margarita, «dado que la fecha de la elección se nos viene ya encima, debemos ponernos en manos de Dios y esperar y ver lo que Él decide, mientras no obstante sigo haciendo todo lo que puedo»; reflejo de los valores estoicos aprendidos en Malinas. También se hizo más beligerante, contratando un ejército de mercenarios y ordenándoles que acamparan cerca de Fráncfort, la ciudad en la que los electores se iban a reunir. Un mes después, la combinación de palo y zanahoria triunfó: el 28 de junio de 1519 los siete electores votaron unánimemente a Carlos como el siguiente «rey de Romanos» *(véase mapa 2)*.[61]

Mapa 2. Carlos heredó las tierras Habsburgo en Europa Central de su abuelo paterno, Maximiliano, y los Países Bajos de su abuela paterna, María de Borgoña. Heredó Castilla y sus posesiones americanas de su abuela materna, Isabel; y Navarra, Aragón y sus puestos de avanzada mediterráneos de su abuelo paterno, Fernando (aunque hasta su muerte en 1555, nominalmente compartió su soberanía en Castilla y Aragón con su madre Juana, confinada en Tordesillas). Añadió el Sacro Imperio Romano en 1519 y Milán en 1535. En 1522 cedió la mayor parte de su herencia de las tierras austriacas a su hermano Fernando, que consiguió Bohemia y gran parte de Hungría en 1526. Entre ambos hermanos gobernaban casi la mitad de la población total de Europa.

¿Mereció la pena? El enviado de Enrique VIII a Alemania calculó que Carlos había pagado en total, «*in pecunia numerata* un millón y cinco cientos florines», esto es, 1,5 millones en efectivo. Los electores y sus asesores recibieron casi 500.000 florines por «comprarse un emperador» (el elector palatino lo

hizo mejor, recibiendo a cambio 147.000, y la cantidad adicional de 37.108 para su hermano Federico), así como promesas de pensiones, tapices y otros regalos posteriores; mientras que las tropas desplegadas cerca de Fráncfort le costaron a Carlos más de 250.000 florines.[62] Es cierto que se trataba de unas sumas enormes, pero dado que sirvieron para que el título imperial fuera de la casa de Habsburgo durante cuatro siglos sin interrupción, no cabe duda de que la inversión resultó excelente. Como señaló Jakob Villinger, «cualquier pequeño enfrentamiento o conflicto, dondequiera que se produjera, nos haría gastar lo mismo o más». Sin duda, el coste de *perder* la elección habría sido también mucho más alto.[63]

Planes para el imperio

El «juego de tronos» obligaba a Carlos y sus contemporáneos a formular una política de defensa integral para todo el imperio. Aparentemente, el embajador de Enrique VIII, Thomas Spinelly, fue el primero en prever la necesidad de una gran estrategia sobre todo con el fin de evitar una escalada de potenciales desastres. En marzo de 1519 argumentaba que, «Si el [rey] católico no alcanzaba su deseo» en la elección, «le sobrevendrían grandes adversidades y daños», porque «en siendo cualquier otro elegido emperador, [Carlos] carecerá de autoridad soberana allí y perderá rápidamente una gran parte de sus amigos». Concretamente, la elección de un rival acarrearía la enemistad de «la casa de Baviera por las antiguas y recientes peleas que han tenido con los Austrias», mientras que «los suizos, venecianos y todos sus demás vecinos y pueblos fronterizos, por ellos mismos y por instigación, seguirán caminos similares y de este modo una pérdida conducirá a otras muchas». Lo peor de todo desde el punto de vista Habsburgo, si Francisco ganaba, no solo retendría sus recientes conquistas italianas, sino que con el tiempo podría también añadir Nápoles, Austria e incluso los Países Bajos, mientras que Carlos

jamás recuperaría el ducado de Borgoña, que Francia había arrebatado a sus ancestros cuarenta años antes. En resumen, «de esta elección depende su prosperidad e incluso su [caída]».[64]

En un principio, no todos los miembros del séquito de Carlos compartían esta visión estratégica tan apocalíptica. En su «Autobiografía», Gattinara informaba de que «Algunos ministros preferían rechazar la elección imperial en lugar de aceptarla. Se quejaban de que en el futuro la elección acarrearía más daño que bien a los reinos y tierras de Carlos en el futuro». El canciller se aprestó a ilustrarles al respecto.

> Bajo la sombra del título imperial, [Carlos] no solo podía atender sus territorios y reinos heredados, sino también otros más extensos, aumentando el imperio hasta que su monarquía abarcara el mundo entero. Sin embargo, si lo rechazaba, el título podría ir a parar a los franceses… [y entonces] Carlos no sería capaz de mantener sus territorios hereditarios en Austria y Borgoña, y ni siquiera los reinos de España.

«Carlos escuchó esto con atención», continuaba Gattinara con complacencia, «y ante el cambio de opinión de todo su Consejo, resolvió la cuestión» enviando los fondos necesarios para lograr su elección. La necesidad de evitar una escalada de posibles desastres no tardaría en convertirse en un principio básico de la gran estrategia Habsburgo.[65]

Un segundo argumento estratégico que perduraría y que se emplearía por primera vez en 1518-1519 hacía referencia al tema del prestigio o «reputación», por utilizar el término contemporáneo. Hacer valer demandas y derechos, por remotos que fueran, constituyó la piedra angular de las relaciones internacionales de principios de la era moderna, y cualquier gobernante que no persiguiera una demanda, por poco convincente que fuera, era menospreciado por sus contemporáneos. Por tanto, si Carlos no conseguía mantener el título imperial para la Casa de Habsburgo después de haberlo ostentado durante tres generaciones, pondría en peligro no solo su propia reputación, sino la de toda su familia. «Tomad en

serio este asunto por el bien de nuestra dinastía, como nos lo estamos haciendo», le había reprendido Maximiliano, y Margarita estaba de acuerdo: la elección del rey de Francia, que «transferiría el título imperial fuera de Alemania, tal vez para siempre, constituiría una deshonra y una tacha permanentes» para la dinastía.[66]

La espectacular expansión de los dominios de Carlos a partir de 1516 afectó tanto a la práctica como a la teoría de su gobierno. En el ámbito protocolario, cuando en marzo de 1519 presidió otro capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro, concedió el título de caballero a ocho castellanos, dos aragoneses y un súbdito napolitano en una magnífica ceremonia celebrada en la catedral de Barcelona. De esta manera la Orden expandía su alcance geográfico al mismo paso que lo hacía la dinastía. En el ámbito ministerial, el «feroz y prolongado juego de póquer» dirigido a asegurarse Alemania obligaba a los funcionarios y partidarios de los diversos dominios de Carlos a trabajar juntos formando parte de un mismo equipo. Los embajadores extranjeros destacados en España comentaban con envidia la facilidad con la que los banqueros de la corte del rey anticipaban la recaudación de los impuestos españoles y la transferían a Augsburgo, donde un eficiente equipo de ministros encabezados por Nassau y Villinger trabajaban al unísono para dirigir la distribución de fondos y favores. Mientras, el embajador Spinelly se maravillaba de que los gobernadores de las tierras hereditarias austríacas, que Carlos apenas acababa de heredar, obedecían las órdenes de su ausente (e invisible) señor «para ponerlo todo como garantía» con el fin de «conseguir su deseo»; y, en los Países Bajos, Margarita de Austria enviaba cartas de crédito emitidas sobre los ingresos locales a los agentes de Carlos en Alemania, recordándoles: «Caballeros, sabemos que se trata de una suma cuantiosa y sustancial, pero debemos tener en

cuenta la calidad y la importancia del propósito para el que se utilizará, y que si fracasamos por falta de dinero, sufriremos un daño mucho peor».[67]

Esta integración transformó la forma de llevar los negocios en la corte de Carlos. Hasta entonces, los embajadores extranjeros se habían quejado de las demoras para obtener una audiencia o (más aún) una decisión. «Por lo general, lo que dicen que harán ese mismo día no se hace en los seis días siguientes», se lamentaba un enviado inglés desde Zaragoza en 1518, en tanto que su colega francés añadía maliciosamente que «si en Barcelona y Valencia se demora tanto como en esta ciudad, se quedará allí tres años». Sin embargo, para febrero de 1519, el mismo embajador señalaba que «No pasa un día sin que llegue un correo de Alemania», y es indudable que el volumen de correo aumentó durante los siguientes meses, porque el historiador Marino Sanuto registraba en su diario la llegada a su Venecia natal de casi 200 documentos sobre la elección imperial entre febrero y julio, más de uno al día, y las cartas recibidas de España (comentaba) «no hablan de otra cosa que no sea el imperio».[68] Su elección hizo que Carlos se diera cuenta de que «las ingentes y continuas tareas a las que nos enfrentamos y que van en aumento, mientras tratamos de poner orden y tratar los negocios de nuestros reinos, dominios y súbditos», le exigían introducir importantes cambios administrativos. En concreto, debido a que «durante algún tiempo no podremos regresar a los Países Bajos para tratar los asuntos de allí en persona […] en virtud de nuestro conocimiento personal, nuestra voluntad, autoridad y poder», nombraba a Margarita su «regente y gobernadora» con plenos poderes para hacer todo «como nos lo hacemos y mandamos hacer, mientras permanezcamos en España» con solo algunas restricciones, «dando nuestra palabra

de rey de aprobar y mantener cualquier cosa que nuestra noble tía haya hecho». Esto se convertiría en el patrón establecido de descentralización de su imperio.[69]

Seis días más tarde de que la noticia de la elección de Carlos llegara a Barcelona, Gattinara le presentó un proyecto para reformar el gobierno central. Tras conminar a su señor a que diera gracias a Dios, y respetara a su madre, al Papa y a su confesor (en ese orden), Gattinara trataba el tema del exiliado infante Fernando: «debéis atender cualquier derecho de sucesión, partición o infantazgo que le corresponda», afirmaba Gattinara, y también «llevarle con vos en vuestros viajes, enseñarle y asignarle proyectos importantes», porque así «podréis confiar más en él que en ningún otro para las grandes empresas». Además, le advertía el canciller, con «tantos y tan diversos reinos y provincias, y ahora el imperio, puede que os encontréis más escaso de hombres y dinero». Así pues, «dado el número de asuntos importantes que tendréis que tratar, tanto relativos al imperio como a vuestros reinos y señoríos en España, Austria, Flandes y Borgoña, no os será posible firmar todos los despachos de vuestra propia mano»; por tanto, Carlos debía crear un pequeño Consejo que le acompañaría en todos sus viajes para aconsejarle sobre los temas que afectaban a toda la monarquía, delegando los asuntos rutinarios en las instituciones locales establecidas de cada dominio. La clave consistía en distinguir «qué asuntos requieren una resolución rápida» de aquellos que «pueden ser considerados y decididos con tranquilidad» —un dilema permanente que obsesionaría siempre a Carlos y a sus sucesores—, para lo cual Gattinara ofrecía abundantes sugerencias de cómo separarlos (por ejemplo: «para acelerar los negocios y evitar que esperen los que necesitan una decisión inmediata, su majestad debe atender dos o tres

asuntos cada mañana mientras se levanta y se viste, porque de este modo los negocios no se irán acumulando como ocurre ahora»).[70]

No obstante, como Karl Brandi comentó en su biografía del emperador, «La unificación de tantos estados y pueblos diferentes bajo un soberano producía inevitablemente problemas prácticamente insolubles».[71] Estos problemas se pusieron de manifiesto casi de inmediato en errores administrativos elementales pero fastidiosos. Así, poco después de la muerte del emperador Maximiliano, Carlos envió una comisión a los ministros, dirigida a persuadir a los electores para que votaran por él, en la que se omitió un nombre, el del señor de Zevenbergen. El ministro olvidado se sintió frustrado a la vez que herido, dado que ello le privaba de autoridad para actuar, y Margarita trató de consolarle afirmando que «esto no obedece a la desaprobación del rey, sino al error, la ignorancia y estupidez del secretario que emitió los documentos».[72] Sin embargo, Carlos tardaría varias semanas en rectificar el error. Margarita no era la única que se sentía frustrada por la manera en que su sobrino llevaba los negocios. Zevenbergen ya había expresado su resentimiento por las demoras de «la gente en España», y afirmó que «si al rey de verdad le preocupaban los asuntos del imperio, debía mostrar más diligencia».[73] La negativa de Carlos a permitir que Fernando visitara Alemania en la primavera de 1519 enfureció especialmente a sus subordinados. Como escribió uno de los ministros más experimentados de Margarita, Jean Marnix: «Si la elección sigue adelante como espero, todo irá bien sin la presencia [de Fernando]; y si no es así, Dios no lo quiera, entonces el tiempo dirá si su presencia era necesaria o no». Marnix concluía mordazmente: «No puedo evitar decir, señora, que encuentro las cartas de su majestad un tanto extrañas y mal concebidas». Enrique de Nassau se mostró más franco todavía. Cuando en marzo de 1519 recibió órdenes de

reclutar tropas en Alemania para prestar servicio apenas un mes, informó a Margarita de que aquello era un ejercicio absurdo, dado que la elección no tendría lugar hasta junio. Y continuaba: «Creo que sus contratos deberían hacerse por tres meses», y le decía que había empezado a actuar conforme a ello. Previendo quizá una respuesta discrepante, Nassau añadía: «Señora, vos emitiréis las órdenes necesarias que mejor os parezcan, pero, si yo fuera el rey —un recordatorio nada sutil de que Carlos le llamaba por su nombre de pila— no me perdería demasiado en detalles en la mayoría de los temas. Lo único que debería molestarle es la negligencia y el engaño [*chipotterie*]».[74] Un resultado positivo excusaría todas las posibles desviaciones de las órdenes del soberano.

Sin embargo, todas estas críticas se producían dentro de un círculo cerrado: ninguna llegaba al conocimiento de Carlos. Marnix, todavía furioso por la decisión de Carlos respecto a Fernando, explicaba por qué: «Para ser franco —escribió a Margarita—, los señores de aquí no se atreven a decir o escribir lo que piensan por miedo a contrariar al rey», y él también rogaba a la archiduquesa que tratara esta discrepancia de manera confidencial.[75] A medida que el reinado avanzaba, ejemplos de pensamiento grupal similares a este, típicos de las grandes organizaciones, irían siendo más frecuentes (y más peligrosos); pero, en esta ocasión, el asunto no resultó fatídico. Carlos consiguió reclutar tropas dentro de Alemania y Francisco no; la red de crédito Habsburgo efectuaba regularmente sus pagos a los electores, mientras que la de Francisco no.

De este modo se cumplía la adulatoria profecía formulada por Erasmo en 1516:

> Vos, noble príncipe Carlos, sois más bienaventurado que Alejandro [el Grande] y, como esperamos, también le superaréis en sabiduría. Cierto es que él se hizo con un imperio inmenso, pero no sin derramamiento de sangre, ni tampoco destinado a perdurar. Vos nacisteis en un espléndido imperio, y destinado a heredar uno todavía mayor, de manera que, mientras aquel tuvo que dedicar

> grandes esfuerzos a las invasiones, vos tendréis quizás que trabajar para aseguraros de poder entregar voluntariamente parte de vuestros dominios en lugar de conquistar más. Debéis al Cielo que vuestro imperio llegara a vos sin derramamiento de sangre, y sin sufrimiento para nadie; de vuestra sabiduría depende ahora que lo mantengáis de forma incruenta y en paz.

En efecto, Carlos había logrado un éxito espectacular en el juego de tronos, convirtiéndose en rey de Castilla, Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia, y ahora, en rey de Romanos; todo ello sin «derramamiento de sangre». A finales de julio de 1519, llegaron cartas de Francisco con sus felicitaciones, y los dos monarcas intercambiaron promesas de mantener la paz. Esto significaba, como escribió Francesco Corner al embajador veneciano, «que todos los príncipes cristianos habían mandado ya sus felicitaciones, bien al rey directamente o a través de su embajador».[76]

Pero ¿qué sucedería a continuación? El 6 de julio de 1519, el día en que Carlos recibió en Barcelona la noticia cierta de su elección, Corner escuchaba el anuncio oficial de que «el rey partirá de aquí a principios de agosto con destino a Valencia para celebrar las Cortes, y luego, a primeros de octubre a Granada para establecer el gobierno de Castilla, y en marzo [1520] irá a Alemania, navegando a través del Atlántico». El embajador no tardó en darse cuenta de que todo aquello se había convertido en algo imposible. «Para asegurar su elección —escribió—, «Carlos ha gastado un millón de ducados; ha hipotecado todos sus ingresos y los impuestos votados por las Cortes de Castilla, además de «gastar los subsidios concedidos por estos reinos» de Aragón, y todavía «los miembros de su corte llevan seis meses sin cobrar». Para reivindicar su nuevo trono, Carlos necesitaba encontrar nuevas fuentes de ingresos con urgencia, y Corner se preguntaba clarividentemente cómo, dónde y cuándo los encontraría sin provocar (como John Stile había expresado tres años antes) «muchos inconvenientes y problemas».[77]

5. De la paz a la rebelión y a la guerra, 1519-1521

La carrera para llegar a Inglaterra

La elección de Carlos como rey de Romanos transformó el equilibrio de poder europeo. La victoria de Francisco en Marignano en 1515, seguida de la ocupación de Milán y Génova, le había convertido en el príncipe más poderoso de la cristiandad, pero también en el más temido. Un diplomático inglés afirmó que «La exaltación de los franceses no es beneficiosa para ningún príncipe cristiano, debido a su excesiva ambición e insaciable afán», en tanto que otro aseguraba que «la causa primera y principal, y casi la única» de todos los problemas de Europa era «el arrogante y superlativo orgullo y el insaciable apetito de gobierno de los reyes de Francia», que aspiraban a ser «los monarcas de la cristiandad». En aquel momento Carlos rivalizaba con Francisco en ser el príncipe más próspero y poderoso de Europa y se arriesgaba, por tanto, a convertirse en el más temido. En palabras de un diplomático francés, como «emperador, [Carlos] no tiene en gran opinión a los demás reyes de la cristiandad, porque se considera a sí mismo el más grande».[1] Estos temores no eran infundados. Algunas semanas antes de la elección, uno de los ministros de Margarita en Alemania predijo que, aunque el imperio «le resultará a su majestad una mercancía cara [*une chière merchandise*]», después «podrá sentar las reglas en toda la cristiandad». El gran canciller Gattinara estaba de acuerdo. Nada más llegar la noticia, le dijo a Carlos y su Consejo que «el título del imperio legitima la adquisición del mundo entero» y que «al amparo del título imperial, [Carlos] no solo podría atender a sus tierras y reinos heredados, sino que también podría conseguir otros mayores, agrandando el imperio hasta que su monarquía abarcara el mundo entero». Estos sentimientos aparecieron debidamente en el discurso de aceptación de Carlos a las delegaciones alemanas

que trajeron noticias de su elección. Les dijo que después de la emoción inicial, se preocupó de «que por la distancia en que estaban de Alemania sus reinos de España no podía buenamente con la frecuencia necesaria encontrarse en la dicha Alemania como siempre que por el bien del Santo Imperio y por deber fuese requerido». Entonces, «después de haber considerado si debía aceptar su elección o excusarse, y de pensarlo repetidas veces», se dio cuenta de que los recursos del «Imperio le eran convenientísimos para la conservación de sus países de Austria», también, los «Países Bajos, próximos a dicho imperio, así como para la reducción de su Ducado de Borgoña»; un claro desafío a Francisco. Por último, si renunciara al honor, «el rey de Francia, que en este caso verosímilmente la obtendría», se pondría intolerable.[2]

Semejante autocomplacencia no tenía en cuenta un importante cambio que había tenido lugar en la geografía política de Europa. Una generación antes, cinco grandes potencias —Borgoña, Inglaterra, Francia, España y el Imperio — habían competido por imponerse sobre las demás, pero ahora solo eran tres. Por otra parte, los recursos al alcance de Francisco y de Carlos parecían más o menos iguales, lo que le daba a Enrique VIII una influencia mucho mayor. Un diplomático inglés explicaba a su señor las consecuencias de esto con una claridad ejemplar. Tanto Enrique como Carlos, «cuya naturaleza se había unido por la sangre, así como por la antigua amistad existente hacía tiempo entre ambas casas», podían convertirse en firmes aliados, y de este modo, «sin duda, vuestras majestades podrían tener en orden y en paz a toda la cristiandad para gloria de ambos»; de otro modo, los «tres jóvenes y poderosos príncipes» — esto es, Enrique (nacido en 1491), Francisco (nacido en 1494) y Carlos (nacido en 1500)— se enzarzarían en peleas, y entonces, «la cristiandad se rompería en pedazos y

quedaría condenada a inacabables guerras, con los consiguientes y graves daños, y también con la consiguiente culpa de aquellos que podrían haber puesto el remedio a tiempo».[3]

Durante un breve periodo, los «tres grandes y poderosos príncipes», reconociendo aparentemente los peligros de las «inacabables guerras», mantuvieron los tratados de paz que los tres habían firmado. Cuando en septiembre de 1518 Carlos se enteró de la muerte de la hija de Francisco, con quien él estaba prometido, envió inmediatamente sus condolencias a su «buen padre» y prometió casarse en su lugar con su hermana, como se había acordado en el Tratado de Noyon. Al mes siguiente, el primer ministro de Enrique, el cardenal Thomas Wolsey, convenció a los representantes de Francisco, Carlos y muchos otros soberanos cristianos para firmar el Tratado de Londres, en virtud del cual todos los signatarios se comprometían a no agredir a los demás y a atacar a cualquier estado que rompiera el acuerdo. Sin embargo, la desconfianza no tardó en aflorar. Cuando Francisco sugirió un encuentro personal con Carlos para solucionar los temas pendientes, Chièvres se opuso a la idea en «recuerdo a lo que le ocurrió al duque Juan Sin Miedo» (un llamativo ejemplo de memoria institucional en la corte de Borgoña, ya que Chièvres se refería al asesinato del duque Juan Sin Miedo mientras conferenciaba con su homólogo francés en 1419, un siglo antes).[4] En lugar de eso, Chièvres, Gattinara y otros destacados ministros pusieron rumbo a la ciudad de Montpellier para debatir y resolver todas las diferencias con una delegación francesa encabezada por Arthus Gouffier, Gran Maestre de Francia, preceptor y más tarde principal consejero de Francisco. Dado que Gouffier también había encabezado la delegación francesa que había negociado los tratados de Noyon y Cambrai, las esperanzas eran grandes; pero su repentina muerte el 13 de mayo de 1519 truncó toda conversación.

Desde la retrospectiva, un diplomático francés consideró esto como un punto de inflexión fatal: «La muerte [de Gouffier] causó grandes guerras, como sabrán, porque si [él y Chièvres] hubieran podido completar sus conversaciones, es seguro que la cristiandad habría permanecido en paz por un tiempo. Los que se encargaron de dirigir los asuntos públicos en adelante no se preocuparon por la paz de la cristiandad como habían hecho Chièvres y el Gran Maestre». Al menos uno de los generales de Francisco estaba de acuerdo. Dado que Chièvres y el Gran Maestre «tenían todos los asuntos de sus señores en sus manos», escribió el señor de Florange, unos «doscientos mil hombres, que estoy seguro habrían sobrevivido de haber vivido él, perecieron después de su muerte».[5] No obstante, durante algún tiempo, Carlos continuó apaciguando a su «buen padre». En junio de 1519 pagó una parte del tributo anual exigido por el Tratado de Noyon en relación con los derechos franceses sobre Nápoles; y él y Francisco intercambiaron cartas ológrafas en las que prometían mantener la paz ganara quien ganara la Corona imperial.[6]

La elección de Carlos redujo la necesidad de apaciguar a los franceses, si bien aumentó la de tranquilizar a los alemanes. Los electores, sin duda conscientes del prematuro uso por parte de Carlos del título de «rey de España», estipularon que no podría utilizar el título de «rey de Romanos» hasta que hubiera sido coronado, y que su coronación solo tendría lugar una vez jurara cumplir las Capitulaciones Imperiales *(Wahlkapitulation)* aceptadas en su nombre por sus agentes imperiales de Fráncfort justo después de la elección.

¿Era Carlos consciente de la importancia de este documento? Cierto es que cuando anunció la llegada a Barcelona de una delegación de los electores para «solicitar nuestra partida y acompañarnos hasta que estemos en Alemania», reconoció que ellos también habían presentado «el decreto de elección a

nuestro favor, *junto con las concesiones exigidas a cambio*», pero no daba detalles de estas «concesiones», quizá porque estaban formuladas en un alemán florido, idioma que Carlos «todavía no domina muy bien».[7] Muchas de las cláusulas de las Capitulaciones eran rutinarias (respetar los derechos y privilegios de los príncipes, prelados y ciudades alemanas; mantener la justicia; no marginar a ninguna parte del Imperio), en tanto que otras reflejaban preocupación por las consecuencias potenciales de la elección de un soberano extranjero (Carlos solo debía contratar a alemanes para la administración imperial y emitir todos los documentos oficiales en alemán o en latín; no debía convocar la Dieta fuera de las fronteras del imperio ni presentarse con soldados extranjeros). En cambio, estaba claro que algunas cláusulas iban a causar problemas. Carlos debía jurar que nunca involucraría al imperio en ninguna alianza o conflicto sin el consentimiento de los electores; que nunca permitiría que ningún gobernante ni súbdito alemán fuera obligado a comparecer ante una jurisdicción extranjera; y que nunca condenaría a ningún gobernante del imperio sin las debidas garantías procesales. Además, debía tener su residencia habitual en Alemania, y en su ausencia tenía que establecer un Consejo de Regencia compuesto solo por alemanes, algunos de los cuales debían ser electores y príncipes. Y, lo más reseñable de todo, tenía que jurar abolir cualquier cosa que hiciera el Papado que fuera contraria a las prácticas establecidas por la Iglesia alemana.[8]

El requisito de que viajara inmediatamente a Alemania para su coronación le planteaba un dilema: había prometido viajar de Cataluña a Valencia para reunirse con las Cortes del reino y recibir su juramento de lealtad (y otro subsidio más). Chièvres sostenía que Carlos debía cumplir su promesa antes de zarpar de España hacia Italia y desde allí viajar a Aquisgrán, aunque esto implicara tener que pedir permiso a Francisco para pasar por sus

nuevas posesiones, Génova y Milán. Gattinara se oponía rotundamente a esto, debido en gran parte a un acercamiento entre Francia e Inglaterra. En octubre de 1518, Francisco había adquirido tres compromisos: que, cuando su hijo y heredero cumpliera catorce años se casaría con la princesa María, la heredera de Enrique; que Enrique devolvería Tournai a Francia, y que los dos soberanos se reunirían en persona para resolver las cuestiones pendientes. Al principio, estos acuerdos no causaron alarma entre los ministros de Carlos, aunque Tournai cambió de manos a principios de 1519, los prometidos en matrimonio apenas eran bebés y ninguno de los dos monarcas había anunciado ningún plan para reunirse. Entonces, a principios de 1520, Francisco dio instrucciones al cardenal Wolsey para que las dos familias reales se encontraran y tomaran parte en una espectacular «exhibición militar» cerca de Calais a finales de mayo.[9]

Gattinara instó a Carlos a desandar el camino por Aragón y Castilla hacia Galicia, y reunir una flota en La Coruña que le permitiera «interceptar al rey inglés en Flandes antes de que llegara a reunirse con el rey francés… y, de ser posible, impedir su encuentro. De allí partiría hacia Aquisgrán lo antes posible para ser coronado». El plan de Gattinara requería pedir a las Cortes de Castilla que votaran nuevos impuestos para costear dicha flota —una opción de alto riesgo dadas las tensiones existentes en el reino—, pese a lo cual, el 22 de enero de 1520 Carlos anunció que en lugar de ir a Valencia viajaría a Galicia, y de allí a Flandes y Alemania. Partió de Barcelona al día siguiente.[10]

Consciente de lo apretado de la agenda, Carlos viajó con relativa rapidez. El 12 de febrero, durante una breve visita a Navarra, firmó una serie de cartas convocando a los nobles y ciudades representadas en las Cortes de Castilla a reunirse con él seis semanas más tarde en Santiago de Compostela (Galicia), un

emplazamiento situado claramente a trasmano para todos excepto para él. Pedro Mártir de Anglería, mientras esperaba a su señor en Valladolid, le advertía a Gattinara (a quien, como compatriota suyo, escribía con toda franqueza):

> Se dice que por consejo del Capro [Chièvres] y de los españoles que están con el rey —espada a dos filas para su patria— se piden dos cosas a Castilla: la primera, que se convoquen las Cortes en Compostela, promulgando vosotros de antemano la condición de que los procuradores de ciudades y municipios que tiene voto en las Cortes no lleven otras instrucciones que las de obedecer todas las órdenes del Rey. Se susurra que mediante estos dictados se anula la libertad, y murmuran que tales leyes se acostumbran a imponer solamente a los esclavos comprados en el mercado público. Yo veo a muchos dispuestos a la negativa. La otra petición consiste en exigir que se prepare el donativo —que los españoles llaman *servicio*— aunque aún no se ha cobrado el anterior. Las dos cosas machacan un haba en la frente de los españoles, según observo. Abrigo mis dudas respecto a los resultados.

Cuando Carlos intentó partir de Valladolid el 4 de marzo de 1520, las «dudas» dejaron de ser «abrigadas». Según Mártir, «al cundir la noticia» de su plan de abandonar «el alborotado municipio de Valladolid», la campana tocó a rebato y «puso en movimiento al pueblo, que se amotinó». La multitud corrió a la puerta por la que se esperaba saliera Carlos, con la idea de protestar ante él, y, aunque él pudo salir antes, «entre el pueblo cunden airadas habladurías contra las autoridades que votaron los impuestos, y están pasando apuros».[11]

Carlos no hizo caso a estos alarmantes acontecimientos, y en lugar de ello, de camino a Santiago, paró cuatro días en Tordesillas para estar con su madre y su hermana Catalina, y «pasó la Semana Santa atendiendo sus devociones en un monasterio de la localidad», como de costumbre, antes de inaugurar las Cortes el 31 de marzo con una petición de otro importante servicio para pagar su viaje a Inglaterra, Flandes y Alemania.[12] Según Gattinara, el Consejo de Carlos estaba dividido respecto a esto: «Chièvres quería exigirles un nuevo servicio. Mercurino se oponía. Este señaló que el servicio de

hacía dos años no se había recaudado todavía, por lo que no tenía sentido pedir otro. Y predecía que hacerlo provocaría una rebelión popular, lo que ocurrió tal y como dijo». Adriano de Utrecht apoyaba al canciller —más tarde le recordaría a Carlos que «Cuando estauamos en Santiago yo dixe a Vuestra Alteza que hauía perdido el amor de todos estos pueblos, y no lo creía»—, pero, como siempre, la opinión de Chièvres fue la que prevaleció.[13]

Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, obispo de Badajoz (anteriormente un exiliado «felipista» en la corte de Carlos y en aquel momento presidente de las Cortes), dio un elocuente *habla* «por mandado del Rey», anunciando:

> Agora es vuelto a España la gloria de Spaña, que [muchos] años passados estovo adormida; dicen los que escribieron en loor della, que cuando las otras naciones enviaban tributos a Roma, España enviaba emperadores [Trajano, Hadriano, Theodosio…] Y agora vino el inperio a buscar el Emperador a España, y nuestro rey de España es fecho por la gracia de Dios, rey de Romanos y Enperador del mundo.

El obispo recordó a los procuradores: «ya sabéis que asy como no es menos virtud conserver lo ganado que adquerirlo de nuevo, así no es menos vituperio no seguir la victoria, que ser vencido»; a la vez que en nombre de Carlos les aseguraba «que, dentro de tres años al más tardar, contados desde el día que partiere, volverá con el ayuda de Dios a ellos». También les prometía que en el futuro «no dará oficio en estos reynos a onbre que no sea natural dellos». «E luego incontinenti», continúa el registro oficial de la asamblea, «acabada la dicha habla, Su Magestad dixo por su persona a los dichos procuradores a Cortes» una solemne confirmación de todas las promesas que Mota acababa de hacerles.[14]

El discurso pronto adquirió una difusión más amplia en forma impresa. Gattinara y otros miembros del séquito imperial lo convirtieron en un tratado en latín titulado *El discurso de*

Carlos, rey de Romanos, en las Cortes españolas, inmediatamente antes de su partida, en el que Carlos se jactaba de que

> Aquel que crea que el imperio del mundo entero recae sobre cualquiera [en virtud de] hombres o riquezas, o mediante ilegítimos requerimientos o estratagemas, está equivocado. El imperio solo procede de Dios. Yo no he pretendido responsabilidad de tal alcance por mí mismo, porque de hecho me habría dado por más que satisfecho con el imperio español [*Hispano imperio*], con las Baleares y Cerdeña, con el reino de Sicilia, con grandes partes de Italia, Alemania y Francia, y con aquel otro que yo llamaría mundo aurífero [*pene alio aurifero orbe*].

Por otra parte, añadía Carlos, una «necesidad fatal» le obligaba a aceptar:

> [La] decisión debe también tomarse por el respeto debido a la religión, cuyo enemigo [el turco] se ha expandido tanto que ni el descanso de la cristiandad, ni la dignidad de España, ni al cabo el bienestar de mis reinos pueden resistir tal amenaza. Todo esto difícilmente podría existir ni mantenerse a menos que una a España con Alemania y el título de emperador con el de rey de España.

¡Y todo por solo 500.000 ducados![15]

La retórica era excelente, pero varias de las 18 delegaciones urbanas se negaron a cooperar. Toledo no envió procuradores. En su lugar, dos destacados ciudadanos presentaron «la súplica de que no se quebranten en tan abierta manera las leyes del reino», pero (según Pedro Mártir) «de muy mal grado fueron oídos» por el rey y sus asesores, empeñados en dar alcance a Enrique antes de que este pudiera encontrarse con Francisco.[16] Carlos ordenó entonces a los humillados procuradores que se trasladaran a La Coruña, donde su flota se encontraba a la espera, y anunció también que había elegido a Adriano de Utrecht para servir como «administrador e gobernador» de Castilla, las Islas Canarias y las Américas en su ausencia. Justificó esta decisión con la fórmula «de nuestra cierta ciencia e poderio real absoluto, de que en esta queremos usar e usamos como reyes e señores no reconociendo superior en lo temporal», sin duda porque el nombramiento rompía el juramento solemne pronunciado ante las Cortes solo seis semanas antes de que «no

dará oficio en estos reynos a onbre que no sea natural dellos».[17] Casi inmediatamente, un grupo de nobles castellanos enojados «le recordaron que, según la constitución, cuando el rey era un menor [*pupilo*], era necesario confiar el gobierno a alguien de España, no a un extranjero», pero el rey les replicó que «él no era un menor, y que esto es lo que quería hacer» (es el primer ejemplo registrado de Carlos hablando por sí mismo).[18]

Aunque una combinación de sobornos y concesiones convencieron a los procuradores para que votaran a favor del servicio, tanto Toledo como Salamanca se negaron a contribuir. Gattinara comentaría más tarde que, aunque Chièvres había ganado la discusión en La Coruña,

> Ello no condujo a otra cosa que una revolución, que amenazó con exterminar todos los reinos. No pudieron recaudar servicio y el malestar popular consumió los ingresos reales que quedaban. Tras ignorar el consejo de Mercurino, las Cortes se disolvieron. Una vez abastecidos y preparados los barcos, el César zarpó en mayo de 1520. Con las naves equipadas y un viento de cola favorable, llegó a Inglaterra sin problema.[19]

¿Sin problema? Claramente, el Gran Canciller había olvidado que Carlos pasó casi tanto tiempo esperando un viento favorable en Galicia como había esperado en Zelanda tres años atrás. El 4 de mayo de 1520 había pedido perdón a Enrique porque «después de tres semanas» todavía seguía en La Coruña «debido a unos vientos adversos tan fuertes que no solo le hacían imposible zarpar, sino incluso enviar un barco» para transmitirle sus excusas. Con el fin de asegurarse de que su tío las recibiría, Carlos decidió «enviar esta carta por tierra»; sabia decisión, porque llegó a Margarita el día 15, y ella la reenvió a Inglaterra al día siguiente. Carlos, en cambio, no consiguió zarpar hasta el 20 de mayo. Había perdido seis semanas.[20]

Entonces la suerte de Carlos cambió. Tras un viaje de tan solo siete días, su flota ancló en Dover, donde Wolsey le recibió al desembarcar y después de cenar le condujo a la alcoba preparada para él en el castillo. Cuando Enrique se enteró de la

noticia, montó impetuosamente en su caballo y se dirigió al «aposento donde su majestad imperial se encontraba durmiendo, y allí se abrazaron e intercambiaron otras demostraciones de mutuo afecto». A la mañana siguiente, Carlos se encontró por primera vez con su tía Catalina de Aragón y con María, la hermana de Enrique y anterior «novia» suya. La comitiva real pasó el tiempo en banquetes y bailes, intercalados con algunas conversaciones políticas dirigidas a sentar las bases para una alianza más estrecha, hasta que el 30 de mayo Carlos volvió a levar anclas rumbo a los Países Bajos, mientras Enrique partía hacia Calais para reunirse con Francisco en «El Campo del Paño de Oro». Aunque este suntuoso evento duró casi tres semanas, repletas de justas y banquetes, no pudo calificarse de éxito, debido en parte a que, durante un improvisado combate de lucha libre, Francisco humilló a Enrique lanzándole al suelo, y en parte a que Chièvres y Wolsey acordaron secretamente que sus señores volvieran a reunirse inmediatamente después para continuar su «conversación» política (la palabra utilizada en la versión veneciana del episodio es *abochamento*). El 14 de julio de 1520, Enrique y Carlos se fueron a cabalgar solos y estuvieron largo tiempo «hablando cara a cara, con el rey de Inglaterra hablando casi al oído del emperador». Luego «se abrazaron, sombrero en mano, muy afectuosamente» y se separaron.[21]

Los dos monarcas tenían toda la razón para mostrarse sigilosos y afectuosos: acababan de pactar mantener un embajador residente cada uno en la corte del otro, celebrar otra conferencia antes de dos años para acordar su política exterior, y hasta entonces no entablar más alianzas con Francia; y, sobre todo, «socorrerse el uno al otro si sus dominios eran invadidos por un enemigo». Carlos le sacaba en aquel momento ventaja a

su principal adversario en el norte de Europa, mientras que Enrique se había convertido en el árbitro de los asuntos internacionales.[22]

España en llamas

La posición de Carlos en el sur de Europa, en cambio, se hizo peligrosa. Aunque su primera visita a España duró solo treinta meses, para cuando se marchó ya se habían producido dos sublevaciones importantes: una en Valencia, conocida como la de las «germanías», y otra en Castilla, conocida como la de las «comunidades» o los «comuneros». También en Mallorca y Sicilia hubo levantamientos, si bien de menor calado. ¿Cómo un soberano cuya presencia era deseada con tanta ansia en 1517 pudo granjearse la antipatía de tantos de sus súbditos en tan poco tiempo?

Probablemente ningún soberano podría haber satisfecho todas las expectativas y tensiones a las que se enfrentaba Carlos mientras se preparaba para visitar España en 1517. En primer lugar, sus consejeros estaban divididos por enconadas rivalidades. Muchos servidores borgoñones de su padre, Felipe, que se vieron obligados a huir de España ignominiosamente y quedaron empobrecidos tras su repentina muerte, estaban deseosos de vengarse y recuperar sus pérdidas. Los «felipistas», seguidores españoles del rey Felipe, como don Juan de Zúñiga y Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, también ansiaban vengarse de aquellos que habían permanecido al servicio de Fernando de Aragón, y se sintieron amargamente resentidos por el favor mostrado por Carlos a partir de 1516 cuando «fernandinos» como Francisco de los Cobos empezaron a llegar a Bruselas, experimentados y confiados después de diez años en sus cargos. Asimismo, dentro de Castilla, varios grupos albergaban aspiraciones del todo incompatibles. La ciudad de Burgos, por ejemplo, mantenía relaciones cercanas y cordiales con los Países Bajos, y sus

comerciantes ganaban mucho dinero exportando la lana producida por las ovejas castellanas a los tejedores de Flandes. Estos mercaderes se sentían profundamente molestos por una ley de 1462 que exigía que un tercio de toda la lana esquilada debía quedarse en Castilla y venderse a los tejedores locales. En cambio, los tejedores radicados en Segovia se quejaban con igual amargura de esta ley alegando que un tercio no era suficiente. Era imposible complacer a la vez a Burgos y Segovia. Existían muchas rivalidades igualmente irreconciliables, exacerbadas por las malas cosechas o graves epidemias como las acaecidas entre 1517 y 1519, y por los torpes esfuerzos del cardenal Cisneros para obligar a las ciudades del reino a reunir una milicia.

En el reino de Valencia, las lluvias torrenciales e inundaciones que redujeron las cosechas, seguidas de una epidemia, enardecieron las rivalidades locales. Sobre todo, los gremios urbanos se quejaban de la «tiranía» de los regidores y caballeros, «algunos dellos tan elevados que nos tractan y supeditan como a cautivos». Además, el reino sufría frecuentes ataques de corsarios bereberes, que hacían que los miembros de los gremios de todas las ciudades importantes necesitaran llevar armas. Carlos supo de esta amenaza en mayo de 1519, poco después de que llegara a Barcelona, cuando «passaron delante de Su Majestad y de su corte» un escuadrón de galeras procedente del norte de África, rumbo al sur. Fue el primer contacto directo del nuevo soberano con el poder militar y naval del Islam, y ordenó a los terratenientes de Valencia movilizar a la milicia. No obstante, cuando llegaron las órdenes, «no havía cavalleros en la ciudad [de Valencia], porque todos se havían sallido por causa de la peste». Así pues, «quedó la ciudad con los plebeos solamente, y aquellos tenían licencia y mandamiento de adesenarse y eligir capitanes y otros oficiales de guerra, y hazer otros apercibimientos de armas». Según la detallada crónica de las Germanías recopilada por Martí de Viciana, un testigo ocular,

los jefes gremiales vieron enseguida una oportunidad de «librar el pueblo de Valencia de servidumbre» porque «en este tiempo tenemos el rey nuevamente entrado y es mochacho y governado por los de su Consejo. Y con ser nuevo regimiento, oirá a todos por saber qué agravios se hacen y quién son los agraviados, porque de aquí el rey pueda reformar las cosas de sus vassallos con debido asiento».[23]

Aunque los representantes gremiales tenían razón en que el rey «mochacho» estaba «governado por los de su Consejo», todavía no se habían dado cuenta de que estaba «gobernado» por extranjeros —Le Sauvage, Gattinara y, sobre todo, Chièvres — tanto en lo relativo a política como a patrocinios, y que no tenía en cuenta el consejo procedente de sus súbditos españoles. Sin embargo, los primeros historiadores de los comuneros consideraron esto un factor clave en Castilla. Juan de Maldonado, en un escrito de 1545, por encima de todo culpaba de la revuelta al hecho de que «los más de los grandes habían llevado muy a mal que estando el rey en España no hubiese comunicado con ellos casi nada acerca de los grandes negocios, ningún consejo les habían pedido, y al tiempo de su partida no les había confiado alguna parte del gobierno». En 1548, Pedro Mexía afirmaba que «quexávanse así mismo de que les paresçía que el rey se mostraba esquiuo y apartado, y no hera tan fácil y comunicable como quisieran»; mientras que según escribía Alonso de Santa Cruz en 1552, «Procuraba Mr. de Chièvres tener al Rey tan retraído, que muy pocos lo comunicaban, lo que fue causa de que los naturales le aborreciesen y le tuviesen por esquivo y mal acondicionado, y le llamasen *alemán*, inconversable y enemigo de la nación española, todo lo cual se resumía en aborrecer al Rey».[24]

Aunque los tres historiadores habían vivido el trauma de la revuelta de los comuneros, ninguno había participado directamente en ella: su relato sobre la responsabilidad de Carlos

y sobre sus reacciones no era de primera mano. No obstante, muchos protagonistas pensaban igual que ellos, incluido Adriano de Utrecht, que mientras fue gobernador de Castilla envió a su señor más de un centenar de cartas llenas de quejas al respecto.[25] «Dicen que los flamencos no han dexado cosa que hayan podido llevarse y que este robo dizen han llevado dos o tres personas en la mayor parte», le informaba a Carlos en junio de 1520, añadiendo en noviembre que en España todos creían que «Vuestra Alteza ningún cuidado tiene de los negocios destos reynos y que todos se despachan por mano de otros, como si Vuestra Alteza fuese ninyo y careciesse de razón, prudencia y solicitud». En enero de 1521, advertía: «Créame, Vuestra Magestad, a no empeçare con más diligencia por sí mismo entender en los negocios, y no despecharlos so la mano de otros, que nunca Spaña la terna verdadero amor ni acatara su real auctoridat y persona como se le deue».[26]

Adriano formula otras dos importantes quejas. Culpaba repetidamente a su señor de su silencio ante «tan gran encendimiento como hay en estos reynos, que cierto es la mayor que nunca sospeché». En junio de 1520, «Marauíllome que no tenga respuesta de Vuestra Majestad a lo que sobrestos leuantamientos le tengo escrito, porque cierto la tardança de sus cartas trahe muchos peligros». Seis meses más tarde, afirmaba, «sta todo el mundo espantado y marauillado» de que Carlos no hubiera respondido todavía a ninguna de sus nueve cartas anteriores; y en enero de 1521 protestaba por no haber recibido ninguna comunicación del rey en diez semanas. Es sin duda significativo que casi ninguna de las 105 cartas originales enviadas por Adriano durante la crisis de los comuneros contenga ninguna anotación o comentario por parte del destinatario ni sus cortesanos.[27] Adriano también reprendía a su antiguo pupilo por no mantener sus promesas: «Dizen “el Rey promete y no lo guarda”». En el futuro, le amonestaba,

«Ahunque para en lo venidero huuiesse de ser notable preiuyzio, por el honor y consciencia de Vuestra Magestad convendría guardar al reyno lo que les es prometido por Vuestra Alteza en las Cortes».[28]

Por encima de todo, el gobernador instaba al rey a regresar a España de inmediato. «Los malíuolos se piensen y se atreuen a dezir que Vuestra Majestad tiene estos reynos por desertos y perdidos y que los banquetes de Flandes y de Alemanya le detienen allá y que no haze caso de Spaña», se despachaba en diciembre de 1520; y al mes siguiente le recordaba a Carlos que «con lo de Spaña podrá siempre sostener lo de Flandes y Alemaña, y no con lo de allá a España».[29] En abril de 1521 Adriano emitió un insólito ultimátum. Dado que «las Comunidades leuantadas entendemos que están ahora más brauas que nunca, y hacen todo el apareio que pueden de gente y artillería»,

> Veo las cosas puestas en grandísima confusión y en camino de total e irreparable perdición, por lo qual algunos principales de los grandes se hallan y están en mucha perplexidad, por donde certifico a Vuestra Alteza *que si no viniesse para este mayo están determinados de tomar concierto con las Comunidades y guardar sus stados y dexar aparte lo de Vuestra Majestad*.[30]

Al final, el 23 de abril de 1521, tres semanas después de enviar este ultimátum, las tropas reclutadas por los principales nobles acorralaron a la mayoría de los mandos comuneros y sus seguidores cerca de la localidad de Villalar, en las proximidades de Tordesillas. Varios cientos de soldados rebeldes cayeron en la breve batalla que siguió, y varios miles más fueron hechos prisioneros, incluidos varios líderes del movimiento a quienes los vencedores ejecutaron a la mañana siguiente. En la lapidaria frase de Joseph Pérez, «Así acabó la rebellión de las Comunidades»: pasada una semana, todas las ciudades rebeldes de Castilla la Vieja se habían rendido, y poco después también las de Castilla la Nueva. Llegado el 7 de mayo de 1521, solo Toledo seguía su resistencia.[31] Entretanto, en Valencia, tropas

reclutadas y dirigidas por nobles derrotaron a las fuerzas de la Germanía en batallas campales, y en septiembre recuperaron el control de la capital.

¿Qué papel había desempeñado Carlos en este drástico revés de la fortuna? Las primeras noticias de que «en España había empezado a generarse cierta conmoción» no llegó al rey y su séquito en Bruselas hasta el 19 de junio de 1520, dos meses después de que diera comienzo la revuelta, pero dado que procedían del «relato de extranjeros», «no les dieron crédito» hasta que una semana más tarde llegaron cartas de los ministros del rey dando cuenta de desórdenes en diecisiete ciudades de Castilla. Entretanto, en Valencia, la decisión de Carlos de nombrar virrey suyo a un noble castellano (y no valenciano, como estipulaban los *fueros*) desató una gran indignación, y los ciudadanos se lanzaron a la calle al grito de «¡Biua el Rey! ¡Muera el virey!». Carlos reaccionó emitiendo una serie de órdenes contradictorias a varios protagonistas que permitieron que la Germanía se extendiera por todo el reino.[32]

Carlos tampoco supo captar la gravedad de la situación en Castilla porque (en palabras del embajador inglés, Thomas Spinelly), «pese a todas sus insurrecciones», los rebeldes «dejan que los ingresos del rey continúen y sigan pagándose a los receptores habituales sin oposición alguna». Por otra parte, «hasta ahora, ningún gran señor o noble parece haber demostrado abiertamente su apoyo a este asunto», y Spinelly predecía que no era probable que ocurriera debido a las «antiguas divisiones, enemistades y envidias que existen entre los nobles de España, hasta el punto de que ninguno confía en el otro. Razón por la cual creo que la ausencia del emperador puede ser causa de algunas perturbaciones pero por el momento sin importancia». Además, señalaba Spinelly, las demandas de los rebeldes eran relativamente escasas, y todas parecían «justas y razonables»: que fueran las ciudades las que administraran sus

propios impuestos sobre las ventas en lugar de los «marranos» (esto es, los judíos conversos al cristianismo), que según ellos eran quienes gestionaban los ingresos fiscales en aquel momento; que no se nombrara a más extranjeros para los cargos (seculares o eclesiásticos) en Castilla; que no se exportara más oro ni plata; y que los tribunales de justicia del rey juzgaran y decidieran con prontitud todos los casos. Adriano recomendaba también negociar, porque «En esta sazón es menester tratar las universidades y sus súbditos casi como a huevos crudos, que si no se tocan y manean con blandura, luego se quiebran». Advertía también de que «La cosa stá puesta a la balança y de manera que con poco mouimiento peligra todo de caher en mal». Dado que en esta fase aún temprana Carlos podía hacer concesiones «con honrra suya y con que no fuese derreputado entre las naciones estranyas», tanto Adriano como Spinelly se quedaron estupefactos cuando «el emperador no consintió».[33]

Esta inflexibilidad tuvo importantes consecuencias, ya que Carlos había retenido algunos poderes cruciales cuando nombró a Adriano su administrador y gobernador. Por ejemplo, solo el rey podía conceder indultos; una limitación que resultaría funesta cuando en junio un destacado comunero de Toledo se ofreció a abandonar la causa rebelde a cambio del indulto. Adriano no recibió permiso para conceder amnistías hasta el 24 de agosto, y para entonces ya fue demasiado tarde.[34] Por otra parte, aunque Adriano abogaba por la indulgencia, el presidente del Consejo Real, don Antonio de Rojas, no. En el que fue prácticamente su último mensaje, Cisneros había advertido a Carlos de que «este presydente es de muy mala condición y muy peruersa intención y amigo de poner diuisión», pero la muerte del cardenal hizo que nadie prestara atención. En junio de 1520 el condestable de Castilla incidía básicamente en lo mismo:

> El presidente del Consejo está muy mal comigo, porque yo soy de boto que todo el reyno se sosegase castigando moderadamente y perdonando. Él no a querido syno degollando y abrasando, de manera que son mayores los casos que agora se hazen que los pasados y serán mayores los de aquí adelante.[35]

Carlos ignoró al condestable, como había ignorado a Cisneros, quizá porque durante algún tiempo los duros métodos seguidos por Rojas y el Consejo parecieron dar resultado. El 6 de julio, Spinelly informó de que «Desde España el emperador recibió la buena noticia de que las conmociones habían cesado» y que «son y seguirán siendo súbditos leales y obedientes a la Corona»; mientras que tres semanas más tarde Carlos supo que no «había habido demostraciones abiertas de ningún noble o persona principal a favor de los comuneros», quienes «decían que serían leales y obedientes al emperador en todas las cosas salvo en tolerar que el dinero salga del reino, y [nombrar] a extranjeros para los cargos».[36] Aunque los comuneros rebeldes crearon una Junta en Ávila para coordinar las actividades, solo cuatro ciudades enviaron una delegación oficial.

Todo cambió el 21 de agosto de 1520. Adriano había enviado parte de su ejército a recoger la artillería real almacenada en Medina del Campo, con la intención de utilizarla contra los bastiones rebeldes, pero cuando sus tropas encontraron resistencia abrieron fuego destruyendo buena parte de la ciudad. Esta atrocidad se convirtió en una poderosa arma de reclutamiento para la causa comunera: diez ciudades más enviaron delegados a la Junta, que se trasladó a Tordesillas, con la esperanza de persuadir a la reina Juana de que asumiera el poder y autorizara la oposición a su hijo. También consiguieron el apoyo de una «persona principal»: don Antonio de Acuña, obispo de Zamora.

La noticia de estos hechos dejó de piedra a la corte en Bruselas. El 6 de septiembre, según Spinelly, Carlos y su Consejo debatieron dos «opiniones» para tratar lo que él

evasivamente denominó «el inconveniente» de Castilla. Un grupo de ministros mantenía que, aunque Carlos debería enviar dinero a Adriano, tenía que seguir hacia Aquisgrán conforme a lo previsto, para ser coronado rey de Romanos, y de allí continuar «su viaje a Alemania, y con toda diligencia y buen tino tratar de limar las asperezas entre los nobles y las ciudades imperiales», para luego, «investido de todo el poder, pasar a Italia». Solo después de todo ello debía regresar a pacificar España. El resto del Consejo manifestó su rotundo desacuerdo, argumentando que

> Cuanto más tarde en regresar a España, peor, porque los súbditos de allí irán envalentonándose día a día, y considerado lo dulce que es la libertad y vivir a costa de otros, y que para la guerra hace falta dinero, lo cual sin España no puede tener como conviene, se concluye por tanto que la decisión más prudente era recibir la corona en Aquisgrán, dejar una vicaría [regencia] en el Imperio, y venir aquí otra vez para preparar un ejército para principios del próximo marzo [1521].

El «ejército» debía ser de «suficiente importancia para reformar el país y salvaguardarlo definitivamente». Después de ello «podría volver a Roma» para ser coronado emperador.[37]

Cinco días después Carlos eligió la segunda «opinión» y anunció varias concesiones: nombró a dos nobles castellanos como cogobernadores junto con Adriano; resolvió renunciar al servicio votado en La Coruña; y concedió a las ciudades el derecho a recaudar sus propios impuestos sobre las ventas. Demasiado poco y demasiado tarde. No mucho después, en Castilla, la Junta empezó a actuar como si tuviera autoridad ejecutiva y (como Carlos se quejaba con petulancia) «escrivieron cartas a algunos pueblos destos nuestros señorios de Flandes para procurar de los amotinar y levantar como ellos están». Entretanto, en los Países Bajos, Margarita y Chièvres discutían abiertamente «en presencia del rey», «el uno acusando al otro de negligencia durante la reunión y en el tratamiento de los diversos asuntos de su majestad el rey».[38]

Sin embargo, Carlos seguía pareciendo incapaz de hacerse cargo de las verdaderas quejas de los comuneros. Cuando en enero de 1521 falleció el cardenal Croÿ, dejando vacante la sede de Toledo (valorada en 80.000 ducados al año), Carlos propuso transferírsela a otro sobrino de Chièvres, pese al consejo de uno de sus súbditos españoles de que

> Una vez demostrado que la primera queja y malestar de todo el reino partió del dicho arzobispo… de lo que se derivaron funestas consecuencias, cuáles serán los graves trastornos que se producirán esta vez si su majestad vuelve a dárselo al señor Chièvres, teniendo en cuenta que no solo ofenderá a sus súbditos, sino a Dios, por la incapacidad y la escasa edad de su otro sobrino.

Solo la incautación por parte del obispo Acuña de los bienes de la archidiócesis de Toledo evitó que Carlos repitiera este error catastrófico.[39]

Aunque ni las *Memorias* del emperador ni la *Autobiografía* de Gattinara arrojan ninguna luz sobre el motivo por el que Carlos y sus ministros tardaron tanto en reaccionar, una carta escrita en octubre de 1520 por Luigi Marliano, que aparte de médico personal del emperador era su íntimo consejero («casi la mitad del alma del César», como lo calificó un contemporáneo), resulta sumamente esclarecedora.[40] «He recibido muchas cartas tuyas acerca de esta perturbación», escribía Marliano a su primo y compatriota Pedro Mártir, todavía sitiado en «el alborotado municipio de Valladolid», y admitía que «estamos, en efecto, alterados, pero oye las causas por las que yo me atrevo a liberar el César de las manchas de que se le acusa». Concretamente, aunque muchos se quejaban de que Carlos no había consultado con sus súbditos españoles sobre sus políticas, Marliano recordaba a Mártir que «los reyes no vengan obligados a dar explicación al pueblo de sus decisiones». En cualquier caso, «era tan manifiesta no ya la razón sino la necesidad que se imponía sus asuntos»: específicamente, «la convenencia de que el imperio del orbe que se le venía a las manos, no debía de pasar a las de otro ni perderse por abandono suyo». En cuanto a las protestas

sobre la «salida del dinero del reino», Marliano afirmaba que prácticamente no quedaba dinero para exportar después de liquidar las deudas de los monarcas católicos, pagar para que un hermano (Fernando) zarpara a Flandes y otra (Leonor) marchara a Portugal, financiar una campaña en África y enviar «dos armadas con destino al Nuevo Mundo, sobre cuyo admirable descubrimiento tú has escrito tres Décadas» (una pulla sin duda muy sagaz). Sobre todo, aseguraba Marliano, «Ni el [César] ni los suyos habían mandado despóticamente en España».[41]

Mártir percibió de inmediato que este análisis «discrepa en absoluto de mis razonamientos sobre las causas de tan grandes males», y durante las dos semanas siguientes se dedicó a redactar una respuesta demoledora. En primer lugar, desechaba todo el alegato detallado de Marliano con la lapidaria frase: «Nada de esto ha promovido los tumultos». En su lugar, se concentraba en desmontar la afirmación de su primo de «que ni el rey ni los suyos han mandado con soberbia en España». Por el contrario, bramaba Mártir,

> Aquel dicho tuyo «con soberbia», a tenor de la justicia, no está bien empleado, pues no ha sido «con soberbia», sino «con soberbia en grado superlativo», temeraria e insolentemente los españoles fueron tratados por los vuestros [Carlos y sus ministros]. Eximen de responsabilidad al emperador, porque aún no había salido de la edad de los efebos; pero ¿qué mayor soberbia que tolerar tranquilamente que los españoles fueran tratados con el máximo rigor por ligerísimas faltas cometidas contra los flamencos, y que ningún miembro de la justicia se atreviera a poner las manos sobre ningún flamenco de la Corte, aunque hubiera cometido una atroz injusticia contra cualquier español? ¿Cuántas ignominias no he visto yo?

Mártir sabía exactamente a quién había que culpar: «Vuestro Capro [Chièvres] y los Cerberos que de él penden dejaron estas semillas en el ánimo de un rey infeliz», de las cuales, la más ofensiva (y provocadora) «semilla» fue la de «cuando el Capro,

contra las leyes del reino, se apropió el arzobispado de Toledo nada más entrar en España, para odio de todo el reino». Apenas capaz de controlar su indignación, Mártir concluía diciendo:

> Añaden a esto que, por sus malas enseñanzas, el emperador no hace el menor caso de estos reinos y aún que lo han llevado al falso convencimiento —para mejor engañarlo— de que profese odio a los españoles. Estas, estas son las arterías, mi respetable Marliano, son las que han sembrado las espinas en estas mieses imperiales.[42]

Para entonces, las tornas se habían vuelto en contra de los comuneros, si bien por razones que nada tenían que ver con Carlos. En septiembre de 1520, campesinos de diversas partes de Castilla empezaron a atacar a sus señores y destruir sus propiedades, y durante un tiempo gozaron del apoyo de la Junta. Esto llevó a muchos nobles a superar la ira que le tenían a Carlos y Chièvres, y ponerse del lado de sus gobernadores. Además, el cuñado de Carlos, Manuel de Portugal, envió 50.000 ducados a Adriano, lo que animó a algunos banqueros mercantiles a hacer lo propio, permitiendo así a los regentes reclutar un ejército lo bastante poderoso para derrotar a los comuneros en Villalar.[43]

Mientras, Carlos ponía rumbo a Alemania, donde promulgó un edicto (invocando de nuevo «nuestro propio motu y cierta ciencia y poderío Real absoluto de que en esta parte queremos usar y usamos») por el que autorizaba a sus gobernadores a arrestar y juzgar a aquellos que hasta entonces habían gozado de protección bajo las leyes de Castilla —obispos y nobles incluidos — si se les encontraba culpables del «crimen lesa Magestatis hecho y cometido contra su Rey y señor natural». Los gobernadores emitieron debidamente una proclamación que condenaba como traidores a casi 250 personas, incluido el obispo Acuña, varios miembros de las órdenes militares y algunos nobles.[44]

«Un tal Martín Lutero»

Carlos había optado, por tanto, por la segunda «opinión» sugerida por su Consejo en cuanto a la política a seguir, y pese a las dos graves rebeliones que estaban teniendo lugar en España, decidió ocuparse primero de Alemania. El 19 de octubre de 1520, volvió a nombrar a su tía Margarita regente de los Países Bajos mientras «nos dirigimos a Aquisgrán para recibir nuestra Corona imperial y proceder desde allí a Alemania y otros territorios más lejanos, para poner orden en el imperio y en nuestras propias provincias patrimoniales que hemos heredado a la muerte del difunto emperador Maximiliano». Afirmaba que el viaje implicaría «importantes y numerosas obligaciones, que nos obligarán a residir allí durante algún tiempo [*aucun temps*]».[45] Tres días más tarde, el joven monarca hizo su entrada ceremonial en Aquisgrán. Tras venerar el relicario de oro que guardaba la calavera de su tocayo y modelo de conducta Carlomagno, entró en la catedral y «se postró en el suelo con los brazos extendidos». Luego se retiró a la sacristía a venerar otras reliquias y jurar cumplir las Capitulaciones Imperiales «que nuestros comisionados en Fráncfort habían aceptado» el año anterior. A primera hora de la mañana siguiente Carlos volvió a la catedral llevando puesta la insignia de un archiduque de Austria (una decisión deliberada, porque, «aunque la insignia del rey de España podía ser más elevada en categoría», prefirió que pareciera «que había sido elegido alguien de allí, no un extranjero). Observado por una enorme multitud, se postró de nuevo y juró proteger la Iglesia, defender el imperio, «y hacer muchas otras cosas en beneficio del susodicho imperio», tras lo cual la multitud le aclamó como su soberano. Carlos fue entonces ungido e investido con la espada imperial, el cetro, el orbe y la corona. Sentado en el trono de Carlomagno, utilizó la espada para armar a algunos caballeros, empezando por Chièvres, como señal de su nuevo poder. El espectáculo dejó al más famoso artista de Alemania, Alberto Durero, casi sin

palabras: «Allí vi todo el esplendor de la nobleza, lo más magnífico que por estos lares se haya visto», escribió en su diario.[46]

La ceremonia terminó con una proclamación por la que «el papa, después de haber aprobado la elección de Carlos V ordena que, en lo sucesivo, debe tomar el título de "emperador"», y (por sugerencia de Gattinara) adoptó el tratamiento de «sacra Cesárea Católica Real Majestad». Él prosiguió entonces su camino hacia Colonia donde, tras debatir con los electores, convocó a todos los miembros de la Dieta Imperial para que se reunieran en la ciudad de Worms el mes de enero siguiente, «que fue la primera vez que entró en Alemania y por el Rin» y, como más tarde mencionaría lacónicamente en sus *Memorias*, «en este tiempo comenzaron a pulular las herejías de Lutero en Alemania y las Comunidades en España».[47]

El 9 de abril de 1521, Adriano de Utrecht dejó por un momento de lamentarse de la desesperada situación de Castilla para escribir una carta de su puño y letra en la que le recordaba a su anterior pupilo que el Papa había condenado como hereje a *Ung quidam Martin Luther* («Un tal Martín Lutero») y el deber de Carlos de «enviar y transferir a este Martín Lutero a su juez, el Padre Eterno, que le castigará y escarmentará como merece». Como de costumbre, Carlos ignoró absolutamente el consejo de Adriano. En lugar de ello, proporcionó a Lutero un foro en el que articular y defender sus críticas al Papa; y en lugar de enviarle a Roma, para que el Papa pudiera «castigarle y escarmentarle», el emperador permitió que Lutero regresara a su nativa Sajonia donde predicaría, enseñaría y escribiría hasta morir, en su lecho, un cuarto de siglo después.[48]

A principios del siglo XVII, el franciscano español Antonio de Daza consideraba este el mayor error de Carlos. Publicó la visión de un colega de Guatemala que había «visto» el ánima de

Carlos V ascender al Paraíso «cuatro años después de su muerte», y explicaba a sus lectores la razón por la que el ánima del difunto emperador había languidecido en el Purgatorio durante aquellos «cuatro años»: «de no auer castigado a Lutero, quando le pudo prender» en la Dieta de Worms.[49] ¿Por qué no actuó Carlos?

El Papa condenó por primera vez las opiniones de Lutero en junio de 1520, en una bula conocida mayoritariamente por sus dos primeras palabras, *Exsurge Domine* («Levántate, Señor»). Para entonces, el fraile agustino había publicado varias controversias en latín criticando las doctrinas y prácticas del Papado, pero dos meses después publicó otra en alemán: *A la nobleza cristiana de la nación alemana acerca de la reforma de la condición cristiana*, alegrándose de que «Dios nos ha dado un líder joven de sangre noble» (Carlos), de quien esperaba que tomara medidas «a partir del mismo día de su coronación», para restaurar la pureza de las enseñanzas de Cristo, aunque significara criticar al Papa. No obstante, poco antes de que Carlos llegara a Aquisgrán, había recibido una copia de la *Exsurge Domine* de un enviado especial del Papa, Girolamo Aleandro, donde le exhortaba a quemar todos los escritos de Lutero y hacer que su autor se retractara públicamente o bien fuera a Roma a dar explicaciones. La quema del libro comenzó el 8 de octubre de 1520, cuando las autoridades de la ciudad universitaria de Lovaina lanzaron todas las obras de Lutero que pudieron encontrar a una hoguera pública. Aunque no se ha sabido de ninguna orden de Carlos para esta actuación, dado que él entonces residía en la ciudad, la hoguera pública solo pudo tener lugar contando con su conocimiento y aprobación.[50]

Exsurge Domine era un documento defectuoso. Detallaba cuarenta y un errores detectados en la obra publicada de Lutero y, sin embargo (como Hans Hillerbrand, un eminente historiador de la Reforma, comentó), «en cierto momento

parecía condenar todos los escritos de Lutero y en otro solo los que contenían alguno de los cuarenta y un errores condenados». Además, «doce de las cuarenta y una proposiciones no citaban correctamente a Lutero».[51] Esta combinación de intolerancia e ignorancia no solo indignó a los seguidores de Lutero, sino que alarmó a muchos de los intelectuales católicos de Europa, incluido uno de los más prestigiosos consejeros de Carlos: Erasmo. Poco después de la quema de libros en Lovaina, este se quejaba al rector de la universidad de que:

> Nunca he aprobado, ni lo haré, que se suprima a un hombre de esta manera, por el clamor popular, antes de que sus libros hayan sido leídos y analizados, antes de que los errores de ese hombre le hayan sido señalados a él, y antes de que se le haya refutado con argumentos y con las evidencias de las Sagradas Escrituras… La quema de sus libros puede que destierre a Lutero de nuestras bibliotecas; de que pueda hacerlo de los corazones, no estoy tan seguro.[52]

Poco después, Erasmo compartió sus reservas con una figura mucho más importante: Federico de Sajonia, protector de Lutero. El 4 de noviembre de 1520, Aleandro entregó al elector un ejemplar de la *Exsurge, Domine* y, al día siguiente, tras sus devociones matinales, el piadoso pero confuso elector hizo llamar a Erasmo para que este le aconsejara cómo debía responder. El humanista argumentó, obviamente, que Lutero y sus libros no debían condenarse sin ser oídos en juicio, porque al poco tiempo Federico anunció que «no estaba aún claro que Lutero mereciera este tratamiento, y que por tanto la cuestión debía aplazarse hasta la Dieta de Worms».[53]

Durante algún tiempo, la quema de libros continuó —las autoridades de Colonia lanzaron las obras de Lutero a una hoguera, de nuevo mientras Carlos se encontraba residiendo en la ciudad—, pero el 28 de noviembre el emperador electo ordenó a Federico que llevara a Lutero ante la Dieta de Worms, con la promesa de que recibiría un salvoconducto y la oportunidad de retractarse de sus opiniones. Aleandro detectó el peligro de inmediato. «Si Lutero no se retracta, y no puede ser

castigado debido al salvoconducto —advirtió—, causará gran confusión en todo el mundo». Trató por tanto de convencer a Carlos y a sus principales asesores de que cambiaran de parecer, pero (según su propia versión) Chièvres declinó hacerlo basándose en que «el emperador es un verdadero príncipe católico», en tanto Gattinara suscribía «la fantasía de que sería bueno dejar que Lutero asistiera a la Dieta».[54]

Los hechos darían la razón a Aleandro —proporcionarle a Lutero un salvoconducto y una plataforma pública sin duda «causó gran confusión en todo el mundo»—, pero el emperador no tenía muchas más opciones. Legalmente, las Capitulaciones Imperiales que acababa de jurar cumplir obligaban a Carlos tanto a prestar atención a las opiniones de los electores como a proteger a sus súbditos de ser juzgados por un tribunal extranjero. Ahora le era casi imposible ignorar la petición de Federico de que Lutero no fuera condenado y enviado a Roma sin una audiencia previa en Alemania. Pero había más: como Erasmo comentó retrospectivamente, en aquel momento «incluso el emperador empatizaba con las enseñanzas de Lutero». En marzo de 1518 Carlos había promulgado una ordenanza prohibiendo en todos los Países Bajos «para el resto de este año, o hasta que decretemos lo contrario», todo tipo de «perdones e indulgencias procedentes, o que puedan proceder, de fuera de nuestros dominios» —precisamente lo que Lutero había condenado en sus «Noventa y cinco tesis» seis meses antes —, y continuaba creyendo que se podía convencer a Lutero para que volviera al redil católico.[55] En febrero de 1521, quizá apoyado por Erasmo, el emperador dio autorización a su confesor, Jean Glapion, para convencer a Federico de que obligara a Lutero a retractarse al menos de algunas de sus proposiciones y evitar así un enfrentamiento de alto riesgo en la Dieta de Worms. Como el elector se negó a hablar con un fraile,

Glapion presentó el asunto a Gregor Brück, el canciller de Federico (calificado por Aleandro como «luteranísimo»), afirmando que:

> Hasta la publicación de *La cautividad babilónica de la Iglesia* estaba convencido de que el hermano Martín perseguía el noble objetivo de la reforma universal de la Iglesia, para eliminar de ella los abusos que la han desgraciado durante demasiado tiempo. Además, su valiente ejemplo inspiraba el celo y el apoyo de muchas personas honradas.

Glapion juró solemnemente en nombre de Carlos que, si Lutero se retractaba de las opiniones que había expresado en *La cautividad babilónica de la Iglesia* o negaba ser el autor, eludiría ser juzgado y podría continuar promoviendo «reformas útiles, de forma discreta y silenciosa». También aseguró a Brück que «el emperador cree que es esencial que una eminencia así se reconcilie con la Iglesia cristiana». A primeros de abril Glapion y el chambelán de Carlos se encontraron con un grupo de aliados de Lutero para organizar una reunión privada en la que el agustiniano podría retractarse de al menos algunas de sus proposiciones. Esta iniciativa fracasó debido solo a que Lutero se negó a dejar pasar su oportunidad de explicar sus puntos de vista en público ante la Dieta.[56]

Dos consideraciones políticas también jugaban en contra de seguir el consejo de Aleandro. En el frente interno, Carlos no podía ignorar el extendido apoyo a los puntos de vista de Lutero expresados por algunos de los príncipes y ciudades representadas en la Dieta: arrestar a Lutero y enviarle a Roma sin escucharle antes suponía el riesgo de desencadenar otro grave levantamiento que —debido a las rebeliones que estaban haciendo estragos en España— carecía de recursos para sofocar. Por otra parte, empezaban a llegar rumores a Worms de que el Papa era favorable a las ambiciones italianas de Francisco I, y de que había firmado una alianza con él. Cuando en marzo de 1521 Aleandro «exhortó» a Chièvres «a volcarse en la eliminación y extinción de esta abominable herejía», el marqués

le replicó: «Asegúrese de que el papa cumple con su obligación y trata con franqueza con nosotros. Entonces haremos todo lo que su Santidad quiera». Cuando Aleandro insistió, Chièvres se mostró más beligerante: «Si *vuestro Papa* deja de inmiscuirse en nuestros asuntos, conseguirá todo lo que quiera de nosotros; si no, se va a meter en tantos problemas que le resultará difícil salir de ellos». Aleandro se dio cuenta en ese momento, y quizá por vez primera, de que «desde que el emperador habló con el elector de Sajonia en Colonia, siempre han intentado sacar provecho del tema de Lutero [*sempre lor habbino fatto concetto di servirsi dell cose di Martino*]». Cuando el legado desafió a Chièvres por tercera vez, el marqués «sonrió y dijo que él personalmente no creía que fuera tan difícil silenciar a Lutero», a lo que Aleandro replicó agriamente que si no se reaccionaba con rapidez «en poco tiempo el fuego se habrá extendido tanto que ni toda el agua de *vuestro Mar del Norte* bastará para apagarlo».[57]

Carlos tenía una razón de índole más práctica para no aplicar la *Exsurge Domine*: ocuparse de Lutero era solo uno de los muchos problemas alemanes que exigían su atención. La Dieta de Worms iba a debatir más de un centenar de temas distintos, incluida la usura, los monopolios, los lujos y la propagación de «leyes farragosas y rebuscadas» que el pueblo no era capaz de entender (la impopularidad del «derecho romano», que en aquel momento estaba desplazando rápidamente al derecho consuetudinario en Alemania, no tuvo una importancia menor). Como Carlos ya había descubierto tanto en los Países Bajos como en España, convencer a grandes asambleas legislativas para resolver asuntos tan espinosos requería importantes dosis de tacto y paciencia. De modo que se esforzó al máximo por contentar a todo el mundo. El primer día de la Dieta reunió a todos sus miembros para celebrar juntos una misa tras la cual «pronunció una breve alocución en alemán» (por primera vez); y

durante los cuatro meses siguientes consultó con los electores de forma regular, además de rezar, cazar, practicar la cetrería y participar en justas con los más destacados participantes con el fin de encontrar intereses comunes.[58] Aleandro se esforzó al máximo por romper esta armonía. En su afán por conseguir la condena inmediata de Lutero, el legado presentó varios borradores de un edicto de ilegalidad a mediados de febrero y de nuevo a mediados de marzo, pero en esto no tuvo éxito: el emperador emplazó a «Nuestro querido reverendo el doctor Martín Lutero de la Orden Agustina» a comparecer ante la Dieta en un plazo de tres semanas.[59] También emitió el salvoconducto prometido.

El 17 de abril, «a la ora de las bísperas que sería a las quarto oras después de medio día», Lutero se presentó ante Carlos y la Dieta, formada por unos cien miembros, en la que se hallaban presentes como espectadores dignatarios extranjeros y alemanes, así como miembros de la Corte imperial (incluido el futuro inquisidor general Fernando de Valdés) y muchos ciudadanos de Worms. Carlos se encontraba sentado sobre un estrado, frente a él. Lutero «traya bestido un ábito de la orden de San Agustín con su cinta de cuero», según comentó un testigo de nacionalidad española, señalando que parecía «mui alto, más de la común proporción». «Luego se hizo un gran silencio» cuando Johann Eck, que actuó de «portavoz del emperador y de la Dieta», se levantó para leer una lista de libros presuntamente escritos por Lutero y un resumen de sus contenidos (a lo que el fraile replicó con descaro: «¡No están ay todos mis libros!»). A continuación, Eck formuló dos preguntas, redactadas por Aleandro y comunicadas previamente a Lutero: ¿había escrito él todos los libros cuyos títulos y contenidos acababa de leer? Y, en tal caso, «"¿si queréis retratarlo o apartaros de ellos como cosa insana y erética?" […] Acabadas estas palabras el dicho Martino Luterio, que estaba a pie, hizo su acathamiento a el emperador»,

y luego respondió, primero en latín, y luego de nuevo en alemán, «con mucha ansia y poco sosiego de su semblante y jesto… Quanto al primero, decía y confesaba que aquellos libros eran suios», pero «a lo segundo… pedía que le diesen de termino asta otro día siguiente». En aquel momento, Carlos «se retiró con su Consejo Privado a otro lugar, como también hicieron los electores y los demás príncipes» para analizar cuál debía ser el siguiente paso a dar. Al cabo de un rato volvieron y Eck pronunció las fatídicas palabras:

> «No embargante que lo que se le preguntaba eran cossas notables de su mesmo hecho, de que no podía pretender ignorancia, por donde luego debiera responder sin pedir otra dilación; pero que su magestad, usando de clemencia, le placia de alargar el termino para otro día a la mesma ora….» Y con esto por este día se acabó el acto, y el emperador subió a zenar.[60]

Esto resultaría ser un error fundamental. Como Carlos más adelante reconoció, no había justificación para permitir a Lutero más tiempo para preparar su respuesta a las preguntas, dado que estas le habían sido notificadas con antelación. El escenario que Aleandro temía se hizo entonces realidad.

El 18 de abril, tras una noche de reflexión durante la cual evidentemente logró sobreponerse a su «mucha ansia y poco sosiego», Lutero volvió a entrar en la Dieta «a la mesma ora», para encontrarse con que «el emperador y los príncipes estaban arriba en otra sala» (sin duda debatiendo qué hacer a continuación). Así pues, «el susodicho Martín esperó durante una hora y media a ser examinado», rodeado de (y tal vez animado por) «la enorme multitud de gente que había venido con él».[61]

Finalmente, acompañado de sus consejeros y los miembros de la Dieta, Carlos «descendió a la dicha sala» y tomó asiento sobre el estrado que le habían preparado. «Era tanta la jente, que [a excepción de] la persona real ninguno a penas se pudo sentar en lugar». Como antes, todos se callaron cuando Eck se levantó

para repetir sus preguntas. Esta vez Lutero no solo reconoció la autoría de los libros expuestos («e otros de que no se hacia mención»), sino que explicó que se dividían en tres categorías distintas. La primera, «avía escrito contra nuestro muy santo padre Leon decimo… porque beía toda esta nación Alemana vexada y tiranizada por muchas maneras en Roma». Carlos intervino entonces por primera vez, «diciéndole que guardara silencio sobre ese tema y siguiera con los demás». Lutero entonces pasó a la segunda categoría, que consistía en los «libros que él había dicho que había escrito por la irritación que le producían sus críticos», mientras que «la tercera categoría de libros trataba de los Evangelios». Declaró que «no se retractaría ni de una sola de las palabras que había escrito… a menos que pudieran demostrarle en un debate público estar equivocado basándose solo en la autoridad de Antiguo y el Nuevo Testamento»; y concluía «suplicando y pidiendo al emperador que no tratara de impedir la propagación de sus ideas, porque ello podría ser contraproducente no solo para la famosísima nación alemana sino también para sus restantes reinos y dominios».[62]

Dado que Carlos volvió a permanecer callado, Eck le recordó a Lutero «que todo lo que él afirmava y ponía en los dichos sus libros… eran erexías que en tiempos avían sido condenadas por concilios», de modo que «por esto no se abía agora de disputer de aquello que está disputado y convencido por malo y reprovado y condenado, y dello por la iglesia se avían echo decretos santos y decisiones mui buenas, que la iglesia tenía ya aprobadas». Así pues, remarcaba Eck con suficiencia, si Lutero «decía verdad, convenía tener que aquellos nuestros antepassados de mill años a esta parte avían sido erejes y no se abían salvado; lo qual era grande error y temeridad, que un hombre solo, de poca autoridad, quisiese condenar a tantos buenos christianos».

Como Carlos volvió a no decir nada, Lutero aprovechó la oportunidad para hacer su declaración más atrevida (y famosa):

> A menos de que se me pueda convencer mediante el testimonio de las Escrituras o razones evidentes, dado que no creo en los decretos ni de Papas ni de concilios, pues sabido es lo que han errado y se han contradicho a sí mismos… No puedo ni quiero retractarme de nada, ya que es pecado y además peligroso actuar contra la propia conciencia. No tengo otra opción: esta es mi postura.

Eck se levantó una vez más y «comenzó a rebatir esto», pero entonces Carlos le interrumpió. Aunque no podía entender la conversación en alemán, y seguía pidiendo que los textos en latín le fueran traducidos al francés «para entenderlos mejor», es evidente que el emperador había captado lo esencial del desafío de Lutero porque se «puso en pie y dijo "Ya basta, no quiero oír nada más de alguien que niega la autoridad de los concilios"». Dicho lo cual, «se subió a su aposento, y los príncipes y electores se fueron a sus posadas».[63]

La Reforma como competición

El caos estalló de nuevo. «Los mozos d'espuelas de los españoles que estaban esperando a sus amos dieron grita a la puerta diciendo "al fuego, a él, fuego"», pero no pudieron rivalizar con los alemanes, que formaron un escudo protector en torno a Lutero y «le llevaban sobarcado» como si acabara de ganar un torneo, idea que pareció agradar al héroe del momento, porque dejó la sala «alzados los brazos y meneando los manos y dedos a la forma que los Alemanes tienen, quando rompen lanzas en señal de victoria» (un gesto que podría haber suscitado el respeto reticente del emperador Maximiliano).[64]

Carlos pasó la noche siguiente elaborando una respuesta, y a primera hora de la mañana «Se juntó con los dichos príncipes y electores en la sala alta donde come, y les preguntó "¿qué les parescía en lo de Martino Lutero?". Y antes que ningún ablase, dixo: "Yo quiero deciros mi parecer en este casso, antes que oya el vuestro", e sacó un papel que tenía escrito de su letra». De

este «papel» han sobrevivido muchas copias —en alemán, latín, italiano, español y francés— no solo porque Carlos mandara hacerlas en estos idiomas, sino también porque todo el mundo percibió (quizá por primera vez) que Carlos estaba manifestando su propio punto de vista sobre un asunto político importante. Su «papel» comenzaba recordando a todo el mundo que sus ancestros —españoles, austriacos y borgoñones, así como alemanes— «fueron todos fieles hijos de la iglesia de Roma hasta su muerte, y defendieron siempre la iglesia católica, sus sagradas ceremonias, decretos y costumbres» y que «por la gracia de Dios hemos vivido hasta ahora según su ejemplo». A continuación, volvía a incidir en un punto que Johann Eck ya había expuesto el día anterior: «Definitivamente, un solo fraile debe de estar equivocado si su opinión va contra lo que los cristianos han creído durante los últimos mil años y siguen creyendo hoy». Así pues, continuaba Carlos, «Estoy absolutamente determinado a dedicar mis reinos y señoríos, mis amigos, mi cuerpo, mi sangre, mi vida y mi alma» a combatir la herejía, porque permitir que

> La herejía o disminución de la religión cristiana quedase en los corazones de los hombres por nuestra propia negligencia traería la deshonra permanente para nosotros y nuestros sucesores. Tras oír la perversa respuesta que Lutero dio ayer en presencia de todos nosotros, os digo ahora que lamento haber tardado tanto en proceder contra Lutero y su falsa doctrina, y he decidido no escucharle más.

Aunque Carlos prometía respetar el salvoconducto, prohibía a Lutero «predicar o enseñar su malvada doctrina» y proclamaba que «he decidido tratarle y proceder con él como lo haría con un notorio hereje». Y exigía a los que les escuchaban que hicieran lo mismo.[65]

Muchos de sus oyentes tenían otra idea. Los electores reaccionaron a la declaración de Carlos «pidiendo tiempo para consultar y decidir sobre esta materia. Volvieron al emperador varias veces, aparentando estar de acuerdo con su decreto, pero planteando en realidad muchas objeciones, por lo que aún no se ha decidido nada». Otros se opusieron abiertamente a la postura

de Carlos. Aparecieron carteles por la ciudad «en que decían, que 400 cavallos y 10.000 hombres de pie, no se nombrando por nombres, estaban puesto para defender que las obras de Luterio heran buenas». Temiendo una revuelta,

> A esta coiunctura fue dicho a Su Magestad, de parte de algunos príncipes y electores del imperio, que se tornase a hablar y amonestar el dicho Luterio. Su Magestad respondió que de su parte no se ablase más; y aunque de su parte no se le habló, por parte de algunos príncipes del imperio le fue ablado, para que se revocase de lo que tenía dicho y escrito; el qual dicen que respondió, que no lo podía hacer.[66]

«No sé qué será lo próximo que pase», escribió con inquietud el embajador veneciano en Worms, y predijo que «en cuanto el emperador se vaya, y esta Dieta se disuelva, Lutero provocará grandes disturbios [*tumultos*] por toda Alemania». Dos semanas después, Alfonso de Valdés, un secretario español del séquito de Carlos en Worms, expresaba los mismos temores:

> Veo los ánimos de los alemanes muy sobrescitados contra la Silla Romana, y veo, además, que los edictos del César no han de hacerles mucha fuerza, puesto que después de salir a luz los libros de Lutero, se venden sin cesar impunemente por calles y plazas. De aquí se podrá inferir fácilmente qué sucederá, luego que se ausente el César.[67]

La amenaza de un nuevo «tumulto», tan pronto después de Villalar, hizo dudar a Carlos. El mes anterior había ordenado a sus funcionarios en los Países Bajos incautar y quemar todos los escritos luteranos, prohibir la impresión, venta, compra o posesión de cualquier libro en el que se atacara a la Santa Sede, y reafirmar los decretos contra las doctrinas propagadas por herejes anteriores, así como por «alguien llamado Martín Lutero», pero no se atrevió a hacerlo en Alemania. El 8 de mayo de 1521 aprobó el texto de un edicto en el que se declaraba a Lutero fuera de la ley, se condenaban todas sus obras (de nuevo equiparándolas con las de los condenados por herejía de épocas anteriores) y prohibía la impresión (sin licencia episcopal) de

ninguna obra «por pequeña que sea, donde se mencione o cite la Sagrada Escritura o cualquier interpretación de la misma», pero se negó a imprimirlo, traducirlo o publicarlo.[68]

Aleandro, exasperado, protestó ante el secretario papal de Estado de que «El retraso no es culpa nuestra» sino del «emperador, que dice que quiere consultar a los príncipes sobre todo». El legado veía esto «muy peligroso», porque ya había identificado a varios «príncipes luteranos» en la Dieta que temía pudieran aprovechar la oportunidad para suavizar el lenguaje del edicto. Su ansiedad aumentó cuando llegó la noticia de que el rey de Francia había alentado los ataques por parte del rey de Navarra y el señor de La Marck a los territorios de Carlos, por lo que «de hecho, la guerra ha estallado y los imperialistas dicen que quieren reclutar el mayor número posible de tropas alemanas»; y, en efecto, Carlos se negaba a enemistarse con los «príncipes luteranos» hasta que la Dieta hubiera accedido a pagar un ejército para defender sus posesiones contra un ataque francés. «Quiera Dios poner paz entre los príncipes cristianos —suspiraba Aleandro—, o al menos no dar lugar a que Lutero se mezcle con los asuntos seculares de Estado».[69]

Finalmente, el 26 de mayo de 1521, al día siguiente de que la Dieta votara una dotación de fondos para financiar 20.000 soldados de infantería y 4.000 de caballería y aprobara la creación de un Consejo de Regencia presidido por el infante Fernando, en presencia de los electores que quedaban en Worms, Carlos firmó los textos en latín y en alemán del edicto proscribiendo a Lutero. Aleandro los llevó inmediatamente a la imprenta, afirmando con optimismo que, «aunque han dicho que estarán en seis días, me he asegurado de que trabajarán día y noche».[70] Pero dos acontecimientos posteriores dieron al traste con sus esperanzas. El 24 de mayo, el embajador francés en la corte de Carlos fue a solicitar un salvoconducto para volver a casa —entonces, al igual que ahora, esto constituía un claro

indicador de guerra—, en tanto que tres días después la muerte se llevó al consejero cuyas opiniones había seguido siempre desde su emancipación seis años atrás, y quien había «hasta el momento evitado que el emperador iniciara hostilidades o rompiera con Francia»: Guillermo de Croÿ, señor de Chièvres y marqués de Aarschot.[71]

Una segunda emancipación

El historiador belga del siglo XIX Ernest Gossart sin duda tenía razón al afirmar que «la minoría de edad de Carlos, a efectos políticos, llegó a su fin en 1521, en Worms, con la muerte de Chièvres».[72] Solo un año antes, uno de los diplomáticos de Carlos refería a Chièvres una conversación con Thomas Wolsey en la que sugería que el marqués, entonces de 63 años, podría renunciar a su puesto al lado del rey una vez volvieran de España a los Países Bajos, «y quedarse ya allí a descansar y poner a otro que le sustituyera», pero Wolsey le había replicado burlonamente: «Vos todavía no comprendéis la naturaleza de los hombres que ostentan estas responsabilidades»; nadie con un poder tan preeminente renunciaría nunca a él.[73] Wolsey tenía razón: el marqués le acompañó todo el camino hasta Worms, donde un embajador comentó que «Chièvres es como un padre para él». El marqués continuó dirigiendo tanto los debates nacionales como los internacionales durante la Dieta, negociando con embajadores extranjeros y príncipes alemanes «en nombre de su majestad imperial». En su Relato Final al Dogo y el Senado de Venecia del 6 de junio, tras casi cuatro años en la corte de Carlos, el embajador Francesco Corner afirmó que Chièvres «tiene en sus manos el gobierno de todas las cosas» porque «Su majestad no solo le quiere, sino que siente un gran respeto por él»; en tanto que Erasmo opinaba que «nuestro príncipe Carlos le tenía en tal estima que parecía que el imperio entero estaba en manos de un solo hombre».[74]

La afluencia de visitantes durante la Dieta causó una aglomeración y fomentó la propagación de enfermedades graves en Worms. A mediados de 1521 Carlos «pasó una noche y un día vomitando sin parar, y sus cortesanos dijeron que corría grave peligro»; y aunque se recuperó, tanto Marliano como Chièvres cayeron también enfermos. El primero murió el 10 de mayo, y el 20 «los médicos abandonaron toda esperanza» sobre el segundo. Cuatro días después Chièvres recibió la extremaunción, y la noche del 27 murió.[75] Su poder e influencia murieron con él. Según Aleandro, «nadie en esta corte le menciona ya en público, como si nunca hubiera existido», y Gasparo Contarini, el nuevo embajador veneciano, comentaba que, en lugar de viajar a Austria según lo previsto, Carlos ahora pensaba viajar desde Worms de regreso a los Países Bajos, «porque necesita volver a España», y «mi señor Chièvres, que le había disuadido de ese viaje, está muerto».[76]

El marqués no obstante dejó muchos legados positivos. En 1515, le había dicho a un enviado francés que obligaba a Carlos a estudiar todos los dosieres que llegaban «incluso de noche», y luego «a que él mismo informara a su Consejo, donde todo se debatía en su presencia, dado que, si no entiende estos asuntos, tras mi muerte va a necesitar otro tutor por no haber sido formado para la tarea de gobernar y siempre tendrá que depender de otros». Cuatro años después, Chièvres informaba a otro enviado francés de que él seguía «dedicado a hacer a su señor grande y disminuir a todos los demás» y que «no le faltaban esperanzas de que [Carlos] haría cosas que merecerían ser recordadas». Como el propio Carlos comentó, Chièvres «duerma siempre en nuestra [cámara], porque cuando despertare… tenga con quien hablar», proporcionándole de este modo al marqués una oportunidad única al principio de cada día para impartir sus lecciones políticas sin ser molestados.[77] Es evidente que Carlos aprendió bien sus lecciones, porque en

cuanto Chièvres salió de escena, Aleandro señaló que «cada día [Carlos] muestra un deseo casi sobrehumano de hacer lo correcto; algo que resulta claro justo en este momento, cuando ya no tiene un tutor [*pedagogo*]. Hemos visto muchas veces que las resoluciones rápidas que toma son adecuadas y sensatas». Dos veteranos diplomáticos ingleses presentes en la corte de Carlos dejaron un testimonio más explícito aún:

> El emperador emplea una maravillosa [diligencia] en ocuparse de sus asuntos, ya que todos los días está en la cámara de su Consejo a las seis o siete, y permanece allí hasta que va a misa; y una hora después de haber comido, vuelve con ellos otra vez y allí continúa hasta la hora de la cena. Y esta es la vida que hace desde que falleció el señor Chièvres.[78]

La diligencia de Carlos pareció aumentar la confianza en sí mismo. En agosto de 1521, invitó a Wolsey a reunirse con él en persona para resolver algunos temas pendientes «porque vos y yo juntos conseguiremos más en un día que mis embajadores en un mes», añadiendo (quizá como una velada amenaza), «También le mostraré mi ejército, así que como verá no tengo intención ni de dormir». Wolsey expresó su asombro ante la negativa de Carlos a hacer concesiones, pero (según indicó Gattinara) eso fue porque el cardenal había «esperado encontrar un joven todavía bajo tutela [*un fanciulo sotto tutella*], como cuando Lord Chièvres le gobernaba, y en su lugar se encontró con alguien muy diferente», alguien que «ahora mira por encima del hombro al rey francés». Pocos días después, el propio Wolsey advertía a Enrique VIII de que:

> Para su edad [Carlos] sabe mucho y comprende bien las cosas; frío y moderado en su forma de hablar, seguro en sus palabras, claro y bien intencionado cuando habla. Y no cabe duda de que todo apunta a que será un hombre muy sabio, con gran inclinación a la verdad y al cumplimiento de sus promesas.[79]

Este testimonio deja en muy buen lugar el papel de Chièvres como «pedagogo»; también podrían atribuírsele varios éxitos políticos. En los Países Bajos, mantuvo la paz con las potencias vecinas, lo cual (entre otras cosas) permitió a su pupilo partir sin peligro a España en 1517. Una vez allí, convenció a la reina

Juana para que reconociera a su hijo como único soberano en nombre de ambos, y consiguió los fondos necesarios para asegurar la elección de Carlos como rey de Romanos. En Alemania, finalmente, la Dieta promulgó unas medidas que sirvieron para resolver la mayoría de los asuntos pendientes: crear un Consejo de Regencia presidido por Fernando; aprobar normativas para restaurar el Estado de derecho; votar los impuestos necesarios para reclutar tropas contra Francia; y declarar a Lutero un hereje y un proscrito poniendo precio a su cabeza. Por encima de todo, Chièvres evitó la ruptura con Francia. Prudencio de Sandoval no fue el único en especular que «si viviera, no comenzaran tan presto las pasiones y guerras entre el Emperador y rey Francisco, porque fue siempre amigo de paz y procuró que el Emperador, sustentándose en ella, rigiese y gozase sus reinos».[80]

A otros respectos, Chièvres merece censura. Muchos opinaban que monopolizaba el acceso a su encomendado. Por citar de nuevo a Sandoval:

> La privanza de *monsieur* de Xevres era tanta, que más parecía ser Xevres el rey, y el rey su hijo, que no ser Xevres vasallo y criado como lo era. No había puerta ni oído en el rey, más de para quien Xevres quería. Lo que se despachaba bien, decía Xevres que él lo hacía, y para sí solo quería el agradecimiento; lo que salía mal cargábalo al rey, y que el rey lo había querido así… Visto he un memorial que destas cosas escribió un caballero contino de la casa real, que como testigo de vista las dice, y dice que como el rey era mozo y sabía poco de negocios, no consentía Xevres que le hablase nadie sin saber primero lo que quería decir, por poner al rey en lo que había de responder. Y si no se lo querían decir primero a Xevres no se les daba audiencia ni entrada.[81]

Por otra parte, Chièvres hacía todo lo que podía para excluir a los consejeros a los que consideraba sus rivales, incluso a aquellos que tenían mucho que ofrecer al joven Carlos, especialmente a Margarita de Austria, a quien mediante la emancipación marginó brutalmente en 1515; Adriano de Utrecht, a quien envió a España más adelante aquel mismo año;

el conde palatino Federico, cuya caída en desgracia consiguió en 1517; y el infante Fernando, a quien desterró a los Países Bajos al año siguiente.

Lo peor de todo era la avidez insaciable de Chièvres por acumular cargos públicos e ingresos para él y su familia, que culminó con el nombramiento de su sobrino y tocayo como arzobispo de Toledo, hecho que de por sí pesó más que ningún otro para precipitar la revuelta comunera. En efecto, su gestión de la insurgencia más peligrosa para todo el reino destaca como uno de sus peores errores, comparable solo con el de su fracaso para calibrar la amenaza del movimiento luterano en Alemania, utilizándolo en cambio como arma para persuadir al papa León X de que abandonara Francia y se aliara con su señor. No obstante, pese al alto coste, ambos riesgos compensaron, ya que cuando Francisco I finalmente declaró la guerra al emperador, Castilla estaba en paz de nuevo, mientras tanto Enrique VIII como León se pusieron del lado de Carlos, permitiéndole acabar el año 1521 como el vencedor indiscutible.

6. Una victoria arrancada de las fauces de la derrota, 1521-1525

La primera campaña de Carlos

En 1518, la creciente rivalidad entre Carlos y Francisco por la influencia sobre Alemania llevó a un diplomático inglés a predecir que, «No puede haber paz entre los dos». Su colega veneciano estaba de acuerdo: los dos monarcas podrían «adaptarse a las circunstancias, pero cada uno en realidad alberga un enorme odio por el otro». Por su parte, un ministro francés, no «tenía dudas de que la principal razón» para la guerra que duraría desde 1521 a 1529 «fue la elección de Carlos como emperador», dado que Francisco temía que causara la pérdida de Milán y Génova, sus recientes conquistas, ambos feudos imperiales.[1]

Aunque estos tres contemporáneos consideraban la guerra inevitable, no todo el mundo estaba de acuerdo. En la década de 1530, el soldado, diplomático e historiador italiano Francesco Guicciardini señalaba los cuatro principales asuntos que habían empujado a Carlos y Francisco a la guerra: el primero quería recuperar Borgoña, perdida por su bisabuelo, y le molestaba el control francés sobre Milán y Génova; mientras que el segundo pretendía recuperar Navarra, arrebatada a su dinastía originaria por el abuelo de Carlos, Fernando, y estaba molesto por el control español sobre Nápoles. No obstante, proseguía Guicciardini, «dado que ambos son tan poderosos, la dificultad de atacar el uno al otro les frenó a la hora de emprender la ofensiva» durante algún tiempo. A modo de ejemplo, citaba la chusca respuesta de Francisco a una delegación española que había llegado para anunciar la intención de Carlos de hacerse con la Corona imperial. «Debemos seguir el ejemplo que a veces vemos cuando dos hombres aman a la misma mujer —

bromeaba el rey—: Cada uno se esfuerza en utilizar todos los medios posibles para obtenerla, pero no por esa razón se pelean entre ellos».[2]

Al principio, Francisco aceptó con elegancia la elección de su rival. Un embajador destinado en la corte española refería en junio de 1519 que «el rey de Francia escribió recientemente felicitando efusivamente a la Magestad Imperial y diciendo que, después de él mismo, a ninguna otra persona sobre la tierra apoyaba para este nombramiento sino a Su Magestad»; en tanto que algunos cortesanos franceses afirmaban que era «buena cosa para nuestro rey y para el bienestar de su reino que no sea él emperador, ya que dicen que si lo hubiera sido, esto le habría generado un trabajo infinito y le habría empobrecido a él y a sus súbditos».[3] En 1520 Francisco resistió la presión del papa León X para desafiar a Carlos. El Rey admitía que, aunque «con el imperio, el reino de Nápoles y España están en las mismas manos, sería mucho mejor resolver las dificultades futuras por adelantado que encontrarles remedio después», y aunque el Papa pensaba «que ahora tengo una mayor ventaja sobre el Rey Católico que cuando entré en Alemania», a Francisco le parecía «que entonces no tendrá menos problemas que ahora, y bien puede ser que tenga más». Además, continuaba diciendo el rey:

> Dado que sus dominios están desperdigados por varios sitios, y lejanos unos de otros, y que son tan desobedientes y problemáticos como todos sabemos, [Carlos] estará obligado a mantenerlos y guardarlos sin intentar conseguir más. Y dado que posee tanto, su preocupación e interés debe ser mantener la paz, al coste que sea, para evitar el enorme e insostenible gasto que le supondría ir a la guerra… y sortear los riesgos de la guerra.[4]

Una orden firmada el 14 de febrero de 1521 revelaba que Francisco había cambiado de parecer. El rey anunció que Robert de la Marck, señor de Sedan, acababa de acceder a «poner su persona y propiedades a su servicio contra cualquiera sin excepción, incluido el emperador», y a cambio concedió sustanciosas sumas a La Marck y a tres de sus hijos, que casi de

inmediato reclutaron un ejército y atacaron ciudades de los Países Bajos Habsburgo. Esta, afirmaba un ministro francés, «fue la primera ocasión, y supuso el inicio e incitación a la guerra entre el rey [de Francia] y el emperador-electo, que más tarde acabaría siendo tan larga y tan cruel», asombrándose de que «esta pequeña chispa hubiera encendido un fuego tan grande». De hecho, el ataque de La Marck fue solo una de varias «chispas». Francisco prometió clandestinamente su apoyo a los esfuerzos del rey de Navarra por recuperar su reino, animó al duque de Güeldres a invadir Frisia y Overijssel, y firmó un tratado secreto con León X en virtud del cual el Papa prometía privar a Carlos del Reino de Nápoles y rehusaba coronarle emperador. Además, anunció que los soldados alemanes que eligieran «servir al rey francés, tendrán buen entretenimiento»; señal inequívoca de que el propio Francisco lucharía si era necesario. En palabras de Karl Brandi: «una lucha a vida o muerte» entre «los príncipes de Valois, Francisco de Francia y Carlos de Borgoña, estaba a punto de comenzar muy en serio».[5]

Las noticias de estas varias hostilidades alarmaron a Carlos, que seguía en Worms tratando de solucionar los problemas del Imperio. Algunos de sus asesores «le aconsejaron frenar al rey francés más que sufrir aquel ataque», pero Carlos «contestó *hablando por él mismo* [lo que se reconoce como una novedad] que él sufriría que el rey francés fuera el primero en invadir, si así lo quería, prometiendo que si lo hacía, él respondería con todo lo que Dios le pidiera, pero que le destruiría o bien quedaría destruido él».[6] La enfermedad impidió a Carlos actuar conforme a su decisión de forma inmediata —«pasó una noche y un día enteros vomitando», y durante varios días «no salió de su habitación, donde permaneció tomando sus medicinas y sin ocuparse de ningún asunto». Pero el 1 de abril de 1521, su enviado personal anunció a Francisco que «el emperador tomó estas acciones como una declaración de guerra y una ruptura de

los tratados, y dado que había sido atacado y provocado, había decidido defenderse». Entretanto, en Roma, el embajador imperial «prácticamente asaltó a su Santidad», insistiéndole (según su colega francés) «agresivamente y con gesto muy enojado» en que diera «un sí o un no» a su petición de que León firmara de inmediato una alianza ofensiva contra Francia. El Papa enseguida anuló su tratado con Francisco y prometió reclutar un ejército para ayudar a Carlos a expulsar a los franceses de Italia, investir a Carlos con el reino de Nápoles y coronarle emperador en Roma, aparte de bendecir dos nuevos enlaces dinásticos dirigidos a asegurar el este de Europa contra el ataque turco: el matrimonio del hermano de Carlos, Fernando, con la hermana (y heredera) del rey Luis de Hungría y Bohemia, y de Luis con María, la hermana de Carlos. Carlos prometió por su parte devolver a los Estados Pontificios los ducados de Parma y Piacenza (entregados a Francia por León tras la batalla de Marignano), y poner a todos sus parientes Médici bajo su protección.[7]

Carlos ya estaba ansioso por luchar. Al enterarse de que Francisco había enviado sin disimulo a La Marck algunas de las tropas que había reclutado en Alemania, «levantó las manos al cielo y dijo: "¡Alabado seas, Señor, por concederme que no empezara yo esta guerra, y por que este rey de Francia vaya a hacerme más grande de lo que ya soy! Gracias siempre a ti, que me has dado los medios para defenderme. Espero que pronto yo sea un emperador empobrecido, o él un empobrecido rey"». Cuando su tía Margarita le instó a mantener la paz, el emperador replicó: «No, señora: si yo negociara con él ahora, en dos meses empezaría a darme problemas otra vez». En el verano de 1521, los ejércitos imperiales repelieron a sus enemigos en los Países Bajos, en Navarra y en Italia; y un diplomático inglés señaló que los franceses «habían pasado página. Porque hacía aproximadamente medio año decían que iban a invadir el

mundo y les daba igual todo», pero ahora deseaban la paz con toda su alma.[8] Cada soberano había mandado enviados a persuadir a Enrique VIII de que el otro había golpeado primero, incumpliendo así los términos del Tratado de Londres y desencadenando por tanto una declaración de guerra de Inglaterra en su favor, pero en lugar de ello en julio de 1521 Wolsey acordó presidir una conferencia de paz en Calais, a la que tanto Carlos como Francisco enviaron a sus ministros más experimentados.

Justo antes de comenzar las conversaciones, Gattinara redactó una consulta en la que enumeraba las razones a favor y en contra de continuar la guerra. En primer lugar, evaluaba siete argumentos a favor de una tregua, la mayoría de ellos bastante genéricos (el incierto resultado de todas las guerras; el inevitable coste; la dificultad de iniciar una guerra tan avanzada ya la época de campaña), pero también algunos más específicos (La Marck y Navarra ya habían sido derrotados). A continuación, presentaba diez razones para continuar la guerra, la mayoría también bastante generales (la causa de Carlos era justa y por tanto gozaba del favor divino; Carlos contaba con un amplio apoyo internacional; él no firmaría un acuerdo aparte sin contar con sus aliados), pero algunas también más concretas (una tregua significaría que el dinero que ya se había gastado en la movilización de tropas se habría desperdiciado; las tropas reclutadas ya estaban impacientes por luchar). Gattinara dedicaba especial atención a esta última razón a favor de seguir luchando: la reputación.

> Sobre todo, su majestad debe tratar de adquirir reputación, porque hasta ahora no ha participado en ningún asunto de Estado del que puedan extraerse conclusiones positivas ni negativas, y el mundo entero ha estado aguardando con la esperanza de que ahora que se os presente una buena oportunidad, hagáis algo digno de un emperador tan poderoso como vos… Por otra parte, sire, este es el primer ejército que habéis reclutado, y estos comienzos, en los que habéis gastado tanto y movilizado tantos recursos, tienen a todo el mundo hablando de ello.

> Nuestro trabajo es garantizar que estos comienzos desemboquen en un resultado que no borre ni menoscabe la reputación de su majestad, sino que la mantenga y la aumente.

El canciller instaba por tanto a Carlos a desplegar sus fuerzas en los Países Bajos contra objetivos fáciles como Tournai y Thérouanne mientras volcaba sus mayores esfuerzos en Italia para arrebatar Milán y Génova a los franceses. De esta manera, concluía, «adquiriréis reputación y asombraréis a vuestros enemigos».[9]

La lógica de Gattinara procedía directamente de las tradiciones caballerescas de Borgoña —lo cual obviamente las hacía aún más atractivas a su señor, como el astuto canciller ya había supuesto—, no obstante Carlos hizo circular la consulta entre sus principales consejeros y les pidió que debatieran «Qué debería hacer el emperador este invierno». Las minutas detalladas del debate revelan que algunos ministros eran partidarios de firmar un tratado de ofensiva con Inglaterra para aumentar las probabilidades de victoria en los Países Bajos, mientras que otros se mostraban favorables a una tregua o paz con Francia que le permitiera a Carlos regresar a España y restaurar el orden; pero, al final, por primera vez, Carlos tomó la decisión por sí mismo, negociando directamente con Wolsey.[10] Una serie de reuniones mano a mano desembocaron en una proclamación solemne, el 25 de agosto de 1521, en la que se acordaba que Carlos y Enrique continuarían «siendo amigos y aliados para siempre, y actuarían en común» en la defensa de sus posesiones y «reivindicación de los derechos que otros les negaran, sin excepción ninguna». El tratado lo sellaría el matrimonio de Carlos con su prima María Tudor, hija y heredera de Enrique (futura María de Inglaterra y sobrina de la que había sido prometida de Carlos), cuando cumpliera doce

años. El emperador prometía también visitar Inglaterra, donde los dos monarcas harían pública su alianza y ultimarían una gran estrategia para desmembrar Francia.[11]

Gattinara volvió entonces a Calais para tres meses, mientras Wolsey se dedicaba a la «política cosmética», discutiendo los términos de la tregua con los franceses como pantalla para ocultar el tratado secreto con el emperador, pero el hecho de encontrarse tanto tiempo lejos de su señor acabó menoscabando gravemente su influencia. Al principio, Carlos bombardeó a su canciller con cartas en las que decía «desearía que no estuvierais en Calais», y afirmaba que «vos entendéis mejor que nadie lo que podríamos y deberíamos hacer». Suplicaba a Gattinara «escribidnos con frecuencia, una vez al día sin falta, porque hemos establecido una cadena de estafetas a expensas nuestras que están a vuestra disposición»; pero estas cartas de septiembre de 1521 a Gattinara rezumaban un afecto y una confianza que desaparecería a partir de septiembre de 1521.[12] Un mes más tarde, Carlos se enfadó mucho cuando su canciller se negó a refrendar con su firma una de sus órdenes, «que como pudisteis ver eran orden expresa nuestra», y le exigió imperativamente que «a pesar de las objeciones que habéis puesto, os ordenamos que de una vez por todas refrendéis dicha orden y nos la devolváis firmada sin falta, porque ese es nuestro deseo». En noviembre, cuando Wolsey alteró los términos acordados para el matrimonio de Carlos con la princesa María, el emperador declaró —sin consultar a su canciller— que desecharía el tratado entero, exclamando «con cara de enojo»:

> Veo claramente cómo el cardenal [Wolsey] quiere tratarme: igual que ha dicho a nuestros embajadores que traten a los franceses, es decir, planteando peticiones imposibles que mi honor y condición no me permiten aceptar… Pero se ha equivocado conmigo [*Il l'a mal trouvé son homme*], porque si una parte me rechaza, otra me aceptará. Novias no faltan; no necesito pagar tanto.[13]

El berrinche de Carlos reportó buenos dividendos; Wolsey se apresuró a firmar un tratado que obligaba a Inglaterra, al emperador y al Papa a declarar la guerra a Francia. Además, sus ejércitos, tanto en Italia como en los Países Bajos, consiguieron algunos éxitos notables, de manera que, para finales de 1521, pese a la muerte de Chièvres y el ninguneo a Gattinara, el emperador podía jactarse de que «Dios nos ha concedido su favor, porque hemos salido victoriosos en todos los frentes, reduciendo a Milán y otras ciudades [italianas] a nuestra obediencia, conquistando Tournai y recuperando todo lo que se había perdido en Navarra». El único revés fue la captura de la estratégica ciudad fronteriza de Fuenterrabía por parte de Francia en octubre; pero la importancia de este hecho quedó eclipsada dos meses después cuando el papa León murió y los cardenales eligieron al antiguo tutor de Carlos, Adriano de Utrecht, para sucederle.[14]

El emperador no tardó en sacar partido a esta ventaja inesperada. «Después de aver placido a Nuestro Señor de constituyrnos en esta dignidad imperial —alardeaba ante el nuevo pontífice—, nos haga tanta merced de aver ordenado que recivamos la corona de la mano de persona tan íntima a nos, de nuestra propia nación, e que dende nuestra niñez nos a criado e instituydo, y tenga tan grande y verdadero amor a nuestra persona, como su Beatitud». Más explícitamente, instaba al nuevo Papa «a recordar lo que una vez siendo alumno vuestro me dijisteis, y desde entonces he comprobado que es cierto y, por si no os acordáis os recuerdo: que [el francés] pese a sus dulces y amables palabras, al final solo busca engañarte y tomarte el pelo». No obstante, concluía pomposamente, «su santidad es tan inteligente que sabrá cómo evitar hacer cualquier cosa que pudiera dañarme o perjudicarme».[15] La carta daba pruebas inequívocas de que Carlos era ahora «su hombre».

La elección de Adriano generó no obstante un problema urgente a su antiguo pupilo: el nuevo Papa no podía continuar ejerciendo como «gobernador» de Castilla, y por tanto Carlos necesitaba regresar a España rápidamente. Esto a su vez le obligaba a nombrar dos regentes fuertes para gobernar los Países Bajos y Alemania durante su ausencia. El primero era relativamente fácil, dado que Margarita estaba capacitada y dispuesta a volver a serlo, pero dotar a Fernando de los poderes adecuados resultaba más difícil. Para empezar, la vehemente oposición de Carlos a hacer de su hermano el candidato de la familia a la elección imperial le había llevado a prohibir a Fernando poner el pie en Alemania. Solo transigió en abril de 1521, cuando dio la bienvenida a su hermano a la Dieta de Worms y le cedió la mayor parte de las tierras Habsburgo en Austria. Fernando partió inmediatamente para ser aclamado soberano allí (y también para casarse con Ana de Hungría) y, un año después, ansioso por volver a España, Carlos acordó transferir a Fernando y a todos sus descendientes el resto de sus territorios austriacos y preparar la elección de su hermano como rey de Romanos inmediatamente después de que él fuera coronado emperador.[16] Carlos hizo entonces su primer testamento en el que, exactamente igual que su padre, especificaba que si moría en España su cuerpo debería ser enterrado en Granada junto a los Reyes Católicos, y si fuera en los Países Bajos, en Brujas, junto a María de Borgoña, «y si en el momento de nuestra muerte nuestro ducado de Borgoña hubiera sido devuelto a nuestra obediencia, deseamos que nuestro cuerpo sea enterrado en la iglesia de la Cartuja de Dijon, junto al de nuestros predecesores los duques Felipe el Temerario, su hijo Juan y Felipe el Bueno de Borgoña». También reconocía a Fernando como su heredero universal.[17]

Carlos y su séquito zarparon finalmente desde Calais con destino a Dover el 27 de mayo de 1522. Erasmo atribuyó generosamente el retraso de su partida a la climatología —«los vientos son las únicas criaturas que no reconocen a un emperador cuando lo ven»—, pero esto solo la explicaba en parte.[18] Como de costumbre, algunos retrasos se debían a que el emperador continuaba anteponiendo el placer al trabajo. Engendró al menos tres hijos ilegítimos en doce meses, durante los cuales permaneció adicto al tenis, los torneos, la cetrería y la caza. Un enviado inglés que llegó a su corte el 11 de febrero de 1522 no pudo presentar sus credenciales porque Carlos estaba «jugando a la raqueta», lo que obligó al embajador a quedarse «viéndole jugar hasta que fue casi de noche, momento en el que su majestad se retiró a sus aposentos». Un mes después, Carlos y su hermano capitanearon cada uno un equipo en un gran torneo.

> Una vez hubieron saludado a las damas y dado la vuelta al campo y el torneo, el emperador comenzó el juego, y rompió su lanza nada más empezar contra uno del equipo de su hermano, y a la vez siguiente el infante hizo lo mismo contra uno del equipo del emperador, hasta el punto que la justa duró dos horas, debido a las cien lanzas que hubo que sacar porque se iban rompiendo continuamente.

Gracias, sin duda, a todas las horas que había dedicado a practicar,

> Su majestad hizo un papel brillante, y rompió más lanzas que ningún otro, y al final, cuando todas las lanzas ya se habían roto, el emperador montó en un magnífico caballo, desarmado de su armadura y escudo, y tras haber saludado a las damas, exhibió sus habilidades ecuestres como príncipe al que bien podría llamarse maestro de jinetes.[19]

Carlos no siempre desatendió el trabajo. Por ejemplo, el 13 de abril de 1522, cuando «a primera hora de la mañana llegó el correo» de Inglaterra, «desde esa hora, el emperador y su Consejo han pasado el tiempo deliberando, de manera que han comido tarde, cenado tarde y acostado tarde». Dos días después, Carlos escribió una carta ológrafa informando a Wolsey de que, en adelante, siempre que «algo me afecte personalmente», él

«escribiría este símbolo ℰ»; y durante más de un año varias de sus cartas ológrafas a Wolsey contuvieron «el símbolo ℰ que vos y yo sabemos, y que significa que el asunto es muy importante para mí».[20] El emperador también atendía personalmente asuntos públicos de importancia menor. Según los sorprendidos embajadores ingleses destacados en su corte, supervisó personalmente el embarque de su séquito para su viaje a Inglaterra y, cuando ellos expresaron cierta incredulidad, un funcionario les mostró un registro en el que figuraban muchas entradas «escritas por el emperador de su puño y letra».[21]

El motivo principal de la demora fue, como es habitual, el dinero. Según un documento que redactó Gattinara, el coste conjunto de la guerra reciente y el viaje inminente a España dejaron al emperador con tan pocos fondos que «estamos en peligro no solo de perder lo conquistado sino también nuestros dominios heredados, con lo que quedarán nuestros asuntos en la ruina y en manos de la providencia. Además, no sabemos cómo seremos recibidos por nuestros súbditos españoles». Esto le dejó a merced de Inglaterra, porque Enrique prometió prestarle 150.000 ducados para preparar la flota de Carlos y una escolta naval para protegerse de un posible ataque de Francia a cambio de (en palabras del propio emperador) unos «términos bastante duros», incluida la promesa de no «negociar la paz o una tregua con Francia sin el consentimiento de Enrique; prometerse con su hija y heredera María; y una visita a Inglaterra en su camino a España».[22] La victoria del ejército de Carlos sobre los franceses y sus aliados en la batalla de Bicocca, que puso no solo la Lombardía, sino también Génova en manos de los Habsburgo, parece que incrementó todavía más la confianza de Carlos en sí mismo. El 6 de junio de 1522, Enrique VIII y él entraron en Londres «no solo como hermanos en cuanto a su forma de pensar, sino vestidos con el mismo atuendo, y con todas las ceremonias habituales, como si el emperador fuera a ser

reconocido como rey en Inglaterra». Diez días después convenció a Enrique para que hiciera pública su declaración de guerra a Francia, y confirmara que su hija y heredera María se casaría con Carlos en cuanto esta cumpliera doce años. La princesa comenzó a llevar un broche hecho de joyas dispuestas de manera que podía leerse «el emperador» *(véase lámina 11).* El tratado obligaba también a Enrique VIII a proporcionar a su futuro yerno una poderosa escolta naval, prestarle 150.000 ducados y un imponente tren de artillería inglesa «para ayudarle en la pacificación de sus estados» y a enviar una fuerza expedicionaria a atacar Bretaña. Por encima de todo, los dos monarcas acordaron prepararse para lanzar en 1524 una «gran empresa», una invasión simultánea de Francia, con Enrique avanzando desde Calais y Carlos desde Vizcaya.[23]

Tras seis semanas de banquetes, justas y negociaciones en Inglaterra, el 6 de julio de 1522 comulgó y a continuación embarcó con una impresionante flota de 3.000 soldados alemanes, muchos más de los que su padre había llevado consigo a España dieciocho años antes. Desembarcó en Santander el 16 de julio de 1522, y emprendió viaje hacia el interior «caçando y holgando» hasta que el 5 de agosto llegó a Palencia, tres semanas más tarde. Según informó con petulancia a Enrique, «grandes, nobles, prelados y otras personas importantes han venido a nuestra corte, mostrando toda la humildad y devoción que podríamos desear, y todos ellos, grandes y pequeños, se han comportado como nuestros leales súbditos y servidores». Carlos se sintió lo bastante seguro como para enviar sus tropas alemanas a defender la frontera de España con Francia, mientras él «empezaba a poner orden en estos reinos».[24]

La pacificación de España

Pero ¿de quién debía ser ese orden? En cuanto supo que Adriano había sido elegido Papa, lo que le obligaría a abandonar España para ir a Roma, Carlos suscribió una carta de privilegio para su hermana Leonor (quien había enviudado recientemente) en la que le concedía el permiso para actuar como la única virreina de Castilla. Pero el nuevo rey de Portugal se negaba a dejarla marchar, de modo que Carlos permitió que el almirante y el condestable de Castilla continuaran ejerciendo de gobernadores en ausencia del ahora papa Adriano VI. El almirante instó a su señor a ofrecer concesiones y clemencia a los comuneros, porque, de otro modo, «[ni] en sus camas ni en sus cassas no duerme ninguno con reposso porque no menea cossa el viento que no piensan que es el Alguacil que los va a prender». También le recordó a Carlos (utilizando el condescendiente tratamiento de «vos»): «Que no sois Dios que puede estar en todo cabo, sino emperador que aveis de andar por el mundo; i que para conservar la parte donde estubieredes i aun donde estéis más sano el amor que el temor». Pocos ministros estaban de acuerdo. Incluso Adriano era partidario de la represión y aconsejaba a su antiguo alumno movilizar todos sus recursos «para que con aquello podays seguramente castigar aquellos que levantaron en vuestros reynos las sediciones y estos tumultos pasados»; mientras que el Consejo de Regencia, que había sido humillado y amenazado por los comuneros, empezaba a recopilar listas de proscritas y a encarcelar a todos los antiguos rebeldes que pudieron encontrar.[25]

Como en cierta ocasión comentó su confesor, Jean Glapion, al emperador «que le adornaban todas las virtudes, excepto esta: le resultaba difícil pasar por alto los insultos». Sin embargo, sus palabras no parecían hacer efecto. Carlos hablaba y escribía con frecuencia de «vengarse» de quienes se enfrentaran a él, igual que los héroes de los libros de caballería borgoñones que había leído, y como consideraba la traición el peor de los «insultos», mostró

una hostilidad implacable contra los rebeldes.[26] Apenas volvió a poner el pie en suelo español ordenó la ejecución de algunos soldados alemanes capturados mientras luchaban para los franceses en Guipúzcoa, «por dar exemplo a los otros, y sepan que él que fuere su deservidor ha de pasar por aquella medida, pues iban contra su emperador y señor». Él tampoco perdió tiempo en «hacer justicia a ciertos comuneros», e informó a su tía Margarita en agosto de que había «iniciado un procedimiento criminal contra diez o doce de los principales delincuentes de la Junta de Tordesillas, capturados el año pasado», y añadió que pensaba «darles castigo de un modo ejemplar que se recordará para siempre». Durante sus primeros tres meses de vuelta en España Carlos aprobó casi un centenar de condenas y quince ejecuciones de antiguos comuneros, pero, finalmente, parece ser que el emperador dijo: «Eso basta ya: no se derrame más sangre». A partir de entonces el Consejo Real dejó de perseguir a los antiguos rebeldes: en lugar de ello, concluyó los términos del «Perdón General», que fue solemnemente proclamado en la plaza Mayor de Valladolid el 1 de noviembre en presencia de Carlos, los embajadores extranjeros acreditados en su corte y sus principales nobles y cortesanos.[27]

El Perdón General concedió la amnistía a todos salvo a 293 antiguos rebeldes, de los cuales 63 eran nobles y caballeros y 21 clérigos. Entre los «exceptuados» de la amnistía se encontraban dos destacados «grupos de resentidos: los antiguos partidarios del infante Fernando y los hombres que habían sido excluidos por Chièvres de la administración». Tal vez esto explique la llamativa y profunda implicación del emperador en el proceso de establecer los castigos, ya que (como Salinas comentó) «Su Magestad está tan bien informado del grado en que cada uno pecó, como si él mismo los hubiera confesado». Al final, el coste de la guerra con Francia terminó con la represión y obligó al

emperador a vender perdones hasta 1527, fecha en la que promulgó una amnistía general en honor al nacimiento de su hijo, el futuro Felipe II.[28]

Según el meticuloso estudio de Joseph Pérez sobre los comuneros, al final solo unos 100 de los protagonistas pagaron por su rebelión con la vida o con sus bienes. Carlos rechazó cualquier sugerencia de sanciones colectivas (como la de suprimir la Cancillería de Valladolid o las ferias de Medina del Campo), de manera que «La derrota de las Comunidades no provocó cambio alguno en la estructura tradicional de Castilla»; una autocontención notable, dado que la rebelión estuvo a punto de acabar con el gobierno Habsburgo en el reino. No obstante, las multas impuestas a las principales ciudades implicadas en la revuelta, y la subida de los impuestos para costear las reparaciones a aquellos que habían permanecido leales a la Corona y sufrido pérdidas materiales a consecuencia de ello, generaron para «la Castilla industrial y artesanal una situación catastrófica».[29]

Carlos actuó aún con mayor severidad contra los agermanados de Valencia, unas represalias que comenzaron tras la rendición de los rebeldes de Játiva, la segunda ciudad del reino, y la muerte de su popular líder, conocido como *El Encubierto*, que afirmaba ser hijo póstumo del príncipe Juan, heredero de los Reyes Católicos (lo que le hacía a él y no a Carlos el legítimo rey). El emperador nombró virreina a su madrastra, Germana de Foix, con órdenes de recuperar el control *«sin admitir ni tollerar remissión o perdón alguno»*. Martí de Viciana destacó esto en su crónica de Valencia: el título de un capítulo dedicado a las Germanías rezaba así: «La reina doña Germana viene por vireina a Valencia para castigar los criminosos y composer generalmente a todos los que fueron agermandos». Los arrestos, «con mucha cautela, de los agermanados principales» (incluidos, al igual que en Castilla,

algunos de los perdonados por sus predecesores) comenzaron en secreto la noche del 10 de enero de 1524, y durante los cuatro años siguientes la reina aprobó la ejecución de unos 800 antiguos rebeldes, muchos de ellos tras ser torturados. Viciana estimaba que las Germanías causaron daños materiales por valor de dos millones de ducados y la muerte de 12.000 personas *«en batallas, peleas y escaramuzas, y por justicia sentenciados»*. Como en Castilla, solo el coste de la guerra con Francia obligó a Carlos a vender perdones a la mayoría de los rebeldes restantes.[30]

No obstante, «ciertas personas no ha seido servido [el emperador] que entren en este perdón». En Castilla, estos «exceptuados» incluían a don Antonio de Acuña, obispo de Zamora, que se había autodenominado capitán general de la rebelión. Don Martín de Salinas señaló que «A XXIIII de setiembre [de 1522] a las ocho de la mañana truxo el Alcalde Ronquillo por medio de esta villa [Valladolid] al obispo de Çamora, con la guarda de caballo española, y le llevó a la fortaleça de Simancas». Allí permaneció encerrado hasta que Carlos convenció al Papa para que le concediera el poder de utilizar la tortura en caso necesario (esgrimiendo la amenaza de que, «si esto no hiziesse Su Beatitud, será nos forçado proveherlo otramente por los mejores medios que viéramos convenir»). Ronquillo y otros trataron de hacer que el obispo revelara los nombres de sus partidarios tanto dentro como fuera de España; y aunque él le ofreció a Carlos 60.000 ducados por su libertad, «no lo quiere Su Magestad hacer, aunque al presente son bien menester».[31] Desesperado, Acuña apuñaló al alcaide de Simancas hasta la muerte en un fallido intento por escapar. Sin esperar el permiso papal, Carlos «mandó llevar al dicho obispo de Zamora a la cámara de tormento» donde Ronquillo «le pondría a questión, como Su Magestad lo mandó». Ante la negativa del obispo a responder, el verdugo apareció y «le mandó atar las manos atrás con una maroma que estaba en el

carrillo» y «le mandó subir un poco del suelo». El obispo no tardó en incriminar a tres cómplices, uno de ellos un sacerdote que también fue sometido a una tortura tan extrema que no pudo ni firmar su propia confesión «por tener la mano muy mala del tormento». Entonces Ronquillo le «dio un garrote al obispo sin haber auto de cirimonia ninguna».[32]

Carlos ejerció su venganza de otras formas menos extremas. Así, en Zamora, una destacada ciudad comunera, ordenó demoler las casas de algunos rebeldes en tanto que otros sufrieron la ignominia de que les borraran los escudos de armas (como los actuales visitantes de la ciudad pueden hoy día comprobar). Tampoco su resentimiento cedió con el paso de los años. Continuó atosigando tanto al rey de Portugal como al Papa para que le entregaran a los fugitivos más señalados hasta que dio muerte al último de ellos; en 1532 rechazó una petición de las Cortes en favor de una amnistía general, y al enterarse de que el gobierno de la regencia había alzado un destierro impuesto a un comunero, Carlos ordenó «que de aquí adelante no se perdone ny alçen semejantes destierros a ningund comunero, sin ser yo primero consultado sobrello». Incluso veinte años después, estando tan desesperado de dinero que muy a su pesar tuvo que acceder a vender *hidalguías* en Castilla por 2.000 ducados cada una, Carlos especificó «que no se dé a hijo ni nieto de persona ecebtada en lo de las alteraciones pasadas de la Comunidad».[33]

Esta actitud vengativa resultó contraproducente. Cuando «algunos de los sacerdotes que contra Vuestra Magestad avian favorecido las partes de la comunidad» se presentaron ante Adriano en junio de 1522, y pidieron justicia, el nuevo Papa argumentó que si él se negaba «se irían a Francia y ayudarían a los enemigos». Pero Carlos, en cambio, se mantuvo inflexible y (como Adriano había vaticinado) se creó un plantel de enemigos implacables en el exterior.[34] Entre ellos se encontraba Francisco

de Cárdenas, que tomó parte en una rebelión de colonos en Chile en 1542, y «fue deseruidor de Vuestra Magestad en el tiempo de las Comunidades, y después con Rincón», el mismo Antonio Rincón «de los comuneros de Medina del Campo» que huyó de España para entrar al servicio de Francia, convirtiéndose en un intermediario de confianza entre Francia y el sultán, y los aliados europeos del sultán. Cárdenas, Rincón y el resto se unieron a los numerosos exiliados italianos *(fuorusciti)* que huyeron cuando los imperialistas y sus aliados fueron arrebatando el control de cada ciudad a los franceses y sus aliados. Como comentó el rey Francisco en cierta ocasión, el sultán otomano sacaba buen partido al «gran número de *forussiz* del reino de Nápoles a quienes la guerra había obligado a abandonar sus casas y bienes». Carlos tuvo suerte de que Francisco fuera todavía más proclive que él a convertir a sus leales súbditos en implacables enemigos.[35]

La «gran empresa»

En el verano de 1522 los servicios de inteligencia hicieron llegar a la corte española que el duque Carlos III de Borbón, condestable de Francia, estaba preparando una rebelión contra su señor. Al principio, la noticia parecía demasiado buena para ser cierta. Borbón era un «príncipe de sangre», sobrino de Carlos VIII y de Luis XII y primo además de Francisco I, para quien había comandado la vanguardia en Marignano y con quien había competido en las justas del Campo del Paño de Oro. Más avanzado 1521, tomó Hesdin —uno de los pocos éxitos franceses de aquel año—, pero todo cambió pocos meses después con la muerte de su esposa Suzanne, hija de una antigua rama de la dinastía Borbón. Luisa de Saboya, la madre del rey, presentó una reclamación ante el Parlement de París, la máxima jurisdicción de Francia, según la cual en ese momento su título

sobre los estados borbón era más legítimo que ninguno, mientras que Francisco, por su parte, afirmaba que todos los dominios borbón habían revertido a la Corona.

Tal vez el rey y su madre tomaron esta medida desesperada porque ambos estaban prácticamente arruinados. Francisco había gastado profusamente en ceremonias relacionadas con su acceso al trono, la invasión de Italia, y el Campo del Paño de Oro, a lo que siguió un año de guerra en varios frentes, por todo lo cual había contraído deudas por un valor superior al de sus ingresos anuales. No obstante, tratar de adueñarse de las tierras de Borbón, su más poderoso vasallo y general más destacado, constituía una decisión imprudente en época de guerra, por lo que casi de inmediato el duque pidió ayuda a Carlos V (también primo suyo). En agosto de 1522, el emperador mandó un enviado especial «a hablar con el duque de Borbón y llevar a término la empresa que él había comenzado».[36] El duque sugirió sellar la «alianza con el emperador mediante el matrimonio de una de sus hermanas» y se puso directamente en contacto con Enrique VIII para proponerle unirse «al rey y al emperador con su fuerza y poder en el momento preciso en que den comienzo a la guerra en Francia». Las partes acordaron finalmente ejecutar la «gran empresa» en 1523, un año antes de lo que habían planeado, y con un participante adicional: mientras Enrique invadía Francia desde Calais y Carlos la atacaba por el sur, Borbón reclutaría 500 soldados de caballería y 10.000 de infantería de sus propios estados, situados en el centro del reino, y avanzaría hacia París.[37]

Para costear esta inesperada iniciativa, Carlos convocó a las Cortes de Castilla, que dieron comienzo en julio de 1523 con un triunfalista relato de Gattinara sobre todo lo que Carlos había conseguido desde la última asamblea, porque «la mano de Dios es con Su Magestad» (su discurso invocaba a Dios diecinueve veces). Al parecer, Carlos vetó un fragmento del

borrador del canciller, admitiendo que durante la visita se habían cometido errores y culpando a «ministros no naturales dellos» que eran «no bien espertos ni también informados de las leyes, ordinaciones y costumbres» de Castilla de causar «algunas cosas de deshorden». A falta de esta disculpa, los procuradores continuaron mostrando poco entusiasmo. Aunque aceptaban que Carlos disfrutaba de una relación especial con Dios —«[lo] que sale de boca de vuestra Magestad… procede de boca de Dios, que le puso en su lugar»—, le recordaban que en las Cortes de La Coruña «no fueron oydos los procuradores tan conplidamente como quisieran», y pedían que esta vez sí escuchara y reparara sus «agravios» antes de proceder a votar otro servicio. Según el acta de las Cortes, Carlos replicó *incontinenti* en un castellano fluido:

> ¿Quál os pareçe que sería mijor: que me otorgásedes luego el seruiçio, pues como ayer os lo prometí e agora de nuevo os lo prometo, yo no alçaré las Cortes hasta aver rrespondido e probeydo todas las cosas que me pidiéredes, como sea justo, e más cunpla al bien destos reynos, que paresca que lo proveo, y las merçedes que hiziere, lo hago de mi buena voluntad; o que primero os rrespondiese a los capítulos que traéys, y se dixese que lo hazía porque me otorgásedes el seruiçio?

A continuación, recordó a los procuradores que «siempre se acostumbra hablar primero en lo del seruiçio» y se preguntó en voz alta: «¿por qué se hará conmigo tan gran novedad?». Prosiguió: «e veniendo esto a noticia de los príncipes, ansy del Turco como de Christianos, para mi rreputaçión pareçería muy mal que non se hiziese conmigo lo que se ha fecho siempre con los otros reyes mis predeçesores, y los malos se olgarían».[38]

Tras un mes de discusiones, Carlos se salió con la suya: los procuradores votaron un cuantioso servicio, a cambio de lo cual el emperador reparó 105 agravios distintos, empezando por la petición de que el personal de su casa estuviera integrado por castellanos; que celebrara audiencias públicas con regularidad cada semana; y que revocara todas las «cartas de naturaleza»

emitidas para extranjeros (y no concediera más), aparte de nombrar solamente «naturales vezinos dessos reynos» para todos los puestos civiles, eclesiásticos y diplomáticos. El emperador también acordó remediar otros agravios: mejorar la defensa del reino y la administración de justicia; prohibir llevar armas en público, así como «traher máscaras» (una costumbre «que nuevamente se inventa en estos rreynos»); y nombrar a eruditos cualificados para codificar las leyes y completar las crónicas del reino. Solo cuatro agravios tenían que ver con la política. Los procuradores exigieron que Carlos se casara con su prima, Isabel de Portugal, y estableciera su cuartel general en España; que creara un vínculo permanente con las islas de las Especias para que «sobre la espeçeria no se tome medio con el [rey de Portugal] porque no se pierde el provecho e rreputaçion del rreyno, y lo mucho que cuesta de gente y dineros en descubrillas, e con toda diligençia se haga y acabe el armada para yr allá»; y que fuera su objetivo la «paz con los prinçipes christianos y la guerra contra los infieles» (el mantra de Fernando de Aragón). Por último, demandaban «que Vuestra Magestat mande quel serviçio quel rreyno haze con tanto amor en tienpo que está tan gastado e trabajado, vuestra Magestat sea servido de lo gastar en la recobración de Fuentarrabía».[39]

Dado que apenas había pasado un año desde la derrota de las Comunidades, el carácter contenido de los agravios sugería que Castilla y su soberano se habían reconciliado; pero algunos súbditos seguían sintiéndose insatisfechos. En marzo de 1523, los embajadores ingleses «percibieron no mucho amor entre los nobles de España y los de Flandes»; en tanto que cuatro meses después Martín de Salinas informaba de que más de mil soldados «se juntaron en ciertas bandas» en Valladolid al grito de «¡Viva el Rey y mueran los Flamencos!», un grave «escándalo» que dejó varios muertos en las calles. Salinas creía que «fue este hierro de vino que de otra cosa», pero en agosto (tal vez

recordando los sermones incendiarios pronunciados durante la última visita de Carlos a la ciudad), el mismo Salinas opinaba que «no es bueno… lo que dice así en las calles como en el púlpito».[40] Pese a estas señales de advertencia, en octubre Carlos volvió a marcharse de Castilla, nombrando a su hermana Leonor gobernadora del reino, y se trasladó a Navarra para dirigir la reconquista de Fuenterrabía a los franceses, como las Cortes le habían pedido.

Aunque Carlos al final tuvo éxito en su objetivo, puso fatalmente en peligro la «gran empresa». Carlos se quedó en tierras españolas, en tanto que Enrique reclutó «un poderoso ejército de hombres tan altos, activos y selectos, con capitanes expertos y capaces, como jamás haya partido de este reino en los últimos cien años» (al menos según Wolsey). El «poderoso ejército» avanzó rápidamente, obligando a muchas de las ciudades por las que iba pasando a rendirse y jurar lealtad a «Enrique, rey de Francia», hasta que el 28 de octubre de 1523 conquistó Montdidier, a solo 80 kilómetros de París, y el pánico se apoderó de la capital francesa.[41] Entonces los victoriosos invasores pusieron rumbo al este para unir sus fuerzas a las de Borbón, pero ya era demasiado tarde: la traición del duque había sido descubierta y él huyó a territorio Habsburgo, dejando a merced de Francisco a todos sus seguidores con todos sus bienes.

«Los hombres luchan, pero es Dios quien concede las victorias»[42]

En noviembre de 1523, Carlos sugirió a Enrique que «abandonemos nuestros planes de la «gran empresa» para utilizar en cambio «mi ejército de Italia para invadir Francia como alternativa», contando con la financiación conjunta de ambos monarcas.[43] Este drástico cambio de plan reflejaba no solo el fracaso de la conspiración borbón, sino también la convicción

de Gattinara de que Milán y Génova constituían la piedra angular del imperio de su señor. Conservarlas, informaba a Carlos,

> no debe de subestimarse o dejarse al albur, porque en ellas reside la clave para retener y mantener Nápoles y Sicilia. También son el aglutinante con el que mantener a los venecianos y al resto de Italia bajo vuestro control y total obediencia, y a través de ellas mantener a toda Alemania y Suiza temerosas, y hacer con ellas lo que quiera. A partir de esta base será lo suficientemente poderoso por sí mismo para hacer la guerra a los turcos y demás infieles de cualquier lugar y hacerles entrar en razón.[44]

Al mes siguiente, al enterarse de la muerte del papa Adriano, Gattinara presentó a Carlos otro análisis exhaustivo de sus objetivos estratégicos y cómo alcanzarlos, agrupados en «Protestas». Dos de ellas, tituladas «Reputación» y «Asegurar Italia», hacían referencia a la política exterior. Bajo el primer epígrafe, el canciller hacía hincapié en la necesidad de «mantener vuestra reputación, que es sumamente necesaria para vos… ya sea de cara a asegurar una paz o tregua favorable, como para (si eso es imposible) continuar y terminar la guerra». A este fin, Carlos debía «mantener la amistad del rey de Inglaterra» y, a la vista del fracaso a la hora de apoyar la exitosa campaña de Enrique adecuadamente, «debemos no solo pedir perdón, sino tornar el daño en bien… dejando claro que nuestro error pasado no fue deliberado». Gattinara pasaba a continuación a «Asegurar Italia». Con tal fin, el emperador debía persuadir al nuevo Papa (cuya identidad aún no era conocida en España) para firmar una alianza similar a la acordada con Adriano: prometer en matrimonio al duque Francisco Sforza con María, hija de Leonor (lo que aplazaría las oportunidades del duque de engendrar un heredero, dado que María solo contaba dos años); y nombrar a Borbón su teniente general y representante personal en el norte de Italia. Carlos ordenó a cada uno de los seis altos consejeros que le acompañaban que escribieran un parecer, por orden de antigüedad. Dado que todos estuvieron de

acuerdo, el 14 de diciembre de 1523 los mensajeros partieron de la corte pertrechados con las instrucciones para convencer al nuevo Papa, Clemente VII, de la misma familia Médici que León, y una comisión nombró a Borbón «teniente general en Italia» y, por tanto (según el elevado término utilizado por un embajador veneciano destacado en España), *alter rex* de Carlos.[45]

La iniciativa pasó entonces a los generales imperiales que estaban en Italia. Tras haber pasado el invierno expulsando de Lombardía a las guarniciones francesas que quedaban allí, decidieron que Carlos de Lannoy, virrey de Nápoles, se quedaría atrás para proteger dichas posiciones mientras Borbón cruzaba los Alpes e invadía Provenza, confiado en que otra invasión inglesa en el noroeste distraería a Francisco. Pero la esperanza resultó vana: los dos años de guerra librada en nombre de Carlos le habían costado a Enrique casi dos millones de ducados y no veía razón para gastar nada más. Esto dejó a Francisco libre para «volver todo su poder» contra Borbón y, aunque el ejército imperial tomó Aix-en-Provence en agosto y tendió asedio a Marsella, el avance de las muy superiores fuerzas francesas condujo a una ignominiosa retirada hacia Italia a finales de septiembre, solo para descubrir que Francisco había cruzado los Alpes por otra ruta distinta y llegado a Lombardía primero, obligando a los imperialistas a abandonar Milán y buscar refugio en Pavía. Francisco siguió adelante y trató de tomar la ciudad al asalto en noviembre de 1524, pero, tras fracasar en este intento, se preparó para un completo asedio. Aunque sitiar cualquier fortaleza en invierno era bastante temerario, la confianza del rey parecía justificada, porque primero el papa Clemente y después la República de Venecia abandonaron a Carlos y firmaron una alianza con Francia.[46]

Mientras, en España, el emperador cayó enfermo: según el embajador inglés, Richard Sampson, Carlos se empezó a sentir «muy débil y en absoluto apto para la guerra; su curación está en manos de Dios». Sampson añadía que Carlos sufría también «la enfermedad española»: la procrastinación. Enviar refuerzos a Borbón significaba que «los preparativos y otras órdenes referentes a todo el asunto pasaran a manos de los españoles aquí en España», y (recordaba Sampson a su señor) «el socorro de España, según su propio refrán, llegará muy a deshora y *tarde*». Por tanto, si Enrique «intentaba mirar por su propio avance o beneficio, [entonces] solo debía confiar en su propio ejército y fuerza» y abandonar su alianza con Carlos, porque, «en efecto, cada hombre debe arreglárselas por sí mismo».[47]

No obstante, Sampson no tenía en cuenta tres ventajas clave con las que contaba el emperador. En primer lugar, el éxito de los conquistadores en América tuvo como consecuencia la llegada de tesoros a España en cantidades cada vez mayores. En marzo de 1524, el embajador veneciano registraba la llegada de «60.000 piezas de oro, de un ducado y medio de valor cada una», seguidas en enero de 1525 de otras «20.000 piezas de oro y 400 marcos de perlas». Carlos utilizaba cada remesa como garantía para la transferencia de dinero a Italia o, en palabras del embajador polaco, «Cualquier dinero que se obtiene es enviado a los ejércitos. Entretanto el emperador soporta la penuria hasta el límite, a fin de alimentar a los combatientes».[48] En segundo lugar, como Gattinara apuntó, el mayor activo de Carlos en Italia, «después de Dios, era la ayuda enviada por el archiduque Fernando»: concretamente, «a petición del duque de Borbón, Fernando envió caballería e infantería para reforzar el ejército del César precisamente en el momento más adecuado».[49] Por último, Carlos confiaba en sus generales y sabiamente delegó amplios poderes en ellos. Por tanto, y aunque sus Instrucciones a Borbón en agosto de 1524 contenían algunos consejos

generales sobre cómo dirigir la siguiente campaña, el emperador concluía diciendo: «Dado que estáis sobre el terreno, y que sabéis que he puesto mi completa confianza en vosotros, no es necesario que yo os provea de un plan detallado respecto al éxito de nuestra causa común y el mantenimiento de nuestra reputación». Pocos meses más tarde, cuando Carlos instaba a su hermano a «dedicar toda vuestra fuerza y todo lo que podáis hacer por mi causa», concedía: «dado que os encontráis tan lejos de mí no os voy a decir qué tenéis que hacer ni cómo hacerlo, sino que dejo en vuestras manos decidir lo que sea mejor en función de vuestros recursos y las oportunidades que se presenten». Del mismo modo, aunque en diciembre de 1524 indicó a sus embajadores en Roma que le aseguraran al Papa que «nuestra intención determinada es passer adelante» en «la prossecucion desta empresa fasta poner en ello nuestra misma persona», aquella misma carta les comunicaba que había delegado en Lannoy el poder de llegar a una tregua con los franceses, si lo consideraba conveniente, «sin esperar a ninguna instrucción más».[50]

Las inseguridades estratégicas de Carlos quedaban no obstante claramente de relieve en un memorándum ológrafo que redactó en febrero de 1525 para clarificar sus pensamientos. Si no podía conseguir una paz honrosa, escribió: «La solución parece estar en la guerra»; pero «¿Con qué se la puede hacer? No dispongo de medios para mantener mi ejército en estos tiempos» y «mis amigos me han abandonado y faltado en apuros y unos y otros lo hacen por no verme más poderoso». Reconociendo que se dirigía a una audiencia compuesta por una sola persona —«en todos estos medios hay inconvenientes y algunos no son factibles. He querido ponerlos por escrito, aun sabiendo que no hay nadie que los sepa más que yo, y más quiero yo poner mi opinión a modo de confidencia por escrito»—, Carlos expresaba su temor más profundo *(véase lámi na 12)*:

> Viendo y sabiendo que el tiempo pasa, y todos pasamos, y que yo no querría desaparecer así sin dejar alguna buena memoria de mí, y que lo que se pierde hoy no se recupera mañana, y que hasta el momento no he hecho nada que redunde en honor a mi persona, y posponiéndolo más tendría mucho que recuperar; por todas estas causas y muchas otras que no desearía ver nada que me impida hacer alguna cosa buena…[51]

Carlos concluía este autoanálisis secreto diciendo que «de ninguna manera me propongo poner las cosas en peligro, salvo por muy buena razón», pero, casi inmediatamente, Francisco proporcionó una «muy buena razón». El rey declaró con arrogancia que entonces se proponía no solo arrebatarle Milán al emperador, sino también Nápoles. Por tanto, envió una poderosa fuerza expedicionaria a conquistar este meridional reino. Esta división de fuerzas rompió decisivamente el equilibrio militar en Lombardía. A finales de enero de 1525, un enviado inglés que se encontraba junto a Borbón opinaba que el ejército imperial estaba entonces «en buena disposición para acometer alguna acción importante contra sus enemigos», y por tanto «la batalla se espera de un momento a otro». Francisco cumplió con lo que se esperaba al informar a uno de los generales de Carlos de que «lo esperaría para hazer la jornada con ygual gente». El general aceptó el desafío y «le embió a dezir que era contento y que lo esperasse con veynte mil infantes y ochocientos hombres de armas y los cauallos ligeros que le pareciese», pero el Consejo de Guerra francés interceptó al mensajero «y no consintieron que fuesse al Rey, diziendo que puesto caso que su rey por ser valeroso de su persona y dessear hazer jornada, dixiese tales cosas que por esto no lo hauia de consenter los de su conseio si les parecia que no conuenia a su stado y reputacion; y así hizieron boluer sin ver al rey».[52]

El 19 de febrero, el principal asesor del Papa revelaba que «Su Santidad se pasa día y noche preocupado» por «los peligros que conlleva la guerra» e inquieto al pensar que, «dado que los

ejércitos se encuentran cerca», Francisco «pudiera arriesgarlo todo en una batalla»; cinco días después, el duque de Sessa, embajador de Carlos en Roma, advertía a su señor de que:

> Últimamente todo lo de acá está en un dudoso y periculoso término. O Vuestra Magestad se ha de deliberar de contentarse con la perdida assí como le satisfaría la ganancia; o de tomar partido mediano, pues no puede ser buen siempre que quedaren franceses en Italia; o se ha de disponer aprovecharlo según merece la misma causa.[53]

No se imaginaba Sessa que, quinientos kilómetros al norte, el tema había quedado resuelto.

Pese a los esfuerzos de Carlos por canalizar todos los recursos disponibles hacia Lombardía, a finales de febrero de 1524 sus tropas allí se encontraban peligrosamente escasas de dinero —«Los de Pavia no querían más sufrir, y todo el ejército moría de hambre; los españoles se desmandaban, los alemanes se comenzaban a ir»—, por lo que sus comandantes tomaron la transcendental decisión de lanzar un ataque sin cuartel sobre los sitiadores franceses, pese a que les superaban en número. «Nos vimos obligados a elegir el mal menor —explicó Lannoy a Carlos— porque la falta de dinero es muy grande» y «por tanto hemos decidido confiar en Dios, en nuestra buena suerte, y sobre todo en el valor de nuestro ejército, y correr algún riesgo. En tres o cuatro días o bien el ejército se habrá unido a la guarnición de Pavía o yo estaré muerto. Espero vivir y salir victorioso».[54] Lannoy ejerció su libertad de acción el 24 de febrero de 1525, día en que el emperador cumplía 25 años: al amparo de la noche, desplegó entre las construcciones del asedio francés destacamentos de arcabuceros, dispuestos a lanzar un ataque sorpresa al amanecer.

Francisco oyó rumores de que sus enemigos se estaban moviendo y al parecer dio por hecho que estaban emprendiendo la retirada. Tal vez estimulados por la perspectiva de capturar al odiado Borbón, el rey cometió la imprudencia de ordenar a sus

fuerzas que abandonaran sus fortificaciones y avanzaran, mientras él efectuaba varias cargas al mando de su caballería pesada. Al principio la caballería se impuso, pero no tardó en ser derribada por destacamentos ocultos de tiradores españoles, mientras la guarnición de Pavía realizaba una incursión que dejó a Francisco separado de sus hombres. Durante un tiempo el rey se defendió valerosamente, acabando con la vida de varios de sus asaltantes, pero entonces mataron al caballo que montaba, «y caydo en tierra, los alemanes lo querian matar pero él, temiendo la muerte, dio bozes diziendo que no lo matassen, que era el rey de Francia». En ese momento, ya «despojado hasta el jubón», dos seguidores de Borbón (a los cuales recientemente él había declarado traidores) le reconocieron y le convencieron para que se rindiera ante Lannoy, quien le prestó un caballo y una capa. «Lo único que me queda es mi honor y mi vida», le escribió a su madre con tristeza *(véase lámina 13)*.[55]

Un diplomático inglés presente en el lugar de los hechos calificó Pavía como «la mayor victoria que se haya visto en muchos años», pero se quedó corto: la batalla constituyó la mayor matanza de nobles franceses que se había visto desde Agincourt en 1415, mientras que entre los cautivos se encontraba no solo el propio Francisco, sino también el rey de Navarra, quien cuatro años antes había contribuido a precipitar la guerra. El embajador veneciano en Roma informó de que «el Papa tiembla de miedo, y dice que él y la Señoría deberían llegar a un acuerdo con el emperador».[56] Lope de Soria, un diplomático veterano, coincidía en este punto:

> A Dios sean dadas infinitas loores y gracias, y al glorioso Santo Mathía, pues en el día de su fiesta nos alumbró del nascimiento de Vuestra Cesarea Magestad, y asimismo en el día de su fiesta ha dado esta tan felice victoria, con la cual agora tiene más absoluto poder Vuestra Magestad para asentar las cosas de la christiandad y poner ley por todo el mundo.[57]

7. Una derrota arrancada de las fauces de la victoria, 1525-1528

Pobres de los conquistados

«Hacia el mediodía» del 10 de marzo de 1525, «un correo de Italia que había viajado a través de Francia» llegó sin aliento al Alcázar de Madrid, donde Carlos, «enfermo, pobre e descontento, y con la carga grande de sus oficios imperial y real», residía. Según el embajador de Mantua, el correo

> Fue llevado ante su Majestad, quien estaba hablando con dos o tres consejeros sobre Italia, y dijo: «Señor, la batalla se ganó a las puertas de Pavía; el rey de Francia ha sido hecho prisionero de su Majestad y todo su ejército ha sido aniquilado». Nada más oír estas palabras, [Carlos] se quedó como paralizado, y repitió: «¿El rey de Francia ha sido hecho mi prisionero y hemos ganado la batalla?». A continuación, sin mediar palabra, y sin intentar saber nada más por el momento, se retiró él solo a otra habitación y se arrodilló ante una imagen de Nuestra Señora que tenía al lado de su cama.

Carlos «estuvo bien media hora retraído alabando a Dios» antes de salir y recoger una carta que el correo le traía de parte del victorioso comandante, Carlos de Lannoy, que había servido a su padre Felipe el Hermoso y a Maximiliano además de a Carlos.[1] Lannoy aprovechaba esta coyuntura para incluir en su carta una seria advertencia: «Señor, estoy seguro de que recordáis lo que Monsieur de Beersel [el chambelán de Carlos cuando era niño] solía decir: que Dios da a cada hombre una buena cosecha en su vida [*en leur vie ung bon aoust*], y que si no sabe recogerla corre el riesgo de no volver a ver otra. No os digo esto —continuaba Lannoy— porque crea que su Majestad vaya a dejar escapar esta oportunidad», sino «porque sea lo que sea que decida hacer debería hacerse rápido».[2]

A medida que la noticia fue extendiéndose, cortesanos y embajadores fueron acudiendo en tropel al Alcázar, donde el emperador les fue recibiendo gentilmente, uno detrás de otro, hasta la noche (la excepción fue el embajador Contarini de Venecia, aliado de Francia, a quien Carlos castigó por la

deserción de la República negándose a dejarle que le besara la mano). Los presentes comentaron con admiración que «en el gesto o expresión de su Majestad no se notaba nada distinto a lo normal, pese a ser ocasión de tanto regocijo», y que «prohibió cualquier celebración pública salvo una procesión para alabar a Dios y rezar por los difuntos, dado que la victoria se había ganado a otros cristianos». Más tarde, «el dia siguiente, hizo fazer una procesión muy devota… y él, confessado y comulgado, fue a la iglesia de nuestra señora de Atocha donde fizo predicar como esta vitoria no procedia del, sino de Dios para que todos se inclinassen más a darle gracias por ello». Según el embajador de Mantua, el emperador le dijo a Richard Sampson, el enviado inglés, que:

> Consideraba que la merced que Dios le había concedido era tan grande porque procedía directamente de la bondad de Dios, y no de ningún mérito suyo, y que por tanto la tenía en la más alta estima, por tres razones: primero, porque de este modo sabía que la gracia de Dios estaba con él; segundo, porque ahora tenía en sus manos los medios para demostrar su constante deseo de traer la paz a la Cristiandad; y, en tercer lugar, porque ahora podría perdonar a sus enemigos, conceder otra oportunidad a los que le habían herido y recompensar a los amigos y aquellos que le habían servido bien.

El propio Sampson transmitió el mismo mensaje de modestia y moderación en una larga carta al cardenal Wolsey (sin duda deseoso de que le tranquilizaran; al igual que Venecia, acababa de renegar del solemne compromiso de apoyar al emperador). Carlos le dijo a Sampson que esperaba que

> Esta victoria podría ser más para el beneficio de sus amigos que para él mismo, ya que me aseguró que él no ambicionaba más de lo que tenía. Y humildemente agradeciéndosela a Dios, dijo que en sus oraciones diarias le pide contar con su gracia para gobernar y administrar sus posesiones. Y, en lo tocante a sus enemigos, ellos se darán cuenta de que… su intención es actuar con moderación, de manera que en él no encontrarán intención de obrar con crueldad o venganza.[3]

Esta humildad era mera fachada: hacía tiempo que Carlos ya tenía pergeñado un detallado plan de «venganza». En 1521, reforzado por sus éxitos militares iniciales, había ordenado a sus diplomáticos «incluir en vuestras comunicaciones» con sus

homólogos franceses «detalles de nuestras reclamaciones sobre todas nuestras antiguas disputas referentes al Imperio, así como a Castilla, Aragón, Navarra, Sicilia y Borgoña»; en otras palabras, pretendía recuperar todos los territorios antaño gobernados por sus antepasados.[4] Sus objetivos seguían siendo los mismos en febrero de 1525, justo después de enterarse de que el Papa y los venecianos se habían aliado con Francia contra él, cuando les dijo a sus cortesanos:

> Espero malas noticias tanto de Milán como de Nápoles, pero no me importa lo más mínimo. Iré a Italia, y allí tendré mejor ocasión de coger lo que es mío y vengarme de aquellos que se han enfrentado a mí; especialmente de ese villano [*villaco*] del Papa. Puede que al final resulte que Martin Lutero sabe lo que hace.

«Estas palabras resultaron más llamativas —según un embajador— por ser pronunciadas directamente por el emperador, dado lo reservado que es en su forma de hablar».[5] Carlos realizó unas declaraciones igualmente destempladas a su embajador en Roma en aquel momento, en las que afirmaba que «no embargante» la decisión de Florencia, Venecia y el Papa de aliarse con Francia,

> No dexamos ny dexaremos de proveher lo que conuiene para la sustentación de nuestro exército y para acabar la empresa con ayuda de Nuestro Señor, empleando en ello todos nuestros reynos y estados hasta poner nuestra persona, de manera que ahunque Franceses con sus mañas acostumbradas nos hayan desviado, nuestros amigos y confederados no hallen descaescimiento en nuestras fuerças, antes nos hallen duro adversario como en lo pasado.

Una vez más afirmaba (sin duda para intimidar al Papa) que «en la materia de Lutero, no es tiempo agora de hablar en ella, según los officios que recibimos de Su Santidad».[6]

La victoria de Pavía hizo a Carlos aún más asertivo. Una versión oficial, redactada por el secretario de Gattinara, Alfonso de Valdés, y publicada por orden de «los señores del Consejo de su magestad», sostenía que el resultado de la batalla —alcanzado en un momento en el que «todos sus amigos y confederados de quien solía ayudar estovieron quedos, y algunos dellos fueron contrarios»— mostraba que Dios «solo le daua esta victoria,

como hizo a Gedeon contra los Medianita». Concretamente, «Dios milagrosamente a dado esta vitoria al Emperador para que pueda no solamente defender la cristiandad e resistir a la potencia del Turco», pero también

> assosegadas estas guerras ceviles (que assi se deven llamar, pues son entre cristianos), yr a buscar los turcos y moros en sus tierras y, ensalçando nuestra santa fe cathólica como sus passados hizieron, cobrar el imperio de Costantinopla e la Casa Sancta de Jerusalem que por nuestros pecados tiene occupada, para que como de muchos esta profetizado, debaxo deste cristianíssimo príncipe todo el mundo reciba nuestra sancta fe cathólica y se cumplan las palabras de nuestro redemptor: *fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*.[7]

A fin de «assosegar estas guerras ceviles», preludio vital para conseguir estos elevados objetivos, los ministros de Carlos propusieron dos opciones alternativas: el emperador podía bien coordinar con Enrique VIII la partición de Francia contemplada en la «gran empresa», o bien obligar a Francisco a realizar importantes concesiones territoriales a cambio de su libertad. El duque de Borbón era partidario de la primera opción, y prometió a Enrique que él podía «poner la corona de Francia sobre su cabeza [la de Enrique], y en breve tiempo; y que para conseguirlo ahora mismo podría hacerse más con 100.000 coronas que antes se hubiera podido hacer con 500.000, porque el rey había sido capturado y a la mayoría de los nobles y capitanes de Francia les habían matado o hecho prisioneros».[8] Otros preferían la segunda opción. En Roma, al tener noticias de la victoria, el embajador de Carlos en aquella ciudad advirtió a su señor: «No es este tiempo de perder, sino que en esas partes [Lombardia] y por los de Inglaterra se haga el esfuerço que se deue». El archiduque Fernando estuvo de acuerdo: su hermano «debía aprovechar su buena suerte y garantizar que ni el rey de Francia ni ninguno de sus sucesores tendrían nunca el poder de amenazaros a vos o a vuestros sucesores», y que debía asegurarse de que «no le aconteciese, como a Aníbal, quando venció la batalla de Cana contra los Romanos». La mejor manera para

evitar este destino (proseguía) era «quitalle [al rey Francisco] algunas plumas de las alas, porque aunque quisiese volar, no podiese, y desta manera sería el enperador y sus subcesores seguros de haber después perpetua paz».[9]

Gattinara opinaba lo mismo, e incluso citó el mismo precedente clásico que Fernando —«dirán lo que dijeron de Aníbal: sabes ganar batallas, pero no sabes cómo sacarles provecho»—. A continuación, presentaba a Carlos y a su Consejo veinte «puntos» que explicaban exactamente cómo debía su señor quitar «algunas plumas de las alas» del gallo francés.[10] Los puntos hacían hincapié en la necesidad de retener a Francisco «hasta que tengamos una paz firme acordada y ejecutada con el consejo y consentimiento de todos los Estados, Parlamentos y otras instituciones de Francia». Por otra parte, continuaba el canciller, dado que «es mucho mejor, más honorable y también más seguro tratar con personas libres que con prisioneros», Carlos no debía negociar con Francisco, sino con su madre, la regente Luisa de Saboya. Ella debía renunciar inmediatamente, en nombre de su hijo, a todos los derechos sobre Nápoles, Milán, Flandes y Artois, y abandonar todos los esfuerzos para proteger Güeldres, Wurtemberg, y a Robert de La Marck, el conde de Fürstenberg y todos los demás que habían atacado a Carlos. La regente debía también «resarcir y perdonar al señor de Borbón, dándole la Provenza ya que es un feudo imperial», y rehabilitar también a todos los partidarios del duque en el exilio; además de «devolver al rey de Inglaterra, nuestro hermano y tío, todo lo que en justicia le pertenece» (esto es, todos los territorios franceses anteriormente gobernados por Londres); y, por encima de todo, debía de rendir a Carlos «todo lo que el difunto duque Carlos [el Temerario] poseía en virtud de los Tratados de Arras, Péronne y Conflans» (firmados en 1435, 1468 y 1465, respectivamente), más tarde anexionados por Francia. En cuanto a aquellos que recientemente se habían

vuelto contra Carlos, Gattinara sugería que el Papa «debía ser inducido a convocar un Consejo General», mientras que Venecia, Florencia y Ferrara debían empezar a contribuir al mantenimiento del ejército de Carlos en Italia.[11]

El emperador respaldó estas extensas demandas y el 28 de marzo sus enviados partieron a presentárselas a Luisa. «Debéis informarnos inmediatamente de su respuesta a todos estos puntos — insistió el emperador—, para que podamos saber si habrá paz o si tenemos que tomar otro camino para recuperar lo que en justicia es nuestro». Este «otro camino» lo dejó explicado en una carta a Lannoy. Tras reconocer la sabiduría del consejo de Beersel de que «no debemos perder una cosecha tan buena», aseguró al virrey que «no pretendemos desmovilizar tropas en ningún escenario de operaciones, por lo que si no podemos alcanzar la paz por medio de la gentileza [*doulceur*] estaremos más que preparados para buscarla y obtenerla por la fuerza». Si los franceses rechazaban sus términos, «o intentan hacernos perder tiempo con dilaciones y buenas palabras», él mismo conduciría un ejército a Languedoc mientras Lannoy y Borbón invadían o el Delfinado o la Provenza. Los tres comandantes unirían a continuación sus fuerzas en Aviñón. Entretanto, aunque aquellos gobernantes de Italia que habían «mostrado su mala voluntad hacia nosotros y nuestros asuntos» merecían un castigo, Carlos pensaba que «aquel no era el momento de proceder con rigor, para evitar la enemistad del Papa y los venecianos, y en consecuencia de la mayoría del resto de Italia. El virrey debía por tanto «actuar como mejor le parezca, ya sea actuando con gentileza o disimulando hasta que el tiempo muestre qué sea lo mejor».[12] Más allá de esto, el emperador afirmaba orgullosamente que él en ese momento «no veía otra cosa que hacer que atacar a los infieles, algo que yo siempre he querido hacer, y especialmente ahora», y suplicaba a Lannoy que

le «ayudara a resolver las cosas satisfactoriamente para que pueda hacer algo en servicio a Dios antes de hacerme mucho más mayor».[13]

Perdiendo la iniciativa

Carlos había cometido el primero de una catastrófica serie de errores de cálculo. La carta ológrafa que envió a Luisa de Saboya, como nota introductoria a sus términos de paz, no solo no era razonable, sino grosera. En lugar de dirigirse a ella como «Madame ma bonne mère» (como hasta entonces), la carta comenzaba con «Madam Regent» y concluía fríamente con la esperanza de que «no os negaréis a unas demandas tan justas y razonables». Luisa respondió en el mismo tono. Le dijo a los enviados del emperador que encontraba sus exigencias «excesivas y exorbitadas», y «con palabras de enojo» declaraba que estaba «dispuesta a defender el reino aunque el rey estuviera prisionero», y aunque negociaría un rescate por su hijo, entregar «un palmo de tierra francesa» estaba fuera de la cuestión.[14] Carlos también erró en sus cálculos cuando decidió, pese al consejo de Gattinara, negociar directamente con Francisco, enviándole una copia de sus exigencias de paz, junto con una orden para Lannoy de trasladar a su prisionero de Lombardía a Nápoles. Tras haber leído «las exigencias que vos tuvísteis a bien hacer», Francisco expresó algunas contrapropuestas con «la esperanza de satisfacerle» y también para evitar la deportación a Nápoles. Se declaró dispuesto a conceder todo lo que Carlos reclamaba de Italia y los Países Bajos, siempre que él pudiera casarse con la hermana del emperador, Leonor (por entonces reina viuda de Portugal y prometida con Borbón), con Borgoña y Milán como infantado, que sería gobernado por su hijo. Además, Francisco ofrecía a Borbón no solo su plena restitución, sino también matrimonio con su prima Renée (que había sido la prometida de Carlos). Estas propuestas impresionaron a Lannoy, que encargó a uno de sus

lugartenientes, don Hugo de Moncada, transmitírselas de viva voz al emperador cuanto antes, añadiendo «Os ruego, señor, por el bien de vuestros intereses, no concluyáis nada relativo a Italia hasta que hayáis escuchado a don Hugo», pero Moncada no llegó hasta el 6 de junio.[15]

Los diplomáticos ingleses de la corte de Carlos se relamieron cuando escucharon por primera vez las propuestas de Francisco. «Los ánimos del rey francés empiezan de alguna forma a venirse abajo», comentaban satisfechos, y «para empezar ha hecho una buena oferta al emperador», pero ellos también se equivocaban. El retraso de esperar a Moncada hizo que fuera ya demasiado tarde (precisamente lo que Francisco pretendía) para organizar una invasión anglohabsburgo y una partición de Francia. Mientras, en Lombardía, confiando «en su propia elocuencia e inteligencia, y pensando con su retórica convencer al emperador», Francisco persuadió a Lannoy de que «si se viese con Vuestra Majestad [Carlos] se concertarían en dos palabras».[16] Así que, aunque el virrey y su augusto cautivo viajaron a Génova y embarcaron en una flota de galeras reunidas para conducirles a Nápoles, una vez en el mar cambiaron bruscamente el rumbo hacia España.

La noticia de este hecho tuvo dramáticas consecuencias. Don Antonio de Leyva, que entonces había sustituido a Lannoy como alto comandante imperial en Lombardía, advirtió a Carlos de que

> La alteracyón que en Ytalia puso la partida del vysorey con el rey de Francia, lo qual an sentido tanto que tienen por cierto que Vuestra Magestad se a de concertar con el dicho rey y que a de ser para la última desfacio suya, y con esto prueban todas las pláticas y formas que pueden para concertarse con Francia y juntar toda Ytalya para no consentir la grandeza de Vuestra Magestad. Y sepa cierto que en esto consume toda Ytalya.

Pocos días después, desde Roma, el duque de Sessa expresaba en gran medida las mismas preocupaciones: un «mirabil temor» respecto a «lo que Vuestra Magestad acordara con el rey de

Francia, porque piensan y hazen juhicio cierto que este acuerdo será para enseñorearse del todo de Ytalia, y llevar los que oy la poseen a dexarlos tan baxos que jamás puedan alentar». Según Sessa, la República de Venecia ya había comenzado a fraguar una alianza de estados italianos para resistir esta potencial amenaza, y advirtió de que, si no se disipaban las dudas en este sentido, el papa Clemente se uniría a la coalición anti-Habsburgo de estados italianos abriendo de esta forma un «segundo frente» en la guerra.[17]

Carlos se dio cuenta entonces de su dilema. Los franceses se negaban a entregar Borgoña, «a menos que ejerzamos más fuerza», comentó pesimista, pero «carecermos de dinero para hacerlo, y también carecemos del gobierno de regencia que habría que establecer en estos reinos durante nuestra ausencia» (lo que indica que había aprendido algo de las traumáticas consecuencias de su partida cinco años atrás sin haber nombrado un regente aceptable para sus súbditos). Así pues, concluía, «no tengo previsto librar una guerra este año, sino que en lugar de ello me concentraré en casarme y a continuación partir a Italia» tanto para restaurar el orden como para ser coronado emperador. Luego viajaría a Alemania, «donde dedicaré todos mis recursos a acabar con la secta luterana», y después se enfrentaría a los turcos.[18] Dado que la consecución de estas ambiciosas metas requería no obstante una paz con Francia lo antes posible, Carlos siguió entonces el consejo de su canciller: se negó a tratar e incluso visitar al rey, que permanecía encerrado en el Alcázar de Madrid bajo una humillante y estrecha vigilancia (sus guardianes pasaban incluso por la noche a comprobar que Francisco estaba en su cama) mientras sus consejeros debatían qué concesiones demandar. Lannoy, pese a su arraigo en las tradiciones de la corte borgoñona, daba prioridad a las necesidades estratégicas del imperio: Carlos debía asegurar Lombardía y Génova porque le proporcionarían un

vínculo vital entre sus dominios dispersos. En cambio, Gattinara, aunque nacido y criado en Italia, consideraba Borgoña el mayor premio, y rebuscó en crónicas y archivos a fin de encontrar precedentes y paralelismos que justificaran su restauración. El emperador finalmente eligió el pasado sobre el presente porque, como explicó a los embajadores ingleses en su corte, pidiendo Borgoña «no pedía nada más que su patrimonio, lo que sus ancestros poseían a la muerte del duque Carlos, de lo que han pasado poco más de cuarenta años, y muchos de sus súbditos siguen vivos». Los ingleses seguían sin estar convencidos, argumentando que mientras que Francisco encontraría relativamente fácil renunciar a Italia ya que no era más que una adquisición reciente (y ya perdida), no estaría dispuesto a «entregar un palmo de tierra de Francia» a su archienemigo.[19]

En un principio, Francisco se esforzó por evitar hacer concesión alguna. Primero trató de seducir a la hermana de Carlos, Leonor, a través de Lannoy, «que le entregó una carta de amor de su Majestad Cristianísima», al igual que el conde palatino Federico había hecho ocho años antes; pero Leonor respondió educadamente que en asuntos matrimoniales, como en todo lo demás, haría lo que su hermano le dijera. Francisco también recurrió al soborno: según un embajador, «Pocos hombres hay en la casa del emperador, de mayor o menor categoría, incluyendo a los pajes de su cámara, a quienes el rey francés no haya sobornado».[20] También trató de escapar (en una ocasión, por increíble que parezca, pintándose la cara de negro para hacerse pasar por el esclavo africano que encendía las chimeneas de sus aposentos). Además, mandó llamar a un notario para que fuera a sus aposentos carcelarios y firmó una protesta secreta en la que decía que si «por razón de su detención y prolongado encierro era obligado a ceder y entregar al emperador posesiones de dicho ducado de Borgoña, y

cualesquiera otros derechos de la Corona francesa, el efecto de ello sería nulo, al haberse hecho por la fuerza y bajo coacción».[21] Poco después, el rey cayó gravemente enfermo.

El emperador se encontraba cerca de Segovia en una larga excursión de caza cuando recibió una carta urgente de los médicos de Francisco en la que le advertían «que, si Su Magestad lo quería ver vivo, que se debía dar prisa a caminar». Dado que su cautivo real no le era de ninguna utilidad muerto, Carlos se puso a cabalgar de inmediato hacia Madrid, recorriendo 50 kilómetros en dos horas y media (una notable proeza ecuestre), y entró a grandes zancadas en la alcoba en la que Francisco yacía semiinconsciente. El rey, «abiertos los brazos, lo tomó e estuvieron así gran espacio sin hablar», tras lo cual Carlos le dijo a Francisco que «"Lo que más yo deseo es vuestra salud, e a esta se atienda; que en lo demás, todo se ha de hacer como vos, señor, lo quisiéredes". E el rey replicó que no, sino como él lo mandase. E dijo más: "Señor, lo que yo os ruego e suplico es, que entre vos e mí no haya otros terceros"». Los dos soberanos pasaron una hora hablando a solas, cogidos de la mano, y a continuación «el rey dijo "Mueran los que han ocasionado esas desavenencias entre nosotros. ¿Es ese el joven deforme, o el monstruo balbuciente y sin talento?". Y alabó grandemente su prudencia y elocuencia».[22]

Francisco esperaba que estas cortesías condujeran a poder mantener conversaciones directamente con Carlos, pero apenas recuperó la salud se reanudaron las negociaciones vía «terceros». El emperador exigió, como condiciones para liberar a Francisco, no solo la «restitución» de Borgoña y la fundación de cuatro conventos «para rezar por el alma del duque Juan de Borgoña, asesinado por los franceses mientras estaba bajo protección», sino también la promesa de que «cuando el emperador fuera a Italia para su coronación, el rey proporcionaría toda su flota, pagaría la mitad del costo del ejército que lo acompañara», y

> abandonaría a todos sus amigos y aliados, y solo podría hacer alianzas con aquellos que recibieran la aprobación del emperador. Aparte de estos términos, muchos dicen que el rey debe pagar cuatro millones en oro y acompañar al emperador a su coronación en persona; debe conceder el Estado de Milán al duque de Borbón, que ya no le debe lealtad a la Corona de Francia, sino solo al emperador; y debe entregar el delfín al emperador como rehén hasta que haya cumplido todo lo que ha prometido.[23]

El pánico que mostró Carlos ante la enfermedad de su rival reveló, sin embargo, una importante debilidad, que el rey procedió a explotar para reducir estas exigencias. En noviembre de 1525, los médicos que asistían a Francisco enviaron a uno de sus colegas a toda prisa a decirle a Carlos «que no creían que pudiera vivir mucho tiempo», pero el astuto embajador veneciano, Andrea Navagero, quien reportó esta noticia, sospechó (correctamente) que «el rey había persuadido a los médicos para que exageraran su enfermedad con el fin de convencer al emperador de que llegara a un acuerdo antes, enfatizando que si el rey moría lo perdería todo».[24] Francisco terminó por aceptar los duros términos que se le pidieron, incluyendo la rendición de Borgoña, pero bajo dos condiciones: primero, se le debía permitir regresar a Francia porque (según él) solo su con intervención personal podría convencer a sus súbditos de que renunciaran al territorio francés; segundo, insistió en casarse con Leonor.

En un primer momento, el emperador rehusó ambas condiciones, insistiendo en que sus agentes debían tomar posesión de Borgoña antes de que él liberara a Francisco, y que ya había prometido la mano de Leonor a Borbón. En un aluvión de cartas ológrafas al emperador, Francisco reafirmaba sus objeciones, a veces con sarcasmo («algunos términos son más de secretarios y banqueros que de caballeros»), y a veces con reproches («el tipo de cosas que me dijisteis durante mi enfermedad no han llevado a ningún sitio»); pero también presentaba un ultimátum a Carlos: «Si deseáis tenerme

prisionero para siempre, exigiendo cosas imposibles —advertía —, me tomaré el encierro con calma y en la certidumbre de que Dios (quien sabe que no lo he merecido porque fui capturado justamente en batalla) me dará la fuerza para soportarlo con paciencia». Así pues, firmó patentes reales autorizando la proclamación de su hijo mayor como rey, y presentó a Carlos los nombres de sesenta sirvientes que deseaba constituyeran su séquito permanente en prisión.[25] Esta determinación evidentemente se impuso, porque el emperador accedió a regañadientes a liberar a Francisco siempre que entregara como rehenes a sus dos hijos mayores hasta que Borgoña estuviera en manos Habsburgo. También confirmó que (a pesar de que «todos saben que el rey de Francia tiene una enfermedad venérea») su hermana prefería ser reina de Francia a duquesa de Borbón y, luego, durante un incómodo encuentro personal, convenció al duque para que renunciara a su derecho a la mano de Leonor.[26]

Gattinara se opuso vehementemente a estas concesiones, recordando que en el pasado «los reyes de Francia nunca han mantenido las promesas que han hecho a la Casa de Borgoña», y prediciendo que Francisco tampoco «cumpliría ninguna de sus promesas, pues afirmaría que le habían obligado como prisionero a hacer lo que había hecho». El canciller también señaló que, dado que ni Carlos ni Fernando tenían hijos legítimos, Leonor era su heredera, de modo que «por razón de ser su esposa» Francisco podía adquirir todo el imperio Habsburgo (del mismo modo que el padre de Carlos, Felipe el Hermoso, se había convertido en rey de Castilla por derecho de su esposa Juana). Pero no consiguió convencer a Carlos ni a sus demás consejeros, los cuales por el contrario autorizaron a Lannoy a recibir el juramento solemne del rey francés de que cumpliría las concesiones exigidas por Carlos en cuanto regresara a Francia. El canciller por su parte rechazó la petición

de su señor de que preparara, ejecutara y sellara los documentos necesarios basándose en que el acuerdo «sería la ruina del emperador».[27]

Gattinara desafió a su señor sin saber que el 13 de enero de 1526 Francisco había llamado a un notario para dar fe de una nueva «Protesta» en la que decía que no cumpliría ninguna concesión hecha bajo coacción que comprometiera la integridad de Francia.[28] Unas horas más tarde, estampó su firma en el Tratado de Madrid, que concedía todo lo que Carlos exigía: el rey cedería a todas las reclamaciones sobre Italia y todos los territorios en disputa en los Países Bajos; perdonaría a Borbón y sus partidarios y restauraría todas sus posesiones (o les compensaría debidamente); evacuaría Borgoña en un plazo de seis semanas a partir de su regreso a Francia; firmaría una alianza defensiva y ofensiva con Carlos, y a continuación se uniría a él para luchar tanto contra los turcos como contra los luteranos. Tras firmar el tratado, «como príncipe y rey cristianíssimo», Francisco «prometía y dava su fe y palabra real de bolver a España dentro de seis meses, assí como era prisionero, si acaso no pudiese cumplir lo por él capitulado». También prometería personalmente ante Lannoy, «por su honor como caballero», que «antes moriría» que faltar a ninguna de las promesas que acababa de formular. Pocos días después, Lannoy entró en la alcoba del rey como apoderado de Leonor, y declaró que ella y Francisco eran marido y mujer.[29]

Carlos volvió entonces a visitar a su nuevo cuñado y le presentó a Leonor, aunque se negó a dejarles a solas. También envió funcionarios a tomar posesión de Borgoña, y encargó a Lannoy asegurarse de que Francisco abandonaba España en el momento exacto en que sus dos hijos entraban en ella como rehenes, y no antes. Hasta entonces el rey debía permanecer bajo constante guardia y vigilancia. Gattinara solo consiguió una victoria: Carlos decidió que Leonor no se uniera a Francisco

hasta después de que el rey hubiera «ratificado y jurado cumplir los tratados y otras cuestiones acordadas entre él y yo» públicamente.[30] Convencido de que había logrado todos sus objetivos, el 21 de febrero de 1526 el emperador puso rumbo al sur para pactar y consumar su propio matrimonio.

Matrimonio

Carlos se había prometido muchas veces antes. Más recientemente con su prima María, la única hija de Enrique y Catalina de Aragón, cuando ella cumpliera doce años. Los diplomáticos ingleses enviados a España para felicitar a Carlos por la victoria de Pavía recibieron de manos de la princesa un anillo con una esmeralda como «símbolo del mejor conocimiento que habremos de tener cuando Dios les conceda la gracia de estar juntos, momento hasta el cual su majestad mantendrá la continencia y castidad que con la gracia de Dios ella guardará igualmente» (una referencia nada sutil a la progenie ilegítima que el emperador ya había engendrado). Carlos aceptó el anillo «con mucho agradecimiento, y se lo puso en el dedo meñique, diciendo que lo llevaría puesto por ella», pero a continuación exigió que María, pese a tener solo nueve años, viniera a España de inmediato. Sus súbditos, explicaba, no querían que él «partiera de su reino hasta que tuviera a su esposa, mi princesa, aquí en España con la intención de que un Consejo formado en torno a ella mantuviera los asuntos de este reino a salvo de una revolución como la que se produjo durante su última ausencia» (esto es, la de los comuneros). Los embajadores respondieron que María era «de tan tierna edad» que «viajar por mar le causaría gran daño, aparte del de tener que criarse en un país tan caluroso», algo que «pensamos que el emperador debería tener en cuenta dado que pretende tener descendencia con ella». El hermano de Carlos, Fernando, coincidía con este análisis, pero extrajo una conclusión distinta: «Considerando la edad de vuestra Majestad y todas vuestras

responsabilidades, la edad de la princesa inglesa, y dado que solo estamos nosotros dos», escribió, su hermano debería casarse con su prima Isabel de Portugal «para que, con la gracia de Dios, pueda engendrar hijos que sean fruto de su matrimonio» (otra alusión nada sutil a la progenie ilegítima de Carlos). Carlos se mostró de acuerdo con su hermano. «Si este matrimonio se lleva a cabo —reflexionaba—, yo podría dejar el gobierno aquí en manos de dicha infanta», embolsándose así no solo su magnífica dote, sino también el servicio adicional prometido por las Cortes de Castilla a cambio de un matrimonio portugués. Por tanto, emitió un ultimátum: a menos que María Tudor viniera a España de inmediato, acompañada de al menos el primer plazo de la dote acordada, cancelaría su compromiso.[31]

Carlos ni siquiera esperó a la respuesta de Enrique: en lugar de ello, en octubre de 1525, sus representantes ultimaron los términos para el matrimonio portugués, pero para su inmensa exasperación, el Papa retrasó una dispensa (eran primos carnales) por miedo a ofender a Enrique. Como el emperador se quejaba a su embajador en Roma:

> Ahunque tengamos un breve general para nos poder casar con qualquier mujer y en qualquier grado de consanguinidad o affinidad (exceptado el primero), que le obtuvymos assí por respecto del casamiento de Inglaterra como por este, todavía por la pluralidad de los grados de consanguinidad que tenemos con la dicha Illustrísima Infanta, se pretende que esta dispensación general no es bastante, como veres por los memoriales de los grados y difficultades que agora nos han enbiado de Portugal.

Clemente no accedería hasta noviembre, y los documentos necesarios no llegaron a España hasta febrero de 1526.[32] Esto obligó a Carlos a utilizar varias estratagemas bastante burdas para retrasar la boda. Primero aplazó la elección de los cortesanos que habrían de recibir a su futura esposa en la frontera portuguesa; luego les ordenó no solo que la llevaran a Sevilla (lo más lejos posible de Madrid), sino que lo hicieran lo más despacio posible. Isabel, que había tomado la costumbre de

llevar un medallón con la inscripción *Aut Caesar aut nulla* como símbolo de que solo se casaría con Carlos, no entró en Sevilla hasta el 3 de marzo de 1526, e incluso entonces tuvo que esperar una semana a que llegara su futuro esposo.[33]

El emperador finalmente entró a caballo en la animada metrópolis del sur por primera vez, ante la mirada de «un infinito número de personas llegadas de todas las comunidades vecinas para ver a su Majestad: algunos dijeron que más de 100.000 flanquearon su camino aquel día». Todavía con sus ropas de viaje y cubierto de polvo, desmontó en el patio del Alcázar de Sevilla y entró a grandes zancadas en la sala donde Isabel le esperaba. Tras quince minutos de educada conversación con aquella novia a la que nunca había visto, Carlos fue a vestirse con sus mejores galas, asistió a la misa nupcial y bailó. Finalmente, como un observador italiano comentó sin más rodeos, «los esposos se fueron a acostar juntos».[34]

Dos sombras atenuaban su felicidad nupcial. Mientras trataba de escapar de sus interrogadores en la fortaleza de Simancas, el obispo comunero de Zamora había asesinado a su carcelero y Carlos dio órdenes para que le torturaran hasta que dijera el nombre de sus cómplices y acto seguido le dieran garrote. La noticia de que la sentencia se había llevado a cabo le llegó al emperador el día después de su boda, e inmediatamente canceló su plan de pasar la Semana Santa en un convento local y «no oye oficios divinos, porque se tiene por descomulgado». También pidió al Papa la absolución teniendo en cuenta las atrocidades que el obispo «cometió y fizo cometer por otros en las reuoluciones y sediciones passadas en estos reynos, hauiéndose fecho principal fación y cabeça dellas», pero prometió que no iría a misa, ni saldría al exterior (excepto en secreto) hasta que no fuera perdonado.[35] Sin embargo, no albergaba remordimientos. Francisco de los Cobos, que había

redactado la cédula en la que se ordenaba la tortura y ejecución, tranquilizó al alcalde Ronquillo (que era quien había consumado los hechos) diciéndole que «Su Magestad está muy contento de lo hecho como verá por su carta», añadiendo «bueno estamos esta Semana Santa», aun cuando «Su Magestad y yo no oyremos Misa, ni otros oficios divinos».[36]

Mientras Carlos esperaba la absolución papal, el regocijo que normalmente acompañaba una boda imperial fue interrumpido debido a otra muerte: la de su hermana Isabel, reina de Dinamarca. Carlos no la había visto desde el desenfrenado baile de su boda una década antes, pero, según Baldassare Castiglione el nuncio (al parecer confidente de Carlos), «la muerte de su hermana le apenó profundamente» y después de «las celebraciones y justas ya planeadas para su boda», la corte entera se puso de luto.[37]

La pareja imperial no obstante siguió divirtiéndose, quizá demasiado. Una semana después de la boda, diplomáticos portugueses que habían acompañado a la emperatriz señalaron con satisfacción que ella «duerme en brazos de su marido todas las noches y están muy enamorados y felices», y que «se quedan en la cama hasta las diez o las once de la mañana» y cuando salen, «aunque todos les miran, siempre hablan y ríen juntos». Carlos manifestó en forma bastante grosera a un cortesano que «todavía no puedo escribir con mi propia mano», porque «aún soy recién casado» y cuando experimentó algunos problemas de salud, hasta el refinado Baltasar Castiglione lo achacó a «esforzarse demasiado en ser un buen marido».[38] Cuando la temperatura en Sevilla se hizo agobiante, los recién casados emprendieron un tranquilo viaje a Granada, pasando por Carmona y Córdoba, para presentar sus respetos a los abuelos de ambos, los Reyes Católicos, enterrados en la Capilla Real de la catedral, y a continuación se trasladaron al antiguo palacio de los reyes moros en la Alhambra. Carlos no tenía previsto

quedarse mucho tiempo allí, prometió a su hermano que zarparía desde Barcelona hacia Italia a finales de junio de 1526, y sugirió planear un encuentro en Milán, pero la prueba irrefutable de que Francisco había renegado de sus promesas malogró este plan.

La liberación del rey a cambio de la entrega de sus dos hijos mayores tuvo lugar bajo complicadas salvaguardias en la frontera francoespañola el 17 de marzo, y justo antes de partir Francisco repitió su promesa a Lannoy de que mantendría su palabra y ratificaría el tratado en la primera ciudad francesa a la que llegara. Sin embargo, cuando se reunió con su madre en Bayona aquel mismo día, y el embajador del emperador pidió la ratificación, el canciller de Francia respondió que «el rey hará lo que la razón y la honestidad exija que haga»; una promesa muy distinta. Cuando el embajador volvió a intentarlo tres días después, le dijeron que la transmisión de la Borgoña a manos Habsburgo llevaría más tiempo. Carlos encontró esta respuesta «muy extraña, haciéndome de recelar otras cosas». Aún peor, «nos deja a nosotros y nuestros asuntos en suspenso».[39]

Mientras seguía «en suspenso», el emperador se mantenía ocupado en Granada. Cuando no era tratando de dejar embarazada a su mujer, era atendiendo diligentemente la avalancha de correspondencia generada por su cada vez más extenso imperio (por ejemplo, prometiendo defender a Erasmo contra sus críticos: «el emperador está a vuestro lado, como hombre fuerte que sois en todas las ramas del saber y en la piedad verdadera, y defenderá vuestro honor y reputación como si fuera la suya propia»).[40] También estableció una Santa Hermandad para vigilar las calles de Granada, y dotó a la ciudad de un Hospital para niños expuestos. Tomó además varias medidas para acelerar la cristianización de Granada, fundando una institución de enseñanza superior para jóvenes moriscos, otra para formar a sacerdotes para la capilla real, y otra (que

impartía instrucción en lógica, filosofía y leyes) para formar predicadores, institución que más tarde se convertiría en la Universidad de Granada, la única que fundó en España él directamente. Carlos también convocó y presidió una comisión que formuló 25 *Mandatos* dirigidos a cristianizar a los moriscos (descendientes de los moros del anterior reino nazarí). Algunos *Mandatos* prohibían prácticas islámicas como la circuncisión de los niños y el sacrificio ritual de animales, mientras que otras prohibían el uso del árabe hablado o escrito y vestirse con ropas y amuletos musulmanes tradicionales; aunque ninguna de estas medidas entró en vigor, dado que casi inmediatamente el emperador acordó suspenderlas durante cuarenta años a cambio de un cuantioso pago por parte de la comunidad morisca para ayudar a financiar sus guerras.

Fue en la Alhambra donde la emperatriz concibió su primer hijo, el futuro Felipe II. El embajador inglés fue el primero en informar de la noticia, en septiembre de 1526: «Podemos ya hablar claramente y con seguridad de que la emperatriz espera un hijo, lo que ha servido de gran alegría a esta corte y su pueblo». Su colega polaco confirmó la noticia dos semanas más tarde. «Dicen que ya hace casi un mes desde que la emperatriz concibió y está embrazada (¡feliz y dichoso acontecimiento!). Por ello precisamente se cuida y no se atreve a moverse y se pasa la mayor parte del tiempo en cama».[41] El mismo predijo también acertadamente que el emperador abandonaría su plan de que su esposa estando embarazada quedara a cargo del gobierno de España mientras él se iba a Italia, porque las renovadas hostilidades por parte de los franceses hacían el viaje demasiado peligroso.

«Envuelto en melancolía y solitarias cavilaciones»

En abril de 1526 el embajador inglés, el doctor Edward Lee, comunicaba que «El emperador ha experimentado un cambio espectacular desde su matrimonio. Pasa envuelto en la melancolía y solitarias cavilaciones a veces tres o cuatro horas seguidas. Ninguna alegría le consuela». El desencadenante de esta profunda depresión fue la confirmación de que Francisco no solo había renegado de todas las cláusulas del Tratado de Madrid, sino también de su promesa de volver a la cautividad. Cuando el embajador de Carlos en la corte francesa pidió al rey que ratificara las concesiones «que ha prometido cumplir… nada más entrar en vuestro reino», Francisco contestó con una mordaz salida: seguiría el procedimiento que «había aprendido en España del emperador»,

> Pues nunca hubo un artículo en el tratado de paz que él no hubiera analizado, discutido y decidido en su mejor beneficio, mientras que él [Francisco] ni había tenido consejo ni la libertad de debatirlo; por lo que ahora él también recurriría a su propio consejo para la confirmación, de la misma manera que el emperador había hecho para su elaboración.[42]

De momento, Francisco se negaba a entregar nada. Quedaban pocas dudas de que Carlos había suspendido el examen de monsieur de Beersel: había perdido la «buena cosecha» que suele presentarse solo una vez en la vida. ¿Por qué?

Francesco Guicciardini, uno de los protagonistas de la lucha entre el Papa y el emperador a raíz del Tratado de Madrid, comenzaba el capítulo correspondiente en su *Historia de Italia* planteando esa misma pregunta. «Quizás el deseo de los flamencos de recuperar Borgoña, su antiguo patrimonio y la titularidad de sus gobernantes, era tan fuerte que no les permitió ver la verdad», especulaba Guicciardini, añadiendo que «se decía que algunos estaban influidos por los regalos y promesas que les habían hecho los franceses». Pero, al final, Carlos había tomado la fatídica decisión. Como observó el embajador veneciano: «Vemos que el emperador creía en sí mismo más que en nadie». ¿Por qué se había dejado engañar hasta ese punto? Guicciardini

propuso dos razones, relacionadas entre sí: «Quizá la gran influencia» de Lannoy y los demás neerlandeses con los que se había criado había pesado sobre el emperador; o quizá era lo que de verdad quería.[43] A primera vista, la sugerencia del autoengaño parece plausible —después de todo, al igual que su padre, Carlos esperaba que le enterraran en Dijon, al lado de sus antepasados borgoñones; en tanto que, al igual que su abuelo Maximiliano, soñaba con recuperar las tierras perdidas tras la muerte del duque Carlos el Temerario—, pero esto ignora el torrente de promesas de cumplimiento que el emperador había recibido tanto de Francisco como de su madre. Por ejemplo, nada más tener noticia del Tratado de Madrid, Luisa informaba a Carlos de que «saldré para Bayona mañana, decidida a hacer todo lo que le hemos prometido»; mientras que desde San Sebastián, Francisco expresaba a «mi buen hermano» sus ganas de volver a Francia «a fin de llevar a cabo lo que hemos resuelto a la mayor brevedad posible».[44] Nosotros sabemos ahora que estas y otras cartas similares, todas ológrafas , eran mentira de principio a fin, pero cabría perdonar a Carlos que se negara a creer que sus colegas monarcas —entonces sus parientes cercanos— fueran a incurrir en un engaño tan descarado, tan sostenido y tan evidente.

De acuerdo con Guicciardini, parece que muy pocos de sus contemporáneos se habían dejado engañar: «Toda la cristiandad se quedó completamente asombrada ante el Tratado [de Madrid], porque dado que la liberación del rey francés debía preceder al cumplimiento de sus estipulaciones, todos opinaban que, una vez liberado, Francisco se negaría de entregar Borgoña». Esto no reflejaba solo la visión retrospectiva de un historiador. Más de un mes antes de que Francisco firmara el tratado, el nuncio papal en la corte de Carlos informaba de que «Muchos a los que se considera sabios dicen que antes de que lleve seis meses fuera de prisión, el rey francés emprenderá una

guerra más salvaje que ninguna anterior contra el emperador»; mientras que en abril de 1526 apuntaba que «casi todo el mundo piensa que el rey francés alegará *Non stant foedera facta metu* [los tratados hechos bajo coacción carecen de validez]».[45] El papa Clemente estaba también seguro de que Francisco «hará lo que sea por recuperar su libertad, al margen de cualquier promesa que pueda haber hecho». Concretamente,

> De todos los puntos que ha acordado con el emperador, solo cumplirá con aquellos que deban llevarse a cabo antes de su liberación, como la entrega de sus hijos, y aplazará todo lo demás que le hayan pedido que haga, como su matrimonio con la reina Leonor y la transferencia de ciertas partes de Borgoña, hasta después de su liberación, y luego no cumplirá nada. Así que el único efecto de este tratado será que sus dos hijos estarán bajo la custodia del emperador en lugar de la de su padre.

En Londres, Wolsey llegó a exactamente la misma conclusión. Decía que algunos artículos del Tratado de Madrid,

> Relativos a la alienación de los derechos de su Corona, no está en manos de Francisco llevarlos a cabo, y los que sí lo están, son de tanta importancia que, cuando esté libre, no es probable que tenga intención de cumplirlos; especialmente en lo referente a la entrega efectiva del ducado de Borgoña… [Por tanto] no soy capaz de convencerme a mí mismo de que el rey [francés] esté decidido, una vez le sea restituida su libertad, a hacerlo.[46]

Wolsey estaba preparado para aceptar este desenlace porque le preocupaba que, si Francisco cumplía el tratado, Inglaterra dejaría de mantener el equilibrio de poder en Europa occidental. Por tanto, escribió a Luisa de Saboya alegrándose de «la liberación de vuestro hijo, el rey, de los peligros y el cruel tratamiento que ha sufrido en España» y expresando la esperanza de que «ninguna parte del ignominioso e inaceptable tratado arrancado a la fuerza a vuestro hijo se cumpla». También señalaba «el peligro que Francia puede correr y es probable que afronte»: dado que Carlos ya gobernaba «Alemania, que forma la parte más grande de la cristiandad», así como los Países Bajos, el sur de Italia y España, «el reino de Francia se verá rodeado por tres partes, y situado, como una vez estuvo, en medio de los países del emperador». De manera que, si alguna vez Carlos o

sus sucesores decidían atacar, los franceses «se verían obligados a defenderse frente a dichas tres partes»; precisamente el «temor a verse rodeado» que dominó la política exterior francesa durante más de un siglo. Para evitar este destino, el cardenal sugería que Francisco se negara a ceder ninguno de sus territorios y en lugar de ello ofreciera el rescate de sus hijos «por una conveniente suma de dinero», y también prometía que Inglaterra abandonaría la alianza imperial y actuaría en cambio como «afectuoso mediador».[47]

Al principio Francisco actuó con cautela. Continuó cubriendo a Carlos con un aluvión de mensajes personales en los que reiteraba su intención de cumplir todas sus promesas a su debido tiempo, pero entretanto buscaba apoyo extranjero, tanto moral como material.[48] El papa Clemente fue uno de los primeros en complacerle, declarando que el rey estaba «no solo liberado ante su conciencia de su obligación de cumplimiento, dado que había actuado bajo coacción, sino ante el mundo entero, porque es bien sabido que todas las obligaciones en las que se incurre a la fuerza no son válidas».[49] Las dos protestas que firmó estando aún en prisión demuestran que Francisco ya había anticipado este consejo y después de ser liberado envió en secreto fondos a Borgoña para reforzar todas las fortificaciones y pagar a todas las guarniciones. También exigió un nuevo juramento de lealtad a sus comandantes en el ducado. Cuando Carlos de Lannoy y Hugo de Moncada, dos hombres con los que Francisco se encontraba personalmente en deuda, llegaron para instar al rey a que cumpliera sus promesas, este les recibió gentilmente, pero insistió en que «no estaba obligado a mantener ninguna promesa que supuestamente hubiera hecho dado que le habían sido arrancadas bajo el temor de una prisión perpetua…». Dándose por fin cuenta del alcance del engaño, Lannoy lamentó ante Carlos: «Dios sabe que desearía no haber participado nunca en este asunto», añadiendo que sospechaba

que Francisco «quiere proceder mediante disimulos y sacar ventaja en todo lo demás que pueda». Esta vez, Lannoy estaba en lo cierto: incluso mientras agasajaba a sus visitantes en su corte, concluyó un tratado con Venecia, el Papa, Florencia y el duque Francesco Sforza de Milán (a quien el emperador había depuesto por posicionarse en su contra). Enrique VIII acordó actuar como «protector».[50]

La «Sagrada Liga de Cognac» (como sus signatarios la denominaron) hacía un llamamiento a Carlos para que liberara a los príncipes franceses a cambio de un rescate razonable; que permitiera que todos los estados italianos volvieran a tener sus fronteras como antes de la guerra; que devolviera a Sforza el ducado de Milán; que hiciera el viaje para su coronación imperial con una escolta modesta (el tamaño sería determinado por Venecia y el Papa); y que devolviera todas sus deudas a Inglaterra (que en ese momento ascendían a 800.000 ducados). En caso de que el emperador no cumpliera con estas disposiciones, los aliados acordaban compartir el coste de la movilización de tropas y galeras para tomar Milán, Génova y Nápoles.[51] El 23 de junio Clemente envió un agrio Informe a Carlos en el que deploraba su reciente conducta con varios miembros de la Liga: la invasión injusta de Francia; la humillación de su rey mientras estuvo cautivo; haber ignorado las justas reclamaciones de Sforza; la incautación de bienes y destrucción de propiedades en los Estados Pontificios. Todo esto, en conjunto, afirmaba, «me ha llevado a establecer una alianza con aquellos que quieren la paz para Italia y la Cristiandad», y terminaba con una osada amenaza: «Así que si vos queréis también vivir en paz, bien; pero, si no, sabed que cuento con soldados y con armas, y que los usaré para defender Italia y Roma». Esto era, para Navagero, «una sorprendente vuelta de tuerca. Después de haber estado prisionero, de perder a tantos hombres y de sufrir tantos reveses, el rey de Francia es

libre y puede hacer más que nunca. Está en sus manos convertirse en alguien grandioso y hacer del emperador alguien pequeño».[52]

Lucha en dos frentes

Hugo de Moncada, que viajó desde la corte de Francia a Roma una vez quedó claro que su misión con Francisco había fracasado, percibió con alarma el extendido sentimiento antiimperial presente en todo el norte de Italia. «Desde baxar los montes —le dijo a Carlos—, me convino passar entre picas y escopetas con voz de que "Mueran los spañoles"»; y, al llegar a Roma, encontró al duque de Sessa «y a su casa en armas… [por] haverse el papa publicado enemigo de Vuestra Magestad y començándose a armar». Junto con Sessa, Moncada trató de convencer a Clemente de que ni Francisco ni Enrique podrían hacer llegar la ayuda prometida a tiempo, dejando a los signatarios italianos de la Liga solos frente a la ira del emperador. Esto, le advertían, representaba el riesgo de «destruición de la Sede Apostólica y confusión de la República Cristiana, porque no solo se havía de ussar la guerra con su Beatitud por armas, mas por todas las otras vías que conviniese al bien y reformación de la iglesia —y en este punto pasaban a valerse descaradamente del mayor temor de Clemente— metiéndole delante el peligro de la eregía de Luthero y los clamores hordinarios de Alemaña que siempre havía demandado concilio». En cuanto a que la intimidación pudiera obligar a Carlos a reducir sus demandas, los enviados afirmaron que el emperador preferiría «perder todos sus estados y rreynos, palmo a palmo, con efusión de sangre de todos sus servidores y súbditos, que por símil forma rreduzirse ha su voluntad».

En su última y tormentosa audiencia, los dos enviados españoles advirtieron a Clemente de que, dado que «nos ha echado la guerra en las manos, despedímosnos de su Santitad

suplicándole nos tuviese por escusados si tomavamos las armas contra él en defensión de los estados de Vuestra Magestad, pues somos forzados y tirados a ellos». Por tanto, informaron los enviados a Carlos,

> A nuestro parecer lo que de todas estas pláticas Vuestra Magestad ha de rrecolegir es que el Papa es deliberado vuestro enemigo, juntamente con los reyes de Ynglatierra, Francia, y Venecianos, y que todos juntos son deliverados de obviar y abaxar la grandeza de Vuestra Magestad y reducirle en términos que sea ygual ha ellos.[53]

Entre los demás ministros de Carlos en Italia varios se sentían igualmente beligerantes. A finales de junio de 1526, su embajador en Saboya aconsejaba que «Pues el papa quiere fuego en la cristiandad, Vuestra Majestad le encienda por todas partes, hasta castigar los que han tomado armas contra su ejército y reformar la Iglesia»; en tanto que, desde Génova, el embajador Lope de Soria escribía que

> Todo el daño que Vuestra Majestad pueda hacer a Su Santidad, parece que será lícito hacer, considerada su ingratitud y el poco respeto que tiene al servicio de Dios y bien de los cristianos; y pues a solo Vuestra Majestad toca castigar al pontífice, que no hace lo que debe… no debe dejar Vuestra Majestad de evitarle toda obediencia de sus reinos y señoríos.[54]

Carlos se tomó todos estos llamamientos a «castigar al pontífice» muy en serio. «Pidió parecer al obispo de Osma [García de Loaysa], su confesor, si podía quitar la obediencia del papa con justa causa», y recurrió (quizá por primera vez) a una técnica que se convertiría en un clásico cada vez que los soberanos Habsburgo de España se veían enfrentados a un dilema moral: consultó con una Junta de Teólogos. Carlos «convocó a algunos teólogos a su Consejo» para determinar si «Vuestra Magestad, para conservación et indemnitad de sus tierras y estados, puede y deve justa y lícitamente defenderse y para ello hazer su exército o fornecerle como más convenga contra todas las personas del mundo aunque sea contra el papa».[55] Aparentemente, los teólogos dieron su visto bueno, porque el 11 de junio de 1526, antes incluso de que Clemente

hiciera pública su adhesión a la Liga de Cognac, el emperador ordenó a Moncada que «En caso que, después de haver hecho vuestro débito hasta el cabo de vuestra instrucción» hacia el Papa, «viésedes que todo esso no aprovechasse, y os pidiessen cosas impossibles o os llevasen con dissimulación y largas con fin de ganar tiempo y concluir con otros que con nos, será bien que no olvidáis de prevenir, antes que ser prevenido». El emperador reveló que el cardenal Pompeo Colonna, un veterano partidario de España que había liderado la oposición a la elección de Clemente, le había informado recientemente de «que él tenía buena disposición para echar el papa de Roma». El emperador ordenó por tanto a Moncada «que platicáys con el dicho cardenal Colonna para que, *como de sí mismo*, ponga en obra» sus planes «y que en ello le hagáis dar todo favor *secreto*».[56] También envió una pequeña flota a Lombardía con el duque de Borbón y varios cientos de soldados a bordo.

Estos modestos movimientos quedaban muy lejos del orgulloso anuncio que el emperador había hecho en fechas anteriores de aquel mismo año de instalar a su nueva esposa como regente y zarpar hacia Italia a la cabeza de un gran ejército, y Clemente menospreció ostensiblemente sus esfuerzos. Según un embajador de Carlos en Roma, «La venida de mussieur de Borbon no la estiman acá, por haber venido sin gente, y según he oído, diz que el papa se reía dél, diciendo que Vuestra Majestad, por echarle de cabo sí, le envió acá como hombre perdido». La risa de Clemente no duró mucho.[57]

En una larga carta de julio de 1526, Carlos explicaba a su hermano un importante cambio de planes. «No hay nada en este mundo que más quiera hacer que ir a Italia —comenzaba diciendo el emperador—, no por deseo de engrandecerme yo, sino exclusivamente por cumplir la misión que Dios me ha encomendado y asegurar el fruto que mi viaje daría en beneficio de la Cristiandad, trayendo la paz universal para que vos y yo

podamos dirigir nuestras fuerzas unidas contra el Infiel y conseguir extirpar los errores y herejías de Lutero», tal vez «mediante la convocatoria de un Consejo General para la Reforma de la Iglesia». También quería organizar a sus tropas en Lombardía, «porque si mi ejército se pierde o se ve obligado a desmovilizarse, pronto perderé Nápoles y Sicilia, que luego serían muy difíciles de recuperar». Por otra parte, «si consigo sacar la delantera en Italia, y ser coronado emperador, podré dejar las cosas claras para todos y ser el soberano de todos sin resistencia» (¡y esto «sin ningún deseo de engrandecerse»!). Pero «eso es lo que el Papa y los demás gobernantes más temen», reflexionaba, y «creo que es la causa de las actuales alianzas en mi contra». A su llegada a Italia, el emperador volvió a lamentar carecer de soldados, barcos y dinero «suficiente para mi seguridad, honor y beneficio», y mucho menos para

> Apoyar y ayudar a nuestro cuñado, el rey de Hungría, como me gustaría… Si hubiera tenido paz, podéis estar seguro de que en caso necesario desplegaría lo que tengo en Hungría, pero si las guerras en lo tocante a mis posesiones van a continuar —y tengo por seguro que así será— juzgad vos si no tendré que mirar por mi propia defensa y desplegar todos mis recursos en esto.

El emperador sugirió entonces por primera vez una estrategia alternativa que sería la que prevalecería al final. Envió a Fernando el borrador de un edicto que suspendía las sanciones legales que había impuesto a los luteranos en la Dieta de Worms, porque «algunos de mis asesores piensan que mediante esta suspensión podré reclutar un importante cuerpo de infantería y caballería que se podría unir a vos cuando lo deseéis, por ejemplo, para ayudar a Hungría». Además, como Gattinara perspicazmente señaló en su borrador de esta carta, la oferta de tolerar el luteranismo, aunque fuera por un breve tiempo, «podrá ser un torcedor al papa por traherlo más fácilmente a la razón, temiendo que tal reduction y ajunctamento no sea causa de dar más prissa a la convocación del concilio que es la cosa que más teme».[58]

La idea, previamente impensable, de vender tolerancia a los luteranos a cambio de que tropas protestantes «ayudaran a Hungría» reflejaba la llegada de noticias alarmantes. El sultán Solimán había partido de Estambul a la cabeza de un enorme ejército y tren de asedio en abril de 1526, y en julio entró por primera vez en Hungría. Fernando suplicó ayuda urgente, pero Carlos replicó en tono jocoso, «que harto turco tenía él entre las manos con el rey de Francia».[59] Luego, en agosto, el sultán consiguió una sorprendente victoria en Mohács que dejó a la mayoría de los nobles de Hungría y también a su rey, el cuñado de Carlos, muertos en el campo de batalla. Dos semanas más tarde Solimán entró en Buda y confirió la Corona de Hungría a su vasallo, el gobernador de Transilvania, Juan de Zápolya.

Gracias a su matrimonio con la hermana del rey Luis, Fernando logró casi de inmediato la elección como rey de Bohemia y luego, hábilmente respaldado por su propia hermana María, reclamó la Corona de Hungría para él. En cambio, su petición de ayuda a otros soberanos occidentales contra el «enemigo común de la Cristiandad» fracasó casi por completo: pese a la abundante información sobre el alcance y la inmediatez de la amenaza turca, la atención de estos seguía concentrada en la lucha por el norte de Italia. Incluso Clemente, que pagó el salario de 5.000 soldados en Hungría, gastó mucho más en la guerra de Lombardía; pero la entrada sigilosa de las fuerzas combinadas de Moncada y los Colonna en Roma en septiembre de 1526 le cogió completamente por sorpresa. Los invasores tomaron al Papa como rehén. Carlos se quejó «De lo que se intentó por la gente que desmandó a don Hugo, nos ha desplacido enteramente» porque «no quisiéramos, por muy grande cosa, que se hiciera por gente que estaba debaxo de capitán nuestro, de lo qual nos ha pesado quanto os lo podemos encarecer», pero mentía. Uniendo sus fuerzas con Colonna e invadiendo Roma, don Hugo había seguido órdenes expresas

del emperador y volvió a hacerlo cuando utilizó su ventaja militar para obligar a Clemente a retirarse de la Liga de Cognac y en su lugar firmar una alianza con Carlos.[60]

Poco antes de que las noticias de Roma llegaran a la corte de Carlos, los embajadores de los cuatro principales integrantes de la Liga de Cognac —Inglaterra, Francia, el Papado y Venecia— habían solicitado una oportunidad para entregar al emperador una notificación formal de sus condiciones. La audiencia fue razonablemente bien hasta que el enviado francés *«conminó»* a Carlos a liberar a los príncipes franceses —ahora de 7 y 8 años de edad— a cambio de un rescate. A esto el nuncio Castiglione respondió que, en ese momento, «todo el mundo se dio cuenta de que su Majestad estaba muy enfadado [*molto in collera*]» […] «y la razón de su enfado, como su Majestad en persona me explicó, fue la palabra "conminar"», que «normalmente se usa para dirigirse a los que están bajo asedio cuando se les ordena rendirse, con connotaciones de amenaza y destrucción». Según el enviado inglés, Carlos, enojado,

> Se volvió hacia el embajador de Francia y le dijo «No los liberaré [los príncipes franceses] por dinero. Ya rechacé dinero por el padre y mucho menos lo voy a aceptar por sus hijos. Me avendré a entregarlos a cambio de un tratado razonable, pero no por dinero. Y nunca más confiaré en las promesas del rey francés, porque me ha engañado, lo que no hace ningún príncipe noble. Y si se excusa en que no puede cumplir algunas cosas sin provocar el resentimiento de sus súbditos, que cumpla lo que está en su mano, lo que prometió por el honor de un príncipe; esto es, que si no cumplía sus promesas volvería aquí a prisión.

Carlos se quejó entonces de que, aunque había tratado a Francisco «con generosidad y magnanimidad, él me ha tratado con cobardía y malicia. No se ha portado como corresponde a un caballero o un noble, sino con deshonor». El emperador, todavía furioso, concluyó la audiencia encargando al embajador francés que transmitiera un desafío caballeresco a su señor: Si

Francisco se niega a volver a prisión, «quiera Dios que podamos resolver nuestras diferencias en un duelo, hombre a hombre, para evitar causar la muerte a tantos cristianos».[61]

Pocos días después, Carlos envió a Clemente una amarga carta de reproche sin ni siquiera hacer uso de las habituales convenciones de respeto. Se dirigía al pontífice de «tú», y comenzaba diciendo: «No puedes olvidar que llegaste a Papa gracias a mis intercesiones y con mi ayuda», y sin embargo «iniciaste hostilidades contra mí antes de que yo pudiera recibir el Comunicado con tu declaración de guerra, e intentas no solo expulsarme de Italia sino también privarme del título imperial». Se lamentaba de no haber hecho caso antes a las quejas sobre el Papado expresadas por sus súbditos alemanes, y amenazaba con que a menos que Clemente dejara de atacarle convocaría un Consejo que terminaría con la corrupción y los abusos de la corte papal. Castiglione consideró la respuesta del emperador «más agria que el Comunicado».[62] Carlos hizo que los textos de esta correspondencia fueran redactados y publicados en latín, y proporcionó a Lannoy los fondos para reclutar 9.000 soldados y una flota para reforzar a Borbón. Aunque las galeras de la Liga de Cognac, comandadas por el exiliado aristócrata genovés Andrea Doria, interceptaron a Lannoy y le obligaron a cambiar de dirección y zarpar hacia Nápoles, Fernando envió otro contingente alemán a través de los Alpes para luchar en Lombardía, de manera que las fuerzas imperiales amenazaban entonces a Roma por el norte y por el sur.

Fue en este momento, «cuando yo ya había reclutado y enviado a Italia hasta el último ducado en metálico que pude encontrar», cuando llegó a España la noticia de la pérdida de Hungría y la muerte de su rey, junto con una petición de ayuda urgente de Fernando a su hermano para «llegar a un acuerdo con el rey de Francia y ganar tantos aliados como os sea posible», a fin de permitir que todos los príncipes cristianos se

unan y desplieguen sus fuerzas combinadas para detener el avance turco. Carlos, todavía en Granada, inmediatamente fue a consultar con su Consejo e, igual que Fernando, los ministros «suplican a Vuestra Alteza tome apuntamiento con el rey de Françia, e syno fuere qual sería razón, que se tome conforme al tiempo a lo que se debe a Dios en semejante perturbación». Además, «Vuestra Majestad con la graçia de Dios deve partir de aquí lo más presto que ser pueda», y convocaba a las Cortes de Castilla a reunirse con él en Valladolid a principios de 1527. A la luz de la «infeliz nueva» procedente de Hungría, el Consejo recomendó también que todos «perlados e religiosos e cabildos sean amonestados e rogados para que con gran devoción fagan sacrificios e plegarías e oraciones e otros sufragios» y «fagan que los predicadores y confesores prediquen a los pueblos el peligro de la Christiandad… para los ynçitar». El propio Carlos debía mandar tanto dinero y soldados como fuera posible a su hermano, moderar «los gastos de su cassa e corte e messas e vestidos della, porque a exemplo desto se ordenará todo el reyno», y asegurarse de que «guardas e gente de guerra» del reino fueran pagados y armados.[63]

Carlos no necesitaba que le convencieran: la «destrucción de Hungría» le había conmocionado. A finales de noviembre dijo al nuncio que estaba dispuesto a someter su disputa tanto con Francisco como con la Liga a la mediación bien de Enrique o de Clemente, y que para conseguir «una paz general accedería a liberar a los hijos del rey sin recibir dinero a cambio, siempre que el rey le garantizara que permanecería en paz», con el fin de poder viajar a Austria y liderar la defensa de la cristiandad contra los turcos personalmente. En un inusual momento de autocrítica, Carlos admitía ante Castiglione que:

> Él era un hombre mortal y tenía defectos, y entre ellos que había sido lento a la hora de decidir, y por negligencia había permitido que muchas cosas se retrasaran. Que en ese momento su intención era vencer ese rasgo de su carácter y ser muy diligente, y que no perdería ninguna ocasión para llegar a tal fin. Que el mundo

entero podía declararle tantas guerras como quisiere, y el rey de Francia conquistar España si lo creía oportuno, pero que con tal de derrotar a los turcos renunciaría a todo.[64]

La pérdida de Hungría también alarmó a Clemente, fuera de prisión, pero absolutamente consciente de su incapacidad para defender Roma solo. De modo que volvió a abandonar la Liga de Cognac, firmó una tregua de ocho meses con Lannoy, sin darse cuenta, al parecer, de que dicha tregua no era aplicable a Borbón, y comenzó a desmovilizar sus fuerzas.

¡A Roma!

La decisión de Francisco de no cumplir el Tratado de Madrid también afectaba gravemente al duque de Borbón, cuya situación era ahora desesperada. Su antiguo señor había confiscado sus propiedades e ingresos y los había transferido a los ministros y nobles leales. Esto dejaba al duque no solo sin un céntimo, sino además sin esperanza de restitución. Ciertamente, Carlos le había nombrado duque de Milán en caso de que Francisco Sforza fuera condenado por traición, pero el ejército imperial había agotado todos los recursos disponibles en Lombardía obligando a Borbón a conducir a su ejército semiamotinado hacia el sur, en busca de nuevos territorios que saquear. Al principio sus tropas esperaban capturar y saquear Florencia, pero al encontrar la ciudad bien defendida, empezaron a marchar hacia Roma y declararon que solo se detendrían cuando Clemente les pagara sus atrasos. Aterrorizado, el Papa volvió a unirse a la Liga de Cognac, declaró a Carlos depuesto como rey de Nápoles y amenazó a Borbón y a todo su ejército con excomulgarles si continuaban avanzando. El embajador imperial informó desalentado de que «ay apuestas a XX por ciento que dentro de IIII meses Nápoles será del papa».[65]

No obstante, la situación de Clemente era desesperada. Había disuelto la mayor parte de sus propias fuerzas, mientras que las de sus principales aliados —Francia, Inglaterra y Venecia— se hallaban a mucha distancia, en tanto que por otra parte Borbón abandonaba su artillería de asedio y utilizaba las calzadas romanas para viajar hacia el sur a la asombrosa velocidad de treinta kilómetros al día.[66] Al amanecer del 6 de mayo, el ejército imperial, incrementado por voluntarios atraídos por la posibilidad del saqueo, lanzó un ataque sorpresa sobre Roma. Desgraciadamente para sus defensores, Borbón murió durante el triunfante asalto y, dado que nadie más poseía autoridad suficiente para contener a las victoriosas tropas, el saqueo de la ciudad duró diez días, durante los cuales, unos 8.000 romanos murieron y las atrocidades llevadas a cabo por las tropas de Carlos (según informaba un testigo presencial a Gattinara) «son tantas, Señor, que no bastaría papel ny tynta para poderlas escrevir ny saber, ny memoria». De hecho, terminaba afirmando con tristeza: «Ny aura negocios ny Roma será Roma en nuestros tiempos ny en 200 años, segund quedara destruyda».[67] Clemente y unos cuantos seguidores encontraron refugio en el Castillo de Sant' Angelo, pero, sin esperanza de recibir ayuda, un mes después se rindieron a los imperialistas. Mientras, los parientes Médici del Papa viajaron a Florencia y sus enemigos proclamaron la ciudad-estado como república una vez más.

Por segunda vez, Borbón y sus tropas «han hecho absoluto señor de Ytalia al emperador» y, según el enviado de Carlos en Roma, «todos los vasallos y servidores de Vuestra Magestad huelgan mucho de ver a Vuestra Magestad señorear a Roma y lo demás»; mientras en Génova, Lope de Soria se regodeaba de que «claramente parece tener Dios la mano en las cosas de Vuestra Magestad, pues tan milagrosamente las guía y prospera», para que todos los «príncipes cristianos conozcan ser Su voluntad de castigarlos por mano de Vuestra Magestad». Desde Praga,

Fernando también transmitió sus felicitaciones por la «buena noticia de la captura de Roma», y expresó la esperanza de que, dado que «el Papa está actualmente en vuestras manos, o al menos en situación de que vos podáis hacer lo que queráis con él», Carlos no debía «soltarle hasta que los asuntos generales de la Cristiandad se hayan puesto en orden».[68]

El emperador, en cambio, afirmaba estar conmocionado. Convocó a todos los embajadores extranjeros para explicar lo que había ocurrido, y a continuación, al igual que había hecho tras la captura de la ciudad por Moncada y los Colonna el año anterior, adujo «que lo ocurrido en Roma no ha provenido de su mandato y voluntad, sino de un cierto destino aciago». En las sarcásticas palabras de un diplomático inglés, presentó «sus excusas, llevándose varias veces las manos al pecho, de que estas cosas se habían hecho no solo sin que él las ordenara, sino contra su voluntad, causando en él la mayor desaprobación y disgusto», pero pocos le creyeron. Tenían razón.[69] El 7 de junio de 1527, ignorando todavía que Borbón había muerto, Carlos firmó una carta dirigida a él que demostraba que tanto la captura de Roma como la del Papa formaba parte de una estrategia más amplia comunicada ya al duque. Dado que «una buena paz es lo que más deseo», afirmaba el emperador,

> Espero que tengáis cuidado de que no os engañen, y consigáis garantías firmes de que dicha paz se mantendrá; y que también procuréis que, caso de poder hacerse sin peligro, el Papa venga *aquí* para hacer las gestiones necesarias para una paz universal… [porque] como bien sabéis, esto podría tener muchas consecuencias favorables para el servicio de Dios, el bien de toda la Cristiandad y el beneficio de mis intereses, y también los vuestros.

En otras palabras, Carlos ya había ordenado a su lugarteniente no solo capturar al Papa, sino enviarlo como prisionero a España, donde firmaría unas condiciones favorables bajo coacción, como se había hecho con Francisco dos años antes. Carlos continuaba diciendo, «no sé con seguridad *qué habréis hecho con el Papa después de entrar en Roma* —otra

prueba de que Borbón había seguido órdenes del emperador—pero en mis últimas cartas os he escrito que el punto principal es que si podéis alcanzar una buena paz, o algún otro acuerdo, con el Papa, deberéis entonces proceder a introducir a mi ejército en territorio veneciano, para obligarles a pagar sus sueldos y a llegar también a un acuerdo».[70]

Tras conocer la noticia de la muerte de Borbón, Carlos informó a uno de sus diplomáticos de confianza, el barón Veyré, de que dado que «Dios ha querido conceder esta *victoria* en Roma», y que «la captura del Papa parece haber sido obra de Dios, y con su permiso, a fin de permitir y abrir camino a una buena paz en la Cristiandad, por su bienestar y reposo», ha llegado el momento de convocar «un Consejo para la reforma de la iglesia, tan deseado y tan necesario como todo el mundo sabe, y también para la extirpación de la descarriada secta de Lutero». Veyré debía por tanto viajar a Italia y persuadir al Papa cautivo para que hiciera las concesiones necesarias a fin de conseguir estos objetivos.[71]

Carlos acorralado

Como Veyré comentó con arrepentimiento cuando finalmente llegó a Italia, «las cosas están ahora en un estado muy distinto al que su Majestad pensaba cuando me fui». De hecho, «la situación aquí es tan mala que no podría ser peor»: las tropas amotinadas en Roma (muchos de los soldados eran luteranos alemanes) amenazaban con matar o secuestrar al Papa, en Nápoles había un vacío de poder debido a que el virrey Lannoy había muerto, y una nueva fuerza expedicionaria francesa había entrado en Lombardía a las órdenes de un comandante experimentado, Odet de Foix, señor de Lautrec. «Por el amor de Dios, señor, pensad en hacer las paces con los franceses, en los términos que podáis», suplicaba Veyré. Tras pedir perdón por «si mis noticias causan desesperanza a su Majestad», repetía: «os

ruego que hagáis las paces con Francia, porque será menos deshonroso y además tendréis la libertad de vengaros [*vous vengier*] de aquellos que se afanan en haceros daño en Italia».[72]

Era demasiado tarde. La humillación de Clemente ya le había procurado la simpatía y el apoyo internacional. En agosto de 1527, Enrique VIII firmó una alianza con Francisco por la cual ofrecía la mano de su hija María al segundo hijo de Francisco y repitió su promesa de presionar a Carlos para liberar a los príncipes rehenes franceses a cambio de un rescate razonable. Además, con la esperanza de persuadir a Clemente para que autorizara su divorcio de la reina Catalina, tía de Carlos, Enrique prometió resistirse a cualquier convocatoria de un Consejo General mientras el Papa continuara prisionero, así como enviar tropas y ayuda económica para apoyar al ejército francés en Italia.[73]

Al principio la campaña prosperó. Tras unir sus fuerzas con las de los venecianos, Lautrec no tardó en invadir casi toda Lombardía, mientras una fuerza naval bajo el mando de Andrea Doria ayudaba a recuperar el crucial puerto de Génova para Francia. Una carta escrita por Antonio de Leyva, aislado en Milán, ponía de relieve la peligrosa posición imperial en el norte de Italia: «Hace más de dos meses» había escrito «a todos los capitanes de vuestra Majestad informándoles de la necesidad en la que hoy me hallo», pero, aunque «he escrito doscientas cartas a diferentes lugares, no he recibido respuesta a ninguna…». Leyva continuó sombríamente: «Vuestra Majestad se fía sobre su suerte, y tiene razón; pero sería bueno ayudarle y tener en cuenta que dios no hace cada día milagros».[74]

La situación de las tropas de Carlos acuarteladas en Roma y sus alrededores no era mejor: aunque seguía siendo una fuerza de combate formidable, al carecer de un líder, continuaron

arrasando la ciudad como medio para mantener la presión sobre Clemente a fin de que este pagara sus atrasos (alrededor de 400.000 ducados). Uno de sus comandantes suplicó a Carlos:

> Que Su Magestad se acuerde por el fin que se deue a dios, y por no darse tan mal nombre en el mundo, y por los desórdenes y roberíos y muertes que su exército haze y ha hecho en Italia, y cada día hará más no mandando que sea pagado, o tomar tal medio de su Cesáreo servycio. Que su grandeza no se haya de sostener con tantos y tan grandes males, porque ni dios permitirá çufrillos, ni es razón que el mundo, podiéndolo remediar, lo dexe de hazer.

Y concluía diciendo: «Que Su Magestad vea agora las nuevas trayciones que en Italia suceden, y que sería mejor que se tomase concierto con Francia» pues «no han bastado los dos hijos del rey de Francia para assí lo fuese, que ya lo podría ser que dexando Su Magestad de insistir en las cosas de Borgoña que el dicho rey viniese a una nueva amistad». Sus súplicas fueron en vano. En noviembre de 1527, representantes diplomáticos de Francia, Inglaterra, Milán, Venecia, Ferrara y el Colegio de Cardenales firmaron una liga solemne dirigida a «la liberación del Papa».[75]

«El emperador es lento de por sí», señaló el embajador Andrea Navagero, y «está muy dubitativo sobre qué debería hacer». Por un lado, cree que lo honorable sería liberar al Papa; por otro, si lo hace, no puede estar seguro de que el Papa vaya a ser su amigo. Reconociendo los peligros que conllevan las decisiones a largo plazo, Carlos volvió una vez más a ordenar a sus procónsules —Fernando, Margarita y sus generales en Italia— «hacer todo lo que puedan sin tener que consultarme, o enviar o esperar órdenes mías, porque es tal mi confianza en ellos que he dado a cada uno el poder de tomar decisiones». La única excepción fue un requerimiento a su hermano para mantener la paz en Hungría a fin de que él pudiera enviar refuerzos a Lombardía.[76] Los ánimos del emperador se reavivaron con el nacimiento, el 21 de mayo, del futuro Felipe II, el primer príncipe nacido en España en cincuenta años. Carlos firmó

jubilosas cartas a las ciudades de Castilla aquel mismo día —«Parió hoy martes, veynte y uno del presente, un hijo»— presentando su intervención en el proceso como una ofrenda a Dios y a sus súbditos españoles: «Espero en Dios que sea para su servicio y gran bien destos reinos. A Él plega que yo pueda mejor servir, pues para este fin lo he deseado». El anuncio del emperador a las ciudades de Aragón revistió un tono triunfalista similar: «Plegará a la divina bondad que deste fructo que ha sido servido de darnos, succederá mucho servicio suyo, establecimiento de beneficio público y reposo de nuestros reinos y señoríos».[77] Según don Martín de Salinas, «[está] el Emperador tan alegre y regocijado y gozoso del nuevo hijo que en otra cosa no entiende sino en ordenar fiestas por el bien que Dios nos ha dado; y de día y de noche no se entiende en otra cosa sino en justas y juegos de cañas y en todas maneras de placer, así viejos como mozos». En el bautizo, celebrado el 5 de junio con Leonor como madrina y el condestable de Castilla y los duques de Alba y Béjar como padrinos, uno de los *autos* comparaba al joven príncipe con Juan el Bautista, mientras otros representaban a profetas que predecían un futuro esplendoroso para el infante, al igual que habían hecho para el Niño Jesús.[78] El regocijo cesó temporalmente cuando llegó la noticia del saqueo de Roma, pero volvió a retomarse tan pronto como la emperatriz estuvo suficientemente repuesta para asistir a las justas y demás espectáculos organizados por su marido. En agosto, Salinas informaba de que Carlos e Isabel «son los dos mejores casados que yo sepa deste mundo». En efecto, tres meses más tarde «se tiene por cierto que está preñada la emperatriz», con gran alegría por parte del emperador.[79]

La felicidad de Carlos no duró mucho. Varios embajadores comentaron que se había vuelto impaciente e incluso desmesurado en las audiencias. En abril de 1527 a un enviado inglés le pareció «triste, molesto y exasperado», en tanto que tres

meses más tarde el mismo escuchó «ceñudo y con expresión seria» al embajador francés mientras este volvía a ofrecerle dinero y la cesión parcial de los derechos de Francia sobre Nápoles a cambio de la repatriación de los dos príncipes y la restitución de Francesco Sforza como duque de Milán. Aunque «a veces entre sonrisas, otras entre risas», el emperador también pronunció «palabras graves y de peso, no carentes de ironía». Pocos días después, predijo ante los embajadores ingleses que «el rey francés no pararía nunca, a menos que le sean arrancadas las plumas», lo que para él significaba quitarles Borgoña. En octubre, Navagero informó de que Carlos de nuevo había «utilizado palabras muy gruesas y (contrario a su comportamiento normal) había mostrado un enfado extremo» durante una audiencia, y había afirmado enfurecido que «el rey de Francia había decidido utilizar la fuerza para obligarle a hacer lo que él quería, pero que se engañaba», pues a él «nunca podrían obligarle a hacer algo por la fuerza». El embajador reflexionaba que Carlos «era joven y estaba acostumbrado a que todo saliera como él quería» y hasta entonces le había resultado fácil mostrarse gentil, pero «ahora que sus asuntos no van tan bien —predecía—, los que traten con él deberán proceder con gran habilidad».[80]

Las cosas alcanzaron su punto crítico en enero de 1528 cuando los embajadores de Francia, Inglaterra, Milán, Venecia y Florencia —los miembros supervivientes de la Liga de Cognac — solicitaron una audiencia común en la que pidieron (en nombre de sus señores) que Carlos debía devolver Milán a Sforza y aceptar un rescate por los príncipes franceses, a cambio de lo cual Francisco entregaría Génova y retiraría su ejército de Italia. El emperador rechazó de plano este ultimátum porque, (según el embajador polaco, Juan Dantisco), «guardaba en la memoria aquella frase de Cicerón "Dejarse engañar una vez es desagradable, por segunda vez es vergonzoso, y por tercera una

estupidez", de que confiara, puesto que ya había sido engañado antes». Los miembros de la Liga habían previsto esta negativa y el 22 de enero,

> Vinieron dos Reyes de Armas, de Francia e Ingalaterra, e inviaron a decir a Su Majestad le querían hacer cierto auto, el cual sabía bien Su Majestad, mas había de seis meses, porque tanto había que estaban los herautes en esta Corte. Su Majestad fue contento de los oír; y en la gran sala de Palacio con todos los Grandes y Perlados y caballeros que en esta Corte había, oyó a los dichos herautes; e ellos hicieron su habla y desafío.

El heraldo francés, acto seguido, «le declara la guerra por tierra y por mar» y, después, los embajadores de Inglaterra, Florencia, Milán y Venecia también «sumaron su "difidación" (como la llaman) a lo que se había leído».[81]

Gracias a su conocimiento de los libros medievales de caballería y de los escritos y el ejemplo de su abuelo Maximiliano, Carlos sabía exactamente qué hacer a continuación. «El emperador respondió a esto con una voz potente, de forma que todos le oyeron»:

> Que el rey de Francia, desde hace ya siete años, está haciendo la guerra sin haberla declarado y es extraño que solo ahora la declare aunque según la Ley de la Guerra no puede en absoluto hacerlo, al seguir siendo rehén del emperador y haber traicionado la confianza depositada en sus manos… Que no se liberase a los rehenes [los príncipes franceses] a la vista de las condiciones que se propusieron, fue una decisión basada en una causa y razón importante, ya que como el rey de Francia no había guardado ninguno de los juramentos anteriores, después con motivo no se le daba crédito.

«Y ahora díganme», continuó diciendo Carlos enojado, que sus señores «me obligarán a devolver a los príncipes, y yo les responderé de una forma muy distinta a la que he utilizado hasta ahora. Mi intención es quedármelos y no devolvérselos nunca bajo la amenaza de la fuerza, porque nunca ha sido mi costumbre hacer las cosas bajo coacción». A continuación, tomó aparte al heraldo francés y le encargó llevar un mensaje especial a su señor: «Que como no había guardado ni fidelidad ni los juramentos que me había prestado, se dispusiese a un duelo

conmigo por ese motivo. Y le recomendarás en mi nombre y con mis palabras que se acuerde de su honor, si es que todavía lo tiene».[82]

Aunque el protocolo diplomático exigía que Carlos permitiera a los heraldos salir indemnes, arrestó a todos los diplomáticos representantes de miembros de la Liga. Estos apenas tuvieron tiempo de recoger sus cosas antes de que se les expulsara ignominiosamente de la ciudad para ser recluidos. Iban «acompañados de 50 hombres a caballo y 100 soldados de la guardia de su Majestad, como si fueran criminales, bajo la mirada de todos los ciudadanos que se asomaron a sus puertas y ventanas». Su detención duró cuatro meses («que parecieron cuatro años»), hasta que Carlos recibió confirmación de que sus propios embajadores estaban a salvo. También castigó a los príncipes franceses a los que trasladó de un austero y solitario castillo a otro, hasta que llegaron a la fortaleza aislada de Pedraza de la Sierra (Segovia), privados de sus sirvientes franceses (más de cien de ellos fueron enviados a Barcelona a las galeras). Además, «pues somos provocado, no podemos sino bolver por nuestro honor y reputación, conservación y protección de nuestros súbditos y estados como somos obligado», también ordenó el cese de todo comercio con Inglaterra y Francia, y mandó que todos los súbditos de Enrique y Francisco abandonaran España en un plazo máximo de cuarenta días.[83]

Carlos también le recordó a su hermano que el «desafío» de sus enemigos «os afecta a vos tanto como a mí». Por tanto, esperaba que Fernando «enviara un heraldo a los reyes de Inglaterra y Francia a plantearles un desafío» y también persuadiera a «los electores y príncipes del Imperio de hacer lo mismo, pues el que nos hayan desafiado a nos, su jefe, es lo mismo que si se lo hubieran hecho a ellos, los principales

miembros del Imperio». Estas acciones, concluía Carlos con optimismo, «elevarán nuestra reputación entre nuestros amigos y sembrarán terror y sorpresa entre nuestros enemigos»[84].

Este optimismo no estaba fuera de lugar. Como Maurizio Arfaioli ha señalado, la decisión de Francisco de lanzar otra invasión sobre Italia era «solo un medio, no un fin». Hasta que sus «dos hijos volvieran a casa no podía existir una verdadera política francoitaliana» y por tanto el objetivo real de la campaña de Lautrec era «permitir que su señor retomara las negociaciones con el emperador desde una posición menos desfavorable». El rey y sus aliados por tanto intuyeron —correctamente— que Carlos era más vulnerable a la presión sobre Nápoles, que había heredado, que sobre Milán, que había adquirido recientemente. Así pues decidieron «luchar por Lombardía en Nápoles».[85] En enero de 1528, Lautrec dejó que los venecianos mantuvieran Lombardía mientras él se dirigía hacia el sur «entre veintiún mil y veintidós mil combatientes, sin contar a los que servían sin sueldo. En total, se cree que las huestes sumaban más de cincuenta mil soldados —una cifra casi increíble— y que el ejército en total se extendía por más de sesenta millas cuadradas».[86] A la vista de tal superioridad militar, los imperialistas se replegaron hasta que solo quedaron en sus manos un puñado de ciudades fortificadas en el reino de Nápoles, momento en el que Lautrec puso a la capital bajo asedio por tierra mientras las galeras de Andrea Doria patrullaban el litoral a fin de interceptar cualquier suministro o refuerzo. En abril, Hugo de Moncada, quien había llegado a virrey de Nápoles tras la muerte de Lannoy, salió con todos los barcos de los que disponía en un desesperado intento por romper el bloqueo francés, pero tanto él como 1.400 de sus hombres perecieron en «la más cruel y sangrienta batalla

marítima de nuestro tiempo».[87] En solo tres años, el emperador había conseguido perder todas las ventajas que había ganado en Pavía.

El duelo que nunca fue

De este modo, aunque monsieur de Beersel habría reprobado a su antiguo pupilo por haber fracasado de esta manera a la hora de «recoger la cosecha», es indudable que en cambio habría aplaudido la decisión de Carlos de recuperar lo perdido mediante un solo duelo. En marzo de 1528, el emperador repitió por tercera vez su desafío personal a Francisco, por medio de una carta al embajador francés (todavía detenido, pero libre de tener comunicación con el mundo exterior): «El rey de Francia vuestro amo avía hecho vil y malamente de no me aver guardado la fe que yo tengo del, según la capitulación de Madrid, e que si él quería decir en contrario, yo le manterné en mi persona a la suya».[88] Esta vez Francisco no podía ignorar el desafío, y él mismo redactó un ofensivo «cartel» de desafío: «Si vos nos avéis querido o queréis cargar», advertía a Carlos, con que «ayamos fecho cosa que un gentilhombre guardando su honra no deba de hacer, nos decimos que vos avéis mentido por la gola, y que tantas veces que lo diréis mentiréis, siendo deliberado de defender nostra honra fasta el postrer cavo de nostra vida. Por onde —proseguía Francisco— de aquí adelante no nos escriváis alguna cosa, antes nos assiguraréis el campo, e nos llevaremos las armas». Hasta entonces, las frases de oprobio debían cesar. «Confío —concluía el la carta retadora— que el emperador responderá como un caballero en lugar de como un hombre de leyes en un campo de duelo en lugar de en un papel».[89]

Carlos no tenía intención de renunciar al papel como arma —por el contrario, publicó la correspondencia íntegra con Francisco—, especialmente porque por primera vez se sentía

querido por sus súbditos españoles. Gattinara señaló que «El desafío del duelo, tan temerariamente planteado, actuó de gran incentivo para que aragoneses, valencianos y catalanes ayudaran al césar y también obtuvieran su venganza» sobre los franceses; mientras, Salinas informó de que la inicial «respuesta de Su Magestad» a los heraldos «por su propia boca fue en tanto contentamiento de cuantos allí fueron presentes, que a todos pareció tan bien como ella es». De hecho, «todas las gentes son tan alegres deste desafío que parece que cada uno lo toma por sí mismo».[90] El emperador capitalizó estos sentimientos para persuadir a las Cortes de Castilla, en una reunión en Valladolid, de que votaran a favor de nuevos y sustanciales impuestos para organizar un contraataque en Italia, así como para jurar lealtad a Felipe como príncipe de Asturias; y entonces fue cuando realizó la visita ceremonial a Valencia que había evitado nueve años atrás, dejando (por primera vez) a «la Emperatriz en la gobernación de todos los reinos de Castilla». Cuando regresó, se reunió con las Cortes de Aragón en Monzón y les convenció también de que aprobaran nuevos impuestos.[91]

Antes de responder al cartel de Francisco, Carlos dio el inusual paso de consultar con sus súbditos más destacados en materia de protocolo: con los de Aragón en persona, dado que estaban todos en Monzón; y con los de Castilla por carta (dejando de este modo un valioso testimonio en papel). El Consejo de Castilla indicaba que «segund ley divina e razon natural son prohibidas e dañados semejantes desafios» y que el emperador, como máximo gobernante de la cristiandad, debía dar buen ejemplo; asimismo predecía que «por efettuarse el dicho desafío no se acabarían las guerras e disensiones e males, antes creemos se encenderian más». La emperatriz, que acababa de dar a luz a su primera hija, María, en ausencia de Carlos, también trató de disuadirle porque «tiene siempre temor que Vuestra Magestad lo a de poner adelante» y dejarla viuda.[92] Los

nobles, prelados y magistrados de las ciudades de Castilla, unánimemente, le desanimaron de aceptar el desafío de Francisco. Cada uno agradeció a Carlos «la merced que me hace… en pedirme parecer para lo que en adelante será servido de hacer», algunos expresaron su preocupación por el hecho de que pusiera en riesgo su vida habiendo solo un infante para sucederle, en tanto que otro invocó el vigente código de caballería. En palabras del duque del Infantado, «Esta ley de honnra se estiende a los príncipes por grandes que son, y a los caballeros que somos, de una misma maña, y no difiere en la calidad a uno más que a otro», y eso implicaba que, como perjuro, Francisco en todo caso no tenía derecho a plantear ningún desafío. El emperador debía por tanto ignorarlo.[93]

El rápido deterioro de la posición imperial en Italia llevó a Carlos a rechazar este consejo y aceptar en su lugar el reto de Francisco. Así, propuso que el duelo debía tener lugar en una zona segura «junto al río [Bidasoa] que separa Fuentarrabía y Hendaya», dejando a Francisco elegir «cómo y dónde lucharían». También añadía que a menos que Francisco aceptara en un plazo de cuarenta días, el retraso «os será imputado a vos y se añadirá a vuestra deshonra por no haber cumplido lo que prometisteis en Madrid». El 24 de junio confió este provocador mensaje a su heraldo, apropiadamente llamado «Borgoña», junto con instrucciones detalladas sobre cómo entregárselo a su rival. Poco después, hizo llamar al célebre armero de Augsburgo, Kolman Helmschmid, para que viniera a España provisto de los necesarios «artesanos y herreros en caso de que tenga que luchar»[94] *(véase lámina 14)*.

Las mismas razones que hacían a Carlos partidario del combate único eran sin embargo las que llevaban a su rival a rechazarlo. Francisco se negó a emitir el salvoconduc to que permitiría a Borgoña cumplir el desafío debido a que sus tropas parecían a punto de hacerse con el dominio de toda Italia,

obviando la necesidad de arriesgarlo todo en un duelo. En una carta a su más cercano asesor, fechada el 28 de julio de 1528, alardeaba de que «me siento tan bien que difícilmente podría sentirme mejor», y a continuación comentaba (con una despreocupación digna de Carlos) que «desde que os fuísteis he ido de caza dos o tres veces y todos los días me doy un paseo por mis jardines y por las obras de construcción» en su nuevo palacio de Fontainebleau, para luego pasar a regodearse de la situación militar en Italia. Acababa de enterarse de que sus tropas habían obligado a los imperialistas de Lombardía a emprender la retirada, «una noticia excelente de que las cosas no podrían ir mejor», porque esto

> Despojaba a las fuerzas enemigas actualmente en Nápoles de toda esperanza de recibir ayuda. Esto facilitará mucho a M. de Lautrec la ejecución del resto de su misión, y por tanto espero recibir en pocos días más noticias buenas de allí… Toda mi vida he oído que la fuerza se impondrá a la lógica, y a vos dejo adivinar la sorpresa que se llevarán mis enemigos al ver cómo día a día sus fuerzas se debilitan y las mías se refuerzan y aumentan en beneficio de mi causa.[95]

Pero «las buenas noticias de allí» nunca llegaron. Mientras Francisco firmaba su triunfante mensaje en Fontainebleau, a mil quinientos kilómetros, en Nápoles, Andrea Doria se pasaba al bando del emperador, rompiendo así el bloqueo naval; la disentería y la malaria diezmaban al ejército sitiador y Lautrec yacía en su lecho de muerte. Dios detesta a los presuntuosos.

8. Adalid del mundo occidental, 1528-1531

La suerte del César

El 1 de junio de 1528, confiando en que su asedio a Nápoles estaba a punto de dar sus frutos, Odet de Foix, lord de Lautrec, aseguraba a un aliado italiano que los imperialistas «no habían conseguido sus victorias gracias a su valor», sino a la buena suerte. Pero, en aquel momento, comentaba complacido, «la Fortuna se ha vuelto contra ellos y los cielos quieren castigarles».[1] Se equivocaba: su colega Andrea Doria, al mando de la armada, acababa de decidir abandonar a Francia. Al enterarse de los rumores de que el almirante podía desertar, Carlos declaró que, dado que «esto es justo lo que yo quería de cara a frustrar los esfuerzos de mis enemigos», haría «todo lo posible para convencer al susodicho Andrea Doria de que entre a mi servicio, me cueste lo que me cueste»; una postura extrema que rara vez solía adoptar. Así pues, en julio nombró a Doria su capitán general del Mar; le concedió plena amnistía por sus actuaciones pasadas y prometió dotarle de la munición, hombres y dinero necesarios para mantener doce galeras al servicio del Imperio, además de reconocer a Doria su «magistrado perpetuo» sobre Génova y sus antiguos territorios tan pronto como este los reintegrara a la órbita imperial.[2]

La retirada de Doria de la bahía de Nápoles permitió a los imperialistas enviar suministros y refuerzos a la ciudad justo en el momento en que la enfermedad estaba acabando con las vidas de muchos sitiadores, incluido Lautrec. El 27 de agosto, las fuerzas francesas supervivientes se retiraron a la ciudad de Aversa, veinte kilómetros hacia el interior, pero, al encontrarla indefendible, no solo se rindieron, sino que prometieron que «todas las ciudades, tierras, castillos, plazas y fortalezas» en manos francesas se rendirían también de forma que todo «quedara como estaba antes de que mi señor Lautrec llevara a

cabo la invasión».[3] Entretanto, Doria puso sus galeras rumbo al norte, hacia Génova, donde entró triunfante el 12 de septiembre de 1528. El impacto de esta doble derrota superó incluso al de Pavía porque, como Maurizio Arfaioli ha señalado, «En menos de dos semanas, Francia perdía primero Nápoles y su reino, y luego Génova, "la puerta y llave de Italia", para siempre».[4]

¿Qué fue lo que hizo que Doria cambiara de bando, alterando de esta forma el equilibrio de poder en Italia a favor de Carlos? El propio emperador afirmó que el motivo fue «el mal tratamiento que le había sido hecho» por el rey francés; pero la versión que dio el propio Doria era muy distinta. Un día, «en la cámara» imperial, cuando un cortesano le preguntó indiscretamente por qué había cambiado repentinamente sus lealtades, el almirante «respondió que tres noches arreo, casi a la mañana, le apareçió en sueños un onbre que le dijo "Ve a servir al emperador", e que esta era la causa; de que todos se quedaron maravillados».[5] Aunque el testimonio procediera de un testigo presencial, podría haberse tratado sin duda de una figura retórica, pero encaja perfectamente con la creencia contemporánea en la *Fortuna Caesaris*: la idea, común desde la Antigüedad, de que un verdadero emperador poseía las virtudes de la clemencia, paciencia, genialidad, victoria y fortuna.

La idea de que la caprichosa fortuna (o el infortunio) regía todas las vidas humanas estaba muy extendida en la Europa del Renacimiento, formando parte de un pesimismo general, pero adquirió especial intensidad en el siglo XVI. El propio Carlos a menudo hacía hincapié en su deuda con la fortuna. En 1525, por ejemplo, nada más enterarse de la victoria de Pavía, informó a su hermano de que «mi intención es perseverar en mi buena *fortuna*» hasta que Francia aceptara sus condiciones de paz, y muchos de sus contemporáneos compartían esta visión. El nacimiento del príncipe Felipe en 1527 hizo que el embajador veneciano Navagero relatara:

> A lo largo de su vida, desde el comienzo hasta ahora, podemos decir que Charles siempre ha tenido mucha suerte y que sus empresas siempre han prosperado, y ahora en esto también parece que la fortuna le ha favorecido lo máximo posible, porque lo único que le faltaba para traer estabilidad a sus asuntos y hacer que lo adoraran por todos sus reinos, ahora también se le ha concedido.

Treinta años después, cuando otro embajador veneciano relataba los éxitos y fracasos del reinado de Carlos aseguraba que «Todos coinciden en que la inmensa nave del estado, reinos e imperio de Su Majestad ha sido guiada por la buena fortuna [*favorevole Fortuna*]».[6]

Naturalmente, los ministros de Carlos estuvieron de acuerdo. Después de la recuperación de Génova en 1528, el severo y pragmático don Antonio de Leyva le aseguró a Carlos: «Yo espero en Dios y en su buena fortuna que tenga señor de todo, y todo el mundo lo tenga por Dios». El funcionario de Panamá que, en 1533, transmitió noticias de la conquista del Perú por los súbditos de Carlos opinó que «Se tiene por cierto que en la grand ventura de Vuestra Magestad es Dios servido que estas maravillas se vean y descubran en su tiempo». Veinte años más tarde, en un punto bajo en la fortuna del emperador, su asesor principal señaló que «a menudo he notado que en situaciones desesperadas, justo cuando menos se espera, ocurre algo que rescata a Su Majestad».[7]

A la inversa, la «infortuna» de Francisco en Pavía fue interpretada por la mayoría de sus contemporáneos (incluido el propio Francisco) como el juicio directo de Dios. En 1528, mientras Nápoles se le escapaba de las manos, un testigo presencial afirmó que Lautrec «moría de desesperación, diciendo que ya no deseaba creer en Dios, dado que este había permitido que la causa de los españoles prosperara»; y muchos vieron el triunfo de la causa imperialista, justo en el momento en el que parecía irreversiblemente perdida, como la prueba irrefutable de que la *fortuna* estaba de parte de Carlos. Cuando un diplomático preguntó al papa Clemente por qué al final se había

puesto de parte del emperador, el pontífice respondió que «por experiencia de lo del mundo, que siempre avía visto con el buen govierno y buena *fortuna* de Vuestra Magestad floreçer sus cosas».[8] Tres años más tarde, el nuncio Girolamo Aleandro especulaba acerca de que los éxitos de Carlos «deben de provenir de la divina providencia, porque hemos visto que, pese a todo tipo de dificultades, Dios siempre le procura un resultado feliz». En 1551, el sobrino de Carlos, Maximiliano, opinaba que «el origen de cada uno de los éxitos del emperador estaba más en la buena fortuna que en su gran valor o consejo»; y al año siguiente, cuando Carlos tomó la temeraria decisión de tender asedio a Metz pese a la cercanía del invierno, el nuncio papal que viajaba con él predijo que «si consigue algo con su ejército este año, será gracias a su habitual *buena fortuna*».[9]

La pacificación de Italia

En 1528, no obstante, algunos ministros imperiales continuaban mostrándose pesimistas. Al enterarse de las buenas noticias, tanto de Nápoles como de Génova, «que superaban todas las expectativas», el gran canciller Gattinara advirtió a Carlos de que «no dejara escapar los frutos de estas victorias como había hecho con otras anteriores»; en tanto que un embajador español se hacía eco de estas palabras diciendo «[menester es ahora] seguir la victoria y no perder la occasión de ella como en las pasadas», añadiendo, sin andarse con rodeo alguno, que «para la grandeza de Vuestra Magestad y para el reposo de la Cristiandad conuiene quitar esta poncoña de Venecianos en la Cristiandad, que son los que ponen toda la dissención en ella, y los que irritan siempre al Turco con los Cristianos».[10] Carlos aceptó estas críticas, y empezó por hacer las paces con Clemente.

El Papa se dejó seducir por esta ofensiva de encanto imperial, porque ansiaba la restitución no solo del gobierno de Florencia a los Médici, sino también la de los territorios pontificios ocupados por Ferrara y Venecia. Amenazó a la República con terribles consecuencias si no devolvía todas sus conquistas —«Pueden estar seguros de que, una de dos: o me destruyen por completo o seré yo el que les destruya»—, pero solo podía salir vencedor si conseguía el apoyo imperial. En abril de 1529, realizó una concesión crucial. Dándose cuenta de hasta qué punto «Su Santidad siente lo del concilio, que dizen los de Alemaña que se ha de hazer por fuerça para remediar lo de allá, visto que es materia peligrosa para hazerla tragar al papa», los embajadores imperiales sugirieron en una audiencia que tal vez fuera posible «remediar los tumultos y locuras de los Lutheranos sin escándolo», convocando un «coloquio» en lugar de un «concilio».

> A esto se alçó el papa de la silla y dijo: «¡A la fe, que dezis verdad y habláis cuerdamente, y no sería inconveniente que en tal caso se les concediesen algunas cosas de las que son menos scandalosos!» y de entonces acá le hallamos un poco más abierto y más alegre.

Carlos, por su parte, escribió una servil carta a Clemente diciendo que «si estáis descontento conmigo, yo estoy dispuesto a pediros perdón, para que podamos hacer lo que tengamos que hacer», en contestación a lo cual Clemente mandó un enviado a España con plenos poderes para firmar la paz, declarando «que se quería determiner a hazerse imperial y vivir y morir en esto, y que si el imperio ruynaría, quería ruynar la yglesia».[11]

Carlos se comprometió a garantizar que Venecia y Ferrara devolvían todas sus conquistas a los Estados Pontificios y hacer que la República florentina aceptara al sobrino del Papa (algunos decían que su hijo), Alejandro de Médici, como su duque; prometer la mano de su hija ilegítima Margarita, entonces de siete años de edad, a Alejandro; y confirmar el

control papal sobre Parma y Piacenza. Clemente, por su parte, emitió un breve «perdonando a los que se hallaron y consintieron en el saco de Roma»; prometió transferir la demanda ante Roma por parte de Enrique VIII de divorciarse de Catalina, tía de Carlos; acordó reinvestir a Carlos con el reinado de Nápoles (así como el derecho a nombrar a veinticuatro altos cargos eclesiásticos clérigos allí), y coronarle emperador. También les concedió a Carlos y a Fernando una cuarta parte de todos los ingresos procedentes de los trabajos eclesiásticos en sus dominios (para subvencionar su lucha contra los turcos) y prometió formar una liga con ellos para erradicar el luteranismo. Solo el destino de Milán quedó en el limbo: Carlos acordó rehabilitar al duque Francesco Sforza siempre que este pidiera perdón por su traición al unirse a la Liga de Cognac, o, si no, con el asesoramiento del Papa, dividiría el ducado entre sus vecinos. El emperador ratificó el tratado el 29 de junio de 1529 en Barcelona.[12]

La presencia del emperador en Barcelona no era casualidad. Tres años antes había planeado reunir allí una flota que le llevara a Italia en cuanto dejara embarazada a su nueva esposa, la cual actuaría de regente; pero la reanudación de la guerra le obligó a quedarse en España. Al tener noticia de la ayuda de Nápoles, anunció su intención de «dirigirse a un lugar donde pueda ganar y aumentar mi honor y reputación»; y continuó, «algunos me dicen que actualmente no hay modo mejor ni más rápido de conseguir esto que yendo a Italia». Prometió a su hermano que «viajaría a Italia en persona» antes de finales de 1528, y que allí reuniría una armada con la que «pacificaría Italia de un extremo al otro» y luego reconquistaría Borgoña antes de regresar a Alemania.[13]

Las dificultades para reunir las tropas y fondos necesarios, y el obstruccionismo por parte de sus ministros españoles, impidieron que el emperador pudiera marcharse de Castilla

hasta principios de 1529, momento en el que un observador extranjero se hizo eco de un notable cambio en el sentimiento popular: aunque el Consejo seguía oponiéndose a la partida de Carlos, «toda España está ahora en armonía con la voluntad del rey, y todos gritan "¡César, César pasa! ¡Pasa rey del mundo!"».[14] En marzo Carlos reveló su decisión de partir firmando una serie de documentos importantes: un nuevo testamento, una declaración por la que nombraba al príncipe Felipe su heredero en caso de que él muriera y unas Instrucciones para que la emperatriz actuara como regente en España durante su ausencia, en las que detallaba lo que ella podía y no podía hacer sin su permiso expreso. Más avanzado aquel mismo día, Carlos se despidió de su esposa, que estaba de nuevo embarazada. No volvería a verla hasta cuatro años después.[15]

Como era habitual, el avance del emperador fue lento. Pasó la Semana Santa en un convento donde «se tomó el pertinente descanso de las tareas oficiales», pero tras su llegada a Barcelona el 30 de abril, los herederos de varias familias nobles españolas se unieron a él para acompañarle hasta Italia.[16] Solo su lugar de destino seguía siendo incierto. Carlos recibió persuasivas cartas de Antonio de Leyva instándole a desembarcar en Génova, y del príncipe de Orange insistiendo en que debía llegar primero a Nápoles; y durante un tiempo pareció incapaz de elegir entre ambos «considerando que muchas vezes el tiempo muda los negocios y haze mudar los consejos, nos parece de tener suspensa esta resolución del desembarcar a donde havrá de ser hasta el tiempo que nos querremos embarcar».[17] Hasta mediados de mayo no revelaría su estrategia global.

Una vez más, Carlos aseguró a su hermano su intención de volver a Alemania lo antes posible «a fin de arreglar los asuntos del Imperio, frustrar las intenciones de los turcos y erradicar las herejías y los errores que van aumentando de día en día», pero para todo ello la pacificación de Italia constituía condición

previa y esencial. Con este fin, Carlos informó a sus principales ministros en Italia tanto de sus óptimas expectativas como de las concesiones que estaba dispuesto a hacer, en caso necesario, para conseguir un acuerdo. En el caso de Milán, «que es lo que más importa», el emperador prefería la partición del ducado, y que cada vecino le comprara a él una parcela como monarca protector suyo; pero si el Papa insistía en la restitución de Francesco Sforza, entonces, «reservando nuestro honor», él se avendría a cambio de una cuantiosa multa. Ferrara y Venecia debían restituir todos los lugares que habían ocupado en Nápoles y Lombardía, así como los Estados Pontificios, y pagaría también una considerable indemnización, pero «sin que para cosa que subçeda se dexe de concluyr este concierto»: sus agentes podían por tanto reducir el tamaño de la indemnización a fin de conseguir una paz que permitiría al emperador viajar directamente a Alemania. Carlos también había declarado que reconocería la República florentina, siempre que le permitiera mantener una guarnición en la ciudad y le pagara una indemnización, aunque una vez más autorizó a sus ministros a desistir de esto último «viendo que no se puede venir a concierto con ellos de otra manera». El emperador reconocía que este resultado podía enfurecer al Papa (que todavía no conocía las condiciones del Tratado de Barcelona); pero dado que sabía que muchas cosas podían cambiar antes de que sus instrucciones llegaran a sus destinos, en este punto también delegaba plenamente en el criterio de sus representantes. «No querríamos que una tan buena obra como esta se ynterronpiese y dexase de yfectuar en ninguna manera, ni menos se prolongue y dilatte el efecto della andando y viniendo en comunicaciones», les dijo, y por tanto:

> Os avemos querrido aquí declarar enteramente nuestra voluntad para que conforme a ella sin más consulta podáys concluyr como mejor os parecera, prometiendo[o]s que rattifcaremos lo que vos asy tratardes y asentardes aunque sea fuera de la otra ynstrucion y contra el expreso thenor della.[18]

En junio, Leyva derrotó de forma aplastante a otro ejército francés en Italia, causando graves pérdidas y capturando a sus comandantes. Además de las dolorosas pérdidas de Pavía y Nápoles, Francia carecía ahora de generales, tropas y fondos para continuar la lucha, mientras que los barcos, hombres, suministros y dinero para pagarlos entraban en Barcelona, lo que llevó a Gattinara a componer una rapsodia de tono providencialista:

> El hecho de que todo ocurriera al mismo tiempo, y de manera entrelazada, desde tantas partes distintas del mundo, todo ello dirigido hacia el mismo fin, más allá de toda esperanza humana, y, según se decía, conforme a la voluntad divina, produjo gran admiración en los corazones de los hombres. Parecía casi como si los asuntos del César hubieran sido milagrosamente dirigidos por Dios mismo. Todos los que habían sido nombrados para realizar el viaje con el César se reunieron. Uno por uno fueron entrando en los barcos y galeras que se les habían asignado con sus caballos, armas y todas sus provisiones.[19]

Por fin, el 27 de julio de 1529 Carlos subió a bordo de la galera real comandada por Andrea Doria y ese mismo día partió hacia Italia.

Algunos diplomáticos italianos habían pasado meses llenando sus despachos con especulaciones sobre adónde o cuándo llegaría el emperador, si es que llegaba, por lo que su llegada a Génova «dejó atónita a mucha gente, hasta el punto de que casi no podían creerlo». No obstante, pronto se extendió la noticia de que la flota imperial estaba formada por 100 barcos y llevaba a bordo 12.000 soldados de infantería y 2.000 de a caballo, además de un séquito «que entre los sirvientes y diversos funcionarios que siempre se desplazaban con la Corte debían de sumar 5.000», todos magníficamente vestidos, y «entre los expertos se decía que su Majestad ha traído con él dos millones de ducados en oro». Embajadores, príncipes y cardenales no dejaban de acudir en rebaño a la ciudad a presentar sus respetos y (en varios casos) a pedir perdón por haber elegido el bando equivocado en la guerra, pero la guerra en sí continuaba.[20]

Humillar a Francia

Tras tener noticia de las victorias conseguidas por sus generales en Italia, en octubre de 1528 Carlos escribió a «varios reyes y príncipes» para difundir lo más posible la negativa de Francisco a aceptar su desafío a un solo combate y anunciar su decisión de revocar su oferta de dirimir sus diferencias mediante un duelo, «dado que yo he mantenido como es debido mi honor». En lugar de ello, ordenó a sus generales «tener las cosas de la guerra tan a puncto y bien apparejado que nuestros enemigos tengan más gana de consentir en los medios razonables por haver paz que no lo han hecho hasta agora».[21] La archiduquesa Margarita hizo lo mismo: en junio de 1528 sus representantes firmaron una tregua de ocho meses con Inglaterra y Francia, lo que le permitió volverse contra el duque Carlos de Güeldres hasta que, por el Tratado de Gorcum firmado en octubre, esta le obligó a reconocer la soberanía del emperador sobre Utrecht y Overijssel (dos territorios que él había abrigado la esperanza de poder añadir a su propio Estado) y acceder a que si él moría sin descendencia legítima el emperador le sucedería. El duque juró también «dejar completamente de lado al rey de Francia y unirse al emperador, y servirle contra todos sin excepción»; un rotundo triunfo de Margarita que tanto su padre como su hermano no llegaron a conseguir.[22] Junto con la derrota de sus ejércitos en Italia, este hecho dejaba a Francisco aislado, por lo que indicó a Margarita su disposición a firmar una «paz universal». Esta le preguntó a su sobrino qué condiciones serían aceptables para él.

«El rey de Francia —replicó Carlos con arrogancia— sabe muy bien lo que tiene que hacer para conseguir la paz y para satisfacer mi honor como debería»: debía cumplir todos los términos del Tratado de Madrid salvo el de la rendición de Borgoña, que el emperador había accedido a dejar en manos francesas a cambio de una sustanciosa indemnización en

metálico. De conformidad con ello, en abril de 1529 autorizó a Margarita a hacer «todo lo que nosotros mismos haríamos y mandaríamos hacer si estuviéramos presentes en persona», y prometió «ratificar, respetar, promover y cumplir inviolablemente» cualquier condición de paz que ella pudiera firmar.[23] Esta se reunió con Luisa de Saboya en Cambrai y tras un mes en el que ambas anduvieron negociando a puerta cerrada, sin la presencia de ningún ministro, la «Paz de las Damas» *(Paix des dames)* obligaba a Francisco a renunciar a todas sus conquistas, sus reclamaciones y sus aliados, tanto en Italia como en los Países Bajos, y a retirar a todas sus tropas de ambos lugares. Por otra parte, este prometía respetar los derechos de los herederos borbones; casarse con la hermana de Carlos, Leonor; y pagar más de un millón de escudos en metálico como rescate por sus dos hijos, todavía retenidos en España como fianza para el cumplimiento del Tratado de Madrid. También acordaba pagar las deudas del emperador con Enrique VIII, someter a arbitrio algunas de las reclamaciones de Carlos que este seguía manteniendo respecto a Borgoña, convencer a los venecianos para que entregaran al emperador todas sus ganancias en el reino de Nápoles (y, en caso de que estos declinaran, ayudar al emperador a conseguirlas por la fuerza) y obligar a los florentinos a alcanzar un acuerdo. Entretanto, los representantes de Margarita también formalizaron las condiciones de paz con Inglaterra. Ambos tratados fueron oficialmente anunciados en Cambrai el 5 de agosto de 1529.[24]

Los términos fueron muy del agrado de Carlos, que comentó complacido a su mujer «helos visto y están tan cunplidos como yo los avía pedido y aún en algunas cosas más, de que estoy bien satisfecho; y según por ellas auréys señora visto, parece que se han acabado como a mi honra y al bien y paz de la cristiandad cunple». Louis de Praet, que había sido humillado por Francisco

con ocasión del Tratado de Madrid, se sentía menos confiado: «las condiciones de paz son tan ventajosas —reflexionaba— que algunos temen que su propósito haya sido el de engañarnos».[25] ¡Qué bien le conocía Praet! En efecto, Francisco recurrió a la misma táctica que en la ocasión anterior, dejando constancia de una «Protesta» solemne por el hecho de que Carlos hubiera utilizado la custodia de los príncipes como chantaje para obtener las concesiones de Italia, especialmente la entrega de Milán y de Génova, «que, como todo el mundo sabe, nos pertenecen a nosotros», y que por tanto no estaba obligado a cumplir; pero esta vez, al carecer de aliados, el rey retiró de mala gana sus fuerzas del otro lado de los Alpes, entregó sus conquistas de los Países Bajos y comenzó a reunir la enorme suma de dinero necesaria para pagar el rescate de sus hijos.[26]

El emperador, por su parte, continuó tratando mal a los príncipes. Después de descubrir un plan para liberarlos de la fortaleza de Pedraza de la Sierra, Carlos aumentó su aislamiento, instruyendo a sus guardianes para que «En lo del salir al campo, pues teniendo tan buen aposento dentro de la fortaleza, se deve escusar. Asymismo no devéys dexar entrar a verlos y hablarlos a ninguno de los que van para ello». Prohibió cualquier contacto con quien pudiera hablar a los niños —de tan solo 11 y 10 años de edad— en su lengua materna. Este comportamiento mezquino provocó una reprimenda de Margarita de Austria (que había negociado la paz de Cambrai con la abuela de los príncipes): «Tales mancebos príncipes sin culpa no han de pagar la pena de las enemistades de sus padres y es bien hecho tener respeto porque es la honra del Emperador». A regañadientes, Carlos proporcionó 1.000 ducados «para que fagan algún buen vestido a los dichos príncipes, para que los que fueren no los hallen mal adereçados», pero insistió en que esto debía hacerse «sin que parezca que se haze por este respecto».[27] Tras recibir la confirmación de que Francisco había cumplido todas las demás

promesas, en junio de 1530, funcionarios españoles de la frontera examinaron y pesaron las monedas de oro que traían sus homólogos franceses una a una, y previo cobro de 22.797 escudos adicionales para compensar «la falta de quilates» de algunas monedas, los dos jóvenes príncipes franceses acompañaron a la reina Leonor al otro lado de la frontera.[28] De este modo terminaron cuatro años de malestar y humillación que el más joven de los chicos, coronado más adelante como el rey Enrique II, nunca olvidaría ni perdonaría.

Carlos excluyó deliberadamente a los aliados italianos de Francisco de la paz de Cambrai, obligándoles a negociar sus demandas individualmente. Al mismo tiempo que el príncipe de Orange partía de Nápoles hacia Florencia a la cabeza de un gran ejército, el emperador partía de Génova hacia Milán a la cabeza de otro, confiando en que su abrumadora superioridad militar «hará prevalecer mi reputación en todas las cosas, y servirá para que los que siguen levantados en armas» —esto es, Ferrara, Florencia, Sforza y Venecia— se avengan rápidamente a firmar la paz. En caso contrario, amenazaba, «utilizaré la fuerza que me parezca más apropiada y necesaria». Apenas se había secado la tinta de esta carta, cuando llegó un mensajero urgente de parte de Fernando con la alarmante noticia de que un inmenso ejército turco, encabezado por el sultán Solimán en persona, avanzaba hacia Viena, y que algunos príncipes luteranos estaban reclutando tropas para efectuar «deseruiçios a Su Magestad». Fernando resaltaba que «a Su Magestad va en ello lo que a my», por lo que debía cruzar los Alpes de inmediato.[29]

¿Italia o Alemania?

La crisis no era inesperada. En octubre de 1520, el mismo mes en que Carlos se convirtió en rey de Romanos, el príncipe Solimán sucedió a su padre como sultán otomano. Esta coincidencia llevó a algunos observadores a ver a los dos

soberanos como dos «gemelos» cuyos destinos estaban inextricablemente unidos: Erasmo, por ejemplo, consideraba que ambos competían «en la pugna por el mayor de los premios: ver si era Carlos o el Turco el que se convertía en monarca del orbe entero. Porque el mundo ya no puede soportar tener dos soles en cielo».[30] El nuevo sultán hizo una exhibición de fuerza casi inmediatamente después, conduciendo un enorme ejército hasta el Danubio para aprovechar las divisiones políticas causadas por Martín Lutero: en 1521 tomó Belgrado, llevando la frontera de su imperio hasta el límite de Hungría. Al año siguiente, Solimán tendió asedio a Rodas, un puesto de avanzada cristiano en el Mediterráneo oriental. Carlos respondió anunciando que iba a organizar un contraataque masivo, «porque eso es lo que he querido hacer desde niño, y también para cumplir las responsabilidades de mi título imperial como principal protector y defensor de nuestra fe cristiana». Así pues,

> Pese a los inmensos costes y distracciones que actualmente pesan sobre mí, por culpa de la guerra contra los franceses, he resuelto reunir una flota lo antes posible para liberar Rodas. Mientras tanto, escribiré y ordenaré a mis virreyes en Nápoles y Sicilia que reúnan los suministros, tropas y todas las cosas que sean necesarias para lo de Rodas.

Asimismo se declaró dispuesto a «no escatimar en nada para preservar, defender y liberar Rodas de estos infieles y tiránicos enemigos, dedicando a ello todos nuestros reinos y dominios, y nuestra persona en caso necesario», e instaba a sus monarcas homólogos a hacer las paces y unirse a él.[31] Estos alardes, realizados en agosto, en Palencia, a más de 3.000 kilómetros de distancia, llegaron demasiado tarde: la isla cayó en diciembre de 1522.

La situación en 1529 era distinta. Cuando los turcos sitiaron Viena, Carlos se encontraba en Piacenza, a menos de 1.000 kilómetros, a la cabeza de un poderoso ejército. Su dilema queda reflejado en dos cartas contradictorias firmadas el 23 de septiembre. En una de ellas le aseguraba a su tía Margarita que

> Estoy plenamente determinado y resuelto a acudir en persona en ayuda del rey [Fernando] mi hermano, porque su necesidad es tan grande y el peligro tan extremo que no representa solo una amenaza para él, sino que pone en riesgo a toda la Cristiandad. Yo no puedo ni debo abandonarle, por el cargo que ostento y las obligaciones de una amistad fraternal; y por lo buen hermano que es para mí.

La carta de Carlos a su «buen hermano» fue muy distinta. Aunque reconocía que la caída de Viena tendría consecuencias catastróficas para la cristiandad en general y para el patrimonio Habsburgo en particular, temía que, «sin la previa pacificación de Italia, podría ocurrir que tan pronto como partiera para ir a socorrerte, los venecianos, florentinos, Ferrara y Francesco Sforza se aliaran, aunaran todos sus recursos e invitaran a los franceses a apoyarles». Además, el Tratado de Barcelona le obligaba a forzar a Venecia, Florencia y Ferrara a devolver todos los territorios arrebatados al Papa y a sus parientes antes de hacer cualquier otra cosa.[32] Carlos consideraba la pérdida de Austria como el «mal menor» comparado con poner en riesgo todas sus ganancias en Italia por culpa de una partida prematura, y por tanto ordenó a sus generales sitiar Florencia hasta que esta se aviniera a restaurar el gobierno Médici y atacar a Sforza para que «con armas» haga «lo que el duque no ha querido por ruegos y medios», mientras que el resto de sus tropas «haga en tierras de Venecianos todo el daño que pudieren… para que los Venecianos vengan hablar como es razón». La única concesión que Carlos hizo a su hermano fue abandonar el plan de ir a Roma: en lugar de ello pidió al Papa que se reuniera con él en Bolonia, añadiendo la velada amenaza de que, dado que «es necesario llevar conmigo el exército» para sitiar Florencia, «conviene la breve determinación de Su Santidad en este negocio».[33]

El valor y la habilidad de los defensores de Viena resolvieron el dilema de Carlos. Estos utilizaron sus arcabuces para combatir los ataques otomanos, al igual que habían hecho los franceses en Pavía cuatro años antes, y en octubre los sitiadores

emprendieron la retirada. Nada más recibir esta buena noticia, un representante personal de Francisco trajo una ratificación solemne del Tratado de Cambrai. En ese momento, explicó el emperador a Margarita, aunque su meta final seguía siendo «la paz y el reposo de la Cristiandad, la expulsión de los turcos y la erradicación de las herejías actuales», ahora podía ya «dedicar todo su tiempo» a «la pacificación de Italia».[34]

El emperador entró en Bolonia el 5 de noviembre de 1529, precedido de su tren de artillería y miles de soldados, algunos «en formación de falange como los soldados de Alejandro Magno», otros «desfilando de dos en dos, con frondosas ramas en las manos como símbolo de victoria». Carlos iba bajo palio, montado sobre un caballo blanco y con la armadura completa, hasta que al llegar a la puerta de la ciudad sustituyó el casco por una *beretta*, que «se quitaba cada vez que veía a una bella mujer en un balcón». Dos oficiales iban delante de él esparciendo monedas entre la multitud y «gritando a voz en cuello "Carlos el emperador"»; y cuando llegó a la plaza mayor «la muchedumbre empezó de repente a gritar "¡Carlo, Carlo, Imperio, Imperio, Vittoria, Vittoria!"». Hasta ese momento, la ceremonia recordaba a los «triunfos» escenificados para los emperadores romanos, pero entonces Carlos se bajó de la montura y se arrodilló ante el papa Clemente. Aunque Gasparo Contarini, por entonces el embajador veneciano ante el Papa, no pudo oír «las palabras que pronunció el emperador, porque normalmente habla en tono muy bajo», no le pasó desapercibido el simbolismo de que «Carlos permaneció de rodillas mientras hablaba» y de que los dos líderes de la cristiandad ocuparan cámaras contiguas en el mismo palacio, «de modo que como el Papa me ha mostrado esta mañana, con solo abrir una puerta se pasa de la cámara del emperador a la del Papa» sin que nadie lo vea.[35]

El Papa también le reveló a Contarini no solo cuándo se habían reunido los dos gobernantes, sino también cómo trataban sus asuntos: «cuando [Carlos] vino a negociar, trajo consigo un memorándum ológrafo de todos los puntos que tenía que tratar para que no se le olvidara ninguno». El azar ha querido que uno de esos «memorándums ológrafos» haya sobrevivido: una lista de diecinueve puntos, algunos anotados por Carlos, entre los que se incluían desde el inminente divorcio de Catalina de Aragón, pasando por el perdón por el saqueo de Roma, hasta propuestas concretas para obtener beneficios de la Iglesia en España y ampliar la jurisdicción real sobre ella misma *(véase lámina 15)*.[36] Los temas tratados en otras reuniones secretas también pueden suponerse a partir de los resultados —como el «Indulto» de Clemente por el que concedía a Carlos el derecho a nombrar a los candidatos a todos los cargos eclesiásticos en los Países Bajos—, aunque las consecuencias más importantes quedarían claras dos días antes de Navidad, con todos los más altos diplomáticos en Bolonia reunidos en los alojamientos del canciller Gattinara para cerrar tres tratados. El primero restituía a Francesco Sforza como duque de Milán, previo pago de 400.000 escudos a Carlos para su investidura y otros 500.000 en castigo por su deslealtad. Hasta que entregara el dinero, las guarniciones Habsburgo permanecerían en el ducado. El segundo tratado obligaba a Venecia a restaurar, tanto al Papa como al emperador, todas las plazas que había tomado, y pagar a Carlos otra sustanciosa indemnización por ello. Además de esto, casi todos los gobernantes independientes de Italia firmaron una alianza de carácter defensivo por la que prometían declarar la guerra a cualquier potencia extranjera que amenazara la paz de la península.[37] El Papa y el emperador asistieron entonces juntos a una misa de Navidad, y una vez los cardenales hubieron leído algunos de los sermones prescritos, Carlos «se levantó de su silla y quitó las ropas que tenía y le

vistieron otras, que la dencima era una capa de yglesia, y ceñido un estoque que Su Santidad le dio, y fecho con él la cirimonía que se acostumbra, tomó la bendición del papa». El emperador a continuación leyó un sermón también. Según un miembro del personal del Papa, fue «una misa tan solemne que no creo que haya habido nada parecido en nuestros tiempos, ni que vaya a haberlo en el futuro». Los cortesanos de Carlos «nunca habían visto a su Majestad tan feliz».[38]

La gran estrategia del emperador

Carlos tenía todo el derecho a estar contento: para Navidad ya había resuelto a su favor todos los problemas a los que se enfrentaba y obligado a sus otrora enemigos a firmar la paz conforme a sus condiciones. No obstante, se sentía intranquilo, y el 11 de enero de 1530 escribió un largo mensaje sobre el «estado del imperio» a su hermano Fernando. Lo hizo «en secreto, porque sobre estas materias no confío en nadie que no seas tú», y comenzaba resaltando su absoluto compromiso de apoyar a su hermano contra los turcos, añadiendo que otros príncipes probablemente se habían abstenido de enviarle ayuda «principalmente porque somos hermanos y piensan que tu bienestar es en gran parte el mismo que el mío, lo que sin duda es así, porque los dos somos el mismo». Instaba a Fernando a no buscar una tregua (por muy corta que fuera) con el sultán porque, «si se ve libre y seguro en tu zona, buscará otra» en la que atacar el imperio. Carlos señalaba el deseo del Papa de unir a todos los príncipes de la cristiandad en una liga contra los turcos, que proporcionaría más ayuda en el futuro; y reiteraba su intención de volver a Alemania y solucionar el problema religioso.[39]

A continuación, Carlos revisaba los tratados de paz que acababa de cerrar. Los términos, admitía, tal vez no fueran perfectos, pero la falta de dinero descartaba la posibilidad de

continuar con las hostilidades. Ocho años de guerra habían dejado a Italia despoblada y empobrecida, y (añadía Carlos tristemente) «Debéis daros cuenta, hermano, de que en España ven muy mal que haya gastado tantos recursos por el bien de Italia» (en efecto, entre 1522 y 1529 había enviado más de dos millones de escudos de España a Italia).[40] Por otra parte, Enrique VIII estaba claramente a punto de divorciarse de su tía Catalina «contra toda justicia y razón, y sin el deseo ni consentimiento del Papa. Si al final lo hace, nos pondrá bajo una gran obligación» de actuar contra él. El principal imponderable era si Francisco haría o no honor a su promesa de mantener la paz. Carlos predecía que, si la guerra se reanudaba, empezaría en Italia, y por tanto proponía mantener 21.000 soldados alemanes y españoles como ejército permanente en la península.

Más allá de esto, el futuro parecía menos claro, y por tanto Carlos solicitaba consejo a su hermano. A ser posible, seguía deseando ser coronado emperador por el Papa en Roma y de allí trasladarse al reino de Nápoles a restablecer el orden antes de atravesar Alemania de camino a los Países Bajos y de allí volver a España; no obstante, si Fernando consideraba vital su presencia inmediata, Carlos prometía aceptar la coronación en Bolonia y dirigirse directamente a Alemania. En cualquier caso, escribió, «Os aseguro, hermano, y vos podéis asegurar a la [Dieta Imperial] en mi nombre, que no cruzaré el mar [hacia España] hasta que haya visitado Alemania y trabajado por convertiros en rey de Romanos» (un título que Carlos dejaría automáticamente vacante en el momento de su coronación como emperador). El emperador concluía con una disculpa, ya que, aunque la «carta es larga, y contiene muchas repeticiones y errores, todavía hay otras cosas sobre las que desearía extenderme más con vos, pero solo pueden hablarse en persona».

Como con el largo análisis de la situación de cinco años antes, en la víspera de la batalla de Pavía, es posible que Carlos pusiera por escrito sus más íntimos pensamientos principalmente por su propio beneficio; efectivamente, resolvió varios problemas críticos mucho antes de que Fernando pudiera responder, incluida la decisión de quedarse en Bolonia y ser coronado allí. La coreografía de este evento ya había comenzado. Clemente trató de hacer que Bolonia se pareciese a Roma (o, más bien, a como era Roma antes de que las tropas de Carlos la saquearan): así, la catedral de San Petronio, donde tuvo lugar la coronación imperial, fue reformada tanto por dentro como por fuera para que se pareciera a la basílica de San Pedro de Roma. Carlos, por su parte, le preguntó a Gattinara si debía mandar traer la corona de hierro de Lombardía. Aunque el canciller le aconsejó que no lo hiciera, porque durante la última coronación imperial (un siglo antes) «el emperador Federico [III] no la tomó», finalmente Bolonia fue testigo de una doble ceremonia.[41] Tras perdonarle todas sus ofensas (incluido el saqueo de Roma), Clemente colocó la corona de hierro sobre la cabeza de Carlos el 22 de febrero de 1530, seguida de la corona imperial dos días después, en el treinta cumpleaños del emperador y el quinto aniversario de la victoria de Pavía. Clemente se esmeró en resaltar los aspectos sacros de estas ceremonias. Durante la coronación imperial Carlos fue investido como canónigo de la Iglesia; un cardenal le ungió con óleo santo; y Clemente le entregó una espada ceremonial como símbolo de que a partir de ese momento poseía «los derechos de la guerra», y una esfera dorada como símbolo de que suyo era «el imperio del orbe». A continuación, el Papa y el emperador salieron en procesión por la ciudad bajo el mismo palio.[42]

Estas ceremonias causaron una profunda impresión entre sus contemporáneos. En Venecia, Marin Sanudo llenó 25 folios de su *Diarii* con transcripciones de varias descripciones en las que

insertó dos de los numerosos grabados que circularon por toda Europa; y aquellos que querían congraciarse con Carlos encargaron imágenes conmemorativas: varios frescos en Florencia, Roma, Verona y Pesaro, así como en Bolonia; un elegante friso erigido por el Ayuntamiento en Tarazona; una enorme escultura en Florencia, etcétera.[43] Carlos las ignoró todas. Se negó a pagar a la catedral de San Petronio para que encargara una capilla y un friso en conmemoración de su visita. Llegó incluso a ofender a Tiziano, a quien el marqués de Mantua se había traído a Bolonia para «pintar al emperador». Según un indignado embajador de Mantua, Carlos ofreció al pintor «nada más que un ducado» cuando «paga hasta dos ducados por noche a cualquier mujer que duerme con él».[44]

Carlos trató de reparar esta ofensa una vez abandonó Bolonia «como hombre que escapaba de la prisión» y llegó a Mantua. Allí practicó la caza y la cetrería junto al marqués (a quien elevó al rango de duque y casó con una de sus primas) y admiró su magnífica colección de arte, que incluía varios cuadros de Tiziano y una réplica de la columna de Trajano decorada con escenas de los triunfos de Carlos como «señor del mundo». El emperador permaneció en Mantua durante casi un mes, con la esperanza de que sus tropas obligaran a Florencia a rendirse y de este modo poner fin a todas las hostilidades en Italia antes de dejar la península, pero la ciudad continuó oponiendo resistencia cuando en abril retomó de mala gana su viaje hacia el norte. Tras una última demora en Trento mientras Carlos (una vez más, anteponiendo el placer al trabajo) «se le dará algun pasatiempos en caza de camuças», el 2 de mayo se reunió con su hermano en el paso del Brennero. Fernando erigiría posteriormente un monumento para conmemorar el encuentro: sin duda, tras tantos aplazamientos, promesas rotas y retrasos, la

visión del hermano que no había visto durante casi una década como emperador coronado y consagrado debió de parecer poco menos que milagrosa.[45]

De Brennero a Bruselas

Muchas cosas habían ocurrido en Alemania desde la marcha de Carlos tras la Dieta de Worms en 1521. Aparte del incesante avance turco Danubio arriba, que culminó con el asedio de Viena, en septiembre de 1524 estalló en el sur de Alemania el mayor levantamiento popular visto en Europa en varios siglos: la guerra de los campesinos, que duró casi un año. Aunque Fernando bombardeó a su hermano con la predicción de que los rebeldes se harían con Alemania entera, Carlos la ignoró casi por completo (como había hecho con la amenaza turca) con la esperanza de que el problema desaparecería solo. En ambos casos, la suerte, combinada con el hábil despliegue de Fernando de todos los recursos disponibles, acabó imponiéndose. Un tercer problema parecía más difícil de manejar: la proliferación de la herejía.

Como señaló Lutero en tono desafiante al emperador antes de que terminara la Dieta de Worms: «Nadie ha tenido a bien refutar, basándose en la Palabra de Dios, ningún artículo [de fe] erróneo que mis libros [*libelli*] puedan contener». Y en efecto, la negativa de los católicos a entablar un debate con él le había proporcionado una importante victoria moral e intelectual. Carlos no tenía intención de repetir este error. En los Países Bajos, condenó a la hoguera a todos los que siguieran las enseñanzas de trece reformadores señalados como herejes (entre los que se incluían Lutero y Melanchthon), así como todos sus escritos, y en Alemania ordenó tanto a luteranos como a católicos presentarle sus argumentos en una nueva Dieta que debería celebrarse en Augsburgo.[46]

En apariencia, la posición del emperador parecía fuerte —había obligado al rey de Francia a aceptar una paz ignominiosa; había impuesto sus condiciones en Italia y en Güeldres; los turcos habían emprendido la retirada; el Papa le había perdonado y coronado— y su solemne entrada en Augsburgo el 15 de junio de 1530 fue reflejo de todos estos éxitos. Tras saludar a la élite alemana, «estrechando la mano de todos y pronunciando algunas amables palabras», Carlos desfiló por las calles de la ciudad vestido de oro, a lomos de un caballo blanco y bajo palio, con Fernando y el legado papal a su lado. Delante de él iban los electores, y detrás unos 150 miembros de la Dieta y diplomáticos extranjeros; pero al día siguiente se suscitaron graves divisiones. Cuando el emperador volvió a salir en procesión por las calles como parte de la celebración del Corpus Christi, los gobernantes luteranos de Alemania, que ya habían presentado una protesta formal contra la condena de su fe (de aquí su nombre de «protestantes»), se negaron a participar.[47]

Carlos se enfrentó al mayor desafío a su autoridad sin un hombre de Estado experimentado que le aconsejara. El 5 de junio de 1530, cuando el equipo imperial se preparaba para salir de Innsbruck hacia Augsburgo, el Gran Canciller murió. Como Rebecca Ard Boone ha señalado:

> Fuera por su talento o por su formación, la mayor virtud de Gattinara como consejero era su capacidad para ver las situaciones desde la perspectiva de sus adversarios, súbditos y señores. Tanto si eran campesinos aztecas de Nueva España, como soldados de infantería luteranos alemanes, duquesas de Brabante, reyes de Inglaterra o papas de Italia, todos tenían sus intereses y motivaciones, y Gattinara se esforzaba por entenderles.[48]

En Bolonia, el canciller había sacado adelante no solo su mayor hazaña diplomática (al convencer a todos los gobernantes italianos salvo al de Florencia para que firmaran la paz con las condiciones de Carlos), sino que también había persuadido a su señor de que exiliara a Roma a un odiado rival, el confesor imperial García de Loaysa y Mendoza, pero en esto su éxito

resultó ser transitorio. Loaysa ya había hecho planes para la vida de Carlos sin Gattinara. Advirtió «que muerto el canciller, o apartado de vuestra corte, no conviene sucesor»; en lugar de ello, «mi voto es que Vuestra Majestad sea el gran canciller, y el efecto de todos vuestros negocios vayan por el consejo y manos» de otros dos ministros: Francisco de los Cobos y Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela. Al enterarse de la muerte de su rival, Loaysa volvió a exponer sus razones:

> Siempre fui en que el secretario Cobos era el cofre de vuestra honra y de vuestros secretos, que sabía cumplir vuestras negligencias a contentamiento de la parte y en disculpa de su señor, el cual os ama con suma fielidad y tiene una prudencia de molde maravillosa; y no gasta el seso en decir primores y agudezas como otros hacen y nunca murmura de su amo, y es el más bien quisto que sea hombre de los que en el mundo conocemos.

El confesor también alababa a Granvela,

> el cual es gentil letrado y buen latino, de lengua castigada y autoridad en su persona, cuerdo cristiano, fiel, secreto y que entiende muy bien los negocios. Es amigo de buenos y aborrece los malos. No es tan dulce en la conversación como el secretario, pero siendo avisado y tomado oficio que es de paciencia, yo pienso que sufrirá importunidades de la manera que es menester.[49]

Carlos aceptó el consejo de Loaysa: nombró inmediatamente a Granvela «custodio de los sellos», con supervisión general sobre los asuntos del norte de Europa, mientras que Los Cobos se encargaría de los asuntos de España y sus dependencias de ultramar en el Mediterráneo y en las Américas.

Carlos no se arrepentiría de esta decisión. En 1543 ensalzó los méritos y servicios de ambos ministros en la Instrucción confidencial que escribió como guía para su hijo, pero en junio de 1530 ni Granvela ni Los Cobos poseían la experiencia ni la astucia necesarias para reconciliar a los grupos religiosos discordantes que habían emergido en Alemania, como Gattinara sí podía haber hecho. Tampoco Loaysa, quien al principio aconsejó a Carlos «si determináis de reducir a Alemania, no veo otro mejor medio que con blanduras y dádivas convertir a los principales, ansí en letras como en estado a nuestra fee; y hecho

esto para la gente común, hechos primero vuestros edictos cesáreos públicos y amonestaciones cristianas, cuando no quisieren obedescer, en tal caso el verdadero ruybarbo para sanar es la fuerza», añadiendo la peligrosa comparación: «Esta sola curó la rebeldía de España contra su rey y esta misma es la que ha de medicar la infielidad de Alemania contra Dios, salvo si la piedad divina no hace lo que suele a Vuestra Majestad».[50]

Carlos llegó a la misma conclusión. Poco antes de que llegara a Augsburgo, el nuncio le urgió a «desenvainar la espada» contra los herejes, «a lo que su Majestad replicó que su castigo debía ser la horca y no la espada»; pero privado por el asedio continuado de Florencia de los recursos necesarios para intimidar a los luteranos, y temiendo que Francisco le declarara la guerra en cuanto sus hijos regresaran a casa, Carlos optó por apaciguar a los protestantes. Cuando un príncipe luterano asistente a la Dieta «le dijo que preferiría que le decapitaran a que le privaran o le negaran la Palabra de Dios», el emperador replicó nervioso, en su deficiente alemán: «¡No cortar cabezas! ¡No cortar cabezas!».[51]

Los luteranos sabían exactamente lo que querían. En abril, en previsión de la Dieta, un grupo de representantes de Sajonia se reunió con Lutero y otros teólogos para ultimar una Confesión de Fe redactada por Philip Melanchthon (veintiún artículos en los que se resumían los elementos esenciales de la teología de Lutero, y siete en defensa de sus innovaciones religiosas), y el 25 de junio hicieron público «un documento en alemán y en latín, firmado por ellos y sus partidarios», conocido en adelante como la «Confesión de Augsburgo». Durante dos horas, Carlos y la Dieta escucharon al canciller de Sajonia leer pausadamente el documento entero en alemán. Quién habría pensado, se jactaba Lutero, que sus «escritos y sermones serían expuestos ante su Majestad imperial y la Dieta en pleno, delante de sus mismas narices, viéndose estos obligados a escucharlos y sin poder

plantear ninguna objeción». La diferencia con el tajante rechazo que habían recibido sus opiniones en Worms era evidente. Un destacado cargo de Sajonia lo consideró «uno de los mayores logros acaecido nunca en el mundo».[52]

Loaysa entonces instó a su señor a tomar un camino más moderado:

> Que se concierte Vuestra Magestad con toda Alemania y disimuléis sus herejías, y les consintáis vivir en la mayor forma que a ellos contentare, trabajando con ellos que dejen algunos de los errores pasados y se conformen todos en los que tienen menos dificultad, y sobre esto que os sirvan como a señor, y os obedezcan como es razón y se ayunten para defender a Alemania y a Ungría del Turco, y para esto den gente pagada por algún tiempo.

Durante un tiempo, Carlos siguió su consejo. Según un ocurrente luterano, llegó incluso a mostrar esta neutralidad «en su conducta pública, porque además de quedarse dormido durante la lectura de nuestra Confesión, también se durmió en mitad de la lectura de la Respuesta de nuestros adversarios».[53] En un sentido más positivo, el emperador ordenó a todo el clero de Augsburgo dejar de predicar, con el fin de evitar provocaciones; creó una serie de comités, cada uno con diferentes miembros, con órdenes de llegar a un consenso; y pasó mucho tiempo en banquetes y de caza con los príncipes más destacados de la Dieta en un intento por promover la reconciliación. A principios de agosto dio un «largo discurso» ante la Dieta en el que exhortó a los luteranos a volver a la fe católica «y seguir las mismas prácticas que habían seguido sus predecesores durante cientos de años», y amenazó diciendo que si no lo hacían «se vería obligado a tratarlos como enemigos y proceder contra ellos por la fuerza, como el juramento que le había obligado a hacer»; pero, después de estas palabras inflamatorias, repitió su deseo de «encontrar alguna fórmula de reconciliación en los dos asuntos» y declaró su disposición a

permitir que las prácticas en disputa (matrimonio clerical y comunión de ambos tipos) continúen hasta que un concilio general pueda reunirse.[54]

En parte, Carlos actuaba así por miedo. Según un observador veneciano que se encontraba en Augsburgo: «No hay duda de que a menos que estos temas luteranos se aclaren, y a menos que estos señores alemanes se reconcilien con el emperador, si los turcos vuelven, esto significará la destrucción de Alemania». Sin embargo, después de diez semanas de conversaciones, discursos, banquetes y bonhomía, la Dieta terminó «sin tomar ningund asiento». Loaysa intentó consolar a su señor —«He me pesado en el corazón la desvergüenza y porfía que esos herejes han tenido en sus errores»—, pero, una vez más, establecía una comparación peligrosa:

> Siempre los comparé a las Comunidades de Castilla, que buscando el camino de blanduras y medios más que honestos, perdimos el tiempo sin hacer ningún fruto, hasta que se tomó con ellas el cierto y perpetuo remedio, que fue la guerra… No tengo otra cosa con que consolarme sino es que con esperar maravillas y suplicar a Vuestra Magestad que ahora con ánimo cesáreo se esfuerza y sea constante a buscar arte y manera para castigar esos vellacos menospreciadores de los mandamientos de Dios y de Vuestra Magestad.[55]

La respuesta de Carlos, el 30 de octubre, daba rienda suelta a su ira: «Estos herejes han estado tan obstinados que ningund medio ha bastado ny aprouechado para atraerlos a apartarse de sus errores», algo que «quisiera yo mucho, si se pudiere acabar». Por tanto, le confiaba a Loaysa, «bien veo que sy ovjera aparejo para forçarlos, justamente se pudiera emplear contra estos, pero no lo ay de presente, ni yo tenga agora maña para ello, por estar muy gastado y ser solo y no traer ayuda ninguna, y estos ser tantos que para sobrarlos sería menester grand fuerça». El 19 de noviembre de 1530, Carlos y los miembros católicos de la Dieta emitieron un decreto en el que condenaban los principios fundamentales de «la doctrina ya declarada proscrita» en Worms, «que tantos errores ha suscitado entre la gente común».

Todos los que se negaran a aceptar, dentro de un plazo de cinco meses, la doctrina de la Iglesia católica (que el decreto explicitaba convenientemente) serían declarados proscritos.[56]

Lyndal Roper ha argumentado que ambas partes perdieron una oportunidad de oro en Augsburgo, que nunca más volvería a darse:

> Ambas partes habían mostrado disposición a negociar y al final las diferencias no parecían suficientes para justificar el cisma que resultaría de su fracaso. Pero lo que las mantenía a ambas alejadas era la falta de confianza, sobre el matrimonio, los sacramentos y otros temas, los evangélicos sencillamente no creían que los católicos hablaran en serio ni que fueran a mantener su palabra. Temían que las concesiones les llevaran a verse más tarde aplastados en un Consejo eclesiástico que se celebraría fuera de Alemania con la intención de derrotarles. El resultado no fue inevitable, sino más bien una oportunidad perdida por un margen muy escaso de eludir la escisión de la iglesia católica.

En lugar de ello, el elector de Sajonia invitó a sus homólogos protestantes a reunirse en la ciudad de Esmalcalda para constituir una alianza «como defensa y protección para nosotros, nuestros súbditos y nuestras familias contra una coerción injusta». La Liga de Esmalcalda, encabezada por el elector y landgrave Felipe de Hesse, se firmó el 27 de febrero de 1531.[57]

Carlos no solo fracasó a la hora de conseguir la paz religiosa para Alemania: tampoco consiguió convencer al Papa para que convocara un Consejo General. Había debatido este asunto con Clemente durante sus reuniones en Bolonia, y el 30 de octubre de 1530 (el mismo día que descargó su furia con Loaysa) escribió una larga carta ológrafa al Papa en la que «le suplico quan encargadamente puedo, haya por bien que se convoque el dicho concilio con la breuedad que la necesidad del caso lo require; y para que haya major efecto deue luego Vuestra Beatitut screuir a los otros príncipes y potentados, deciéndoles las causas que para ello hay»; a saber, crear un frente unido contra el esperado ataque turco y evitar que «estas herejías que nuevamente se han leuantado» se extendieran más. Carlos proponía convocar la asamblea bien en Mantua o en Milán,

«que son los más cercanos a esta Germania, asy por ser los más de los errores de que se ha de tratar en ella», un recordatorio de que la Reforma continuaba siendo, en esencia, un problema alemán. Clemente no mostró ningún interés. Según el mensajero que entregó la misiva imperial, «dyle la carta del concilio y leyóla, y ansí al medio della dyo un muy buen sospiro y al cauo otro mucho sospiro». Los suspiros de Clemente y su inquebrantable oposición a convocar un concilio constituyó otra «de las oportunidades perdidas por un margen muy escaso de eludir la escisión de la iglesia católica».[58]

Carlos, no obstante, podía presumir de dos victorias en otros lugares. En Italia, aunque la República de Florencia resistió durante diez meses, se rindió en agosto de 1530 y, dos meses más tarde, el emperador impuso una constitución que devolvía a la familia Médici sus plenos poderes, perdidos tras años atrás, y nombraba jefe del Estado a Alejandro, sobrino de Clemente, casado con su hija Margarita. Su otra victoria tenía que ver con su hermano. Durante los banquetes y cacerías celebrados en Augsburgo y sus alrededores, Carlos convenció a los electores imperiales para que eligieran a Fernando como rey de Romanos. Solo el elector luterano de Sajonia se negó; el resto acordaron una vez más vender sus votos. Al final, la mayoría de ellos acordaron el pago de las recompensas prometidas en 1519, que nunca habían llegado a satisfacer por completo, y para asegurarse su apoyo, Carlos distribuyó 200.000 escudos procedentes del «rescate de los hijos de Rey de Francia» y prometió cumplir las promesas anteriores y reparar sus agravios individualmente.[59] En enero de 1531 Carlos celebró un espléndido banquete (aunque boicoteado por la mayoría de los luteranos) para celebrar la coronación de su hermano como rey de Romanos en Aquisgrán. Por primera vez en medio siglo, Alemania tenía un emperador y un heredero, y según el embajador de Mantua, «Su Majestad imperial ha mostrado

tanto buen humor y alegría, tan extrema felicidad, que nadie le ha visto nunca reaccionar así ante ningún logro anterior».[60] Fortalecido por ello, Carlos emprendió el regreso a su tierra natal.

Reordenación de los Países Bajos

Margarita de Austria ya no estaría allí para recibirle. El 30 de noviembre de 1530, con 50 años, dictó su última carta a Carlos, afirmando que lo único que lamentaba era que «no podré verte y hablar contigo una última vez antes de morir», una prueba definitiva de su devoción por el sobrino que ella había criado y al que había servido. Le había nombrado su heredero universal, por lo que Carlos adquiría el Franco Condado de Borgoña («que ruego retengas en tus manos, para que el nombre de "Borgoña" no perezca»), su magnífica biblioteca y colección de arte, y también «vuestros Países Bajos, que no solo he mantenido como vos los dejasteis sino que he aumentado en gran medida», en orgullosa referencia a la adquisición de Frisia (1515), Tournai (1521), Utrecht y Overijssel (1528).[61] A la muerte de Margarita, sus dos principales ministros se hicieron cargo de inmediato, prometiendo a Carlos que consultarían con el resto del Consejo dos veces al día y «abordarían solo las gestiones que fueran más imprescindibles hasta tener noticias de su Majestad». Tras expresar su tristeza, «porque para mí ha sido una madre y así la he tratado», Carlos dio el visto bueno a este acuerdo provisional, sin revelar que él ya había elegido al sucesor de Margarita: «María de Austria, reina viuda de Hungría».[62]

Carlos no había visto a su hermana desde que esta salió de Malinas en 1513 para casarse con el rey Luis de Hungría. Desde la muerte de su esposo en la batalla de Mohács en 1526, se había quedado allí para promover la elección de Fernando como sucesor de Carlos tanto en Bohemia como en Hungría, pero los tres hermanos se reunieron en Augsburgo, donde Carlos

preguntó a María si estaría dispuesta a gobernar los Países Bajos en el caso de que su tía Margarita muriera o dejara el cargo. María aceptó en principio y el 3 de enero de 1531 Carlos le envió una invitación formal, aunque insistió en que no llevara con ella ningún sirviente y no contratara sustitutos

> Hasta que estemos juntos, porque cuando vos y yo tengamos tiempo podremos debatir mejor quiénes son los mejores candidatos, y yo me ocuparé de daros buenos consejos para que podáis llevar a la práctica de la mejor manera vuestro loable deseo de hacerlo todo bien y yo mismo pueda explicaros vuestras responsabilidades.[63]

Tanto circunloquio escondía una novedad importante: Carlos había decidido que en el futuro sería él quien preparara en persona y a distancia a aquellos a quienes iba a confiar los puestos de mayor responsabilidad de su imperio.

Los Países Bajos reaccionaron con alegría al regreso de su soberano. Los Estados Generales le obsequiaron con una colección de magníficos tapices que representaban la victoria de Pavía sobre el ancestral enemigo de la casa de Borgoña *(véase lámina 13)*; cada ciudad encargó poemas para celebrar sus éxitos y su regreso sano y salvo, en tanto que otras erigieron columnas conmemorativas; y en Brujas remataron la repisa de una espectacular chimenea con las figuras en tamaño natural de Carlos y sus cuatro abuelos *(véase lámina 16)*.

Al pare cer, la calurosa bienvenida elevó el ánimo del emperador. En un informe sobre «la salud de Su Magestad» de finales de enero, Fernán López de Escoriaza (médico personal de Carlos) afirmaba:

> Yo nunca le vy más sano y rezio ny tan gentil hombre como agora está, specialmente con el alegría que ha resceuido en se ver en estas tierras que son los ayres de su naturaleza adonde Su Magestad fue nascido, y con la conversación de aquellos señores y gente con quien fue criado.

Su única preocupación eran los irregulares hábitos alimenticios de Carlos —«ninguna cosa come» a las noches, «por aver comido mucho y tarde no quiere cenar»—, un

problema que continuaría irritando a sus médicos. No obstante, Carlos no tardaría en dar un ejemplo sorprendente de su forma física. Durante un torneo en Gante, «utilizó y se adaptó a diferentes armas, hasta tal punto que ni el guerrero más dotado del mundo no podría haberlo hecho mejor».[64]

Los problemas internos resultaron ser más difíciles de solventar. Como más adelante recordaría su hermana María, cuando él regreso a Bruselas «Halló Su Magestad muchas divisyones entre los principales, desprecio de la justicia (que andava harto flaca), y todos los estados muy mal voluntarios». Los Estados de los Países Bajos demostraron ser especialmente obstinados, exigían que su señor corrigiera ciertos agravios antes de votar por más impuestos, a lo que Carlos respondió irritado: «Quiero que confíen en mí y no negociaré con mis súbditos».[65] Los problemas eran mucho más profundos. «He encontrado grandes enemistades, pasiones, ligas y alianzas» entre altos cargos ministeriales, confió a su hermano, «que están constantemente volviendo a todo el mundo en contra de los demás». Así pues, «para saber y esclarecer la verdad, he investigado las acusaciones contra mis fiscales planteadas por sus adversarios y he examinado sus cuentas desde 1520 a 1530 —es decir, abarcando un periodo de diez años— para ver si me habían robado, como algunos afirmaban». El espectáculo de ver al monarca más poderoso del mundo occidental comprobando personalmente las cuentas públicas de diez años habría hecho las delicias de Chièvres, y el emperador extrajo importantes conclusiones de esta experiencia.

> Os digo, hermano, que he encontrado mucha más mala intención que verdad, aunque algunas cosas no fueran tan satisfactorias como deberían. Yo no he hallado culpa, y la mayoría de los acusadores se basaban solo en cosas que habían oído […] Querían que yo despachara a los acusados sin una vista, lo que no estuve dispuesto a hacer […] Por tanto, no hice ningún cambio.

Esta decisión de «no hacer cambios» enfureció a los acusadores, que protestaron diciendo «que no hay justicia. Así que si hay algún delito aquí, la causa principal es que todo el mundo quiere alcanzar demasiados privilegios para limitar mi superioridad [*hauteur*] y de este modo convertirse casi en colegas míos y que ya no sea yo el que mande [*casy nous demouryons compagnons et moy non seigneur*]».[66]

Temiendo que estas «murmuraciones» alimentaran «actos de desafío» entre sus súbditos, Carlos decidió hacer algunos ajustes en el gobierno central de los Países Bajos. Estableció tres «consejos colaterales»: el Consejo de Estado para asuntos económicos, diplomacia, defensa y religión; el Consejo Privado para elaborar la legislación y atender las apelaciones tanto civiles como criminales procedentes de tribunales inferiores; y el Consejo de Finanzas para supervisar la recaudación y el gasto de los ingresos, la obtención y devolución de préstamos y la supervisión de todos los bienes del Estado. En sus instrucciones a cada uno de estos órganos, y también a María, se reservaba un amplio abanico de cuestiones sobre las que solo él podía decidir, sin duda para acabar con las «divisyones entre los principales» y también para evitar que María siguiera el ejemplo de Margarita y estableciera su propia agenda. Solamente consiguió el primero de los dos objetivos: María no tardó en ejercer la misma autoridad que había ejercido su tía en el noroeste de Europa. Apenas un año después, Carlos le permitió abrir cualquier carta dirigida a él que pasara por sus manos, al igual que había hecho Margarita, y las cartas que ella le escribía sobre los asuntos pendientes a menudo incluían comentarios y consejos sobre qué es lo que él debía hacer al respecto. Carlos también estableció una «línea directa» entre ellos: «Cuando surja algo que yo desee que permanezca en secreto, escribiré sobre ello siempre de mi puño y letra… y lo mismo deberíais hacer vos».[67]

Carlos no tenía mucha opción. Al poco de separarse de su hermano tras el banquete de coronación celebrado en Aquisgrán, Fernando le suplicó que volviera para ocuparse de la oposición de los luteranos y la amenaza de otra invasión turca. Carlos alegó que los asuntos de los Países Bajos «en verdad exigen mucho más de mi tiempo y atención personal» de lo que él había imaginado, en tanto que «como podéis imaginar los asuntos y las necesidades de mis reinos de España se resienten más cuanto más tiempo me hallo ausente de allí, lo cual es causa de sufrimiento y quejas para mis súbditos, por lo que no puedo posponer demasiado mi regreso». El mes siguiente, con un hábil despliegue de retórica pasivo-agresiva, Carlos informaba a su hermano de que regresaría a Alemania aunque esto significara «aplazar todos los demás temas y la absoluta necesidad e importancia de todos sus demás asuntos, los cuales, como podéis imaginar, son muy importantes para mis reinos, dominios y súbditos», y advertía de que solo se quedaría «un mes más como máximo porque mis otros asuntos no pueden sufrir más demora». No obstante, encontró una serie de excusas para aplazar su marcha —asuntos urgentes en los Países Bajos y un frío paralizante—, pero los embajadores extranjeros informaban de que eso no evitaba su participación en frecuentes justas y de que «casi todos los días sale de caza», de modo que «evita resolver sus asuntos y pasa el día jugando». Solo el regreso del nuncio Aleandro en noviembre de 1531 acabó con su procrastinación.[68]

Carlos comenzó su primera audiencia con el nuncio, como relataría este posteriormente, «recordándome todo lo acontecido en la otra Dieta [la de Worms] mejor de lo que recordaba yo mismo, lo cual me dejó asombrado»; quizá como consecuencia de que el emperador se había dado cuenta de que él se había equivocado entonces, mientras que Aleandro no. El nuncio aprovechó esta ventaja afirmando osadamente que «la Historia

demuestra que las grandes herejías no pueden erradicarse sin derramamiento de sangre», y a tal fin instó a Carlos a reclutar tropas en Alemania, España, Italia y los cantones suizos. Casi de inmediato, el emperador así lo hizo. El 3 de enero de 1532 informó a su hermano de que «he postergado y aplazado escribiros hasta ahora que ya estoy seguro de mi partida, porque tantas veces os he escrito sobre ella y luego no he cumplido, que no quería mentiros más, ni lo haré».[69] Prometió salir de Bruselas en dos semanas y reunirse con la Dieta Imperial de nuevo en Ratisbona. Esta vez mantuvo su palabra.

Retrato del emperador como un príncipe del Renacimiento

Reprimenda al emperador

En diciembre de 1531, Carlos presidió un capítulo de los Caballeros del Toisón de Oro celebrado en la ciudad de Tournai, tomada a Francia diez años antes; una forma nada sutil de hacer destacar su éxito en la defensa y expansión de su legado borgoñón. Según la tradición, el canciller de la Orden recopilaba información sobre los defectos y virtudes de cada caballero y a continuación la presentaba para que fuera debatida por el capítulo. Dado que «la conducta del jefe y soberano no quedaba exenta» de este proceso, y tras señalar «los elogios que había oído de las virtudes [de Carlos] y sus extraordinarias hazañas», el canciller leyó en voz alta las quejas que había recibido de los caballeros.

> Estos consideraban que era lento a la hora de despachar los asuntos; que perdía mucho tiempo en cuestiones menores, pasando por alto las más importantes; que rara vez consultaba con su Consejo, que a su vez carecía de un número suficiente de miembros; que no se esforzaba lo suficiente en nombrar a las personas adecuadas para los tribunales de justicia, los cuales eran muy lentos en su cometido; y por último, que pagaba muy poco a sus ministros y a sus tropas.

Carlos escuchó «estas quejas atentamente y con buena disposición» antes de comenzar a rebatirlas enérgicamente.

> Respecto a los defectos en la administración de justicia echó la culpa a aquellos a quienes había encargado ejercerla en su ausencia y también a las importantes tareas a las que él tenía que enfrentarse continuamente, que le habían impedido hasta el momento prestar plena atención a poner en orden sus asuntos, así como ocuparse de los de sus súbditos. En lo tocante a sus consejeros, afirmó que, al no haber conseguido encontrar hombres lo suficientemente experimentados y leales a él, en quienes pudiera confiar, se había visto obligado a ocuparse él mismo de cuestiones que podría haber delegado en otros. Respecto a lo demás, prometió hacer todo lo posible por solucionar lo antes posible los diversos fallos que los caballeros acababan de exponer.[1]

Aunque los súbditos de todos los lugares se quejaban de sus soberanos, pocos eran los que tenían licencia para hacerlo en persona, y menos aún para recibir una respuesta razonada.

En un primer momento, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara también tenía permiso para regañar a su señor. En un largo memorándum de 1523 a Carlos, que a su vez lo trasladó a su Consejo para su consideración, el Gran Canciller afirmaba que:

> Necesitáis personas cualificadas que sean de vuestra confianza para poder descansar y delegar en ellos; y a tal fin deberíais seguir el consejo que Dios le dio a Moisés por boca de Jetró, cuando le confió la tarea de gobernar y conducir al pueblo de Israel, recomendándole que eligiera a personas virtuosas, sabias y temerosas de Dios… y elegir entre ellos a sus ministros para impartir justicia a su pueblo en todo momento, acudiendo a él solo para los asuntos importantes mientras ellos se ocupaban de los que lo eran menos.

En efecto, insistía, «hacerlo así es aún más necesario en el caso de su Majestad, ya que tiene más responsabilidades incluso que el propio Moisés, ya que Dios os ha otorgado este título imperial, que implica el gobierno del mundo entero». Los demás consejeros de Carlos, tanto borgoñones como españoles, apoyaban con entusiasmo esta llamada a la delegación realizada por el canciller. «Así me parece que debéis hacerlo —opinaba Enrique de Nassau—, porque es imposible que su majestad lo haga todo solo». Como Carlos no hacía caso, en 1526 Gattinara volvió al ataque. Recordó al «joven príncipe» que, aunque Dios le había puesto a él «más alto que a ningún otro hombre en ningún lugar del mundo», esto «no era para que pudiera aprovecharse de todos los dones y favores que Dios le concedía, sino para el acrecentamiento y exaltación de la fe cristiana». Y el canciller proseguía incansable,

> Cuando el emperador no corrigió y castigó las abominaciones y actos malvados de sus soldados y ministros, cuando no administró justicia, cuando no pagó sus deudas, cuando no se preocupó de los que sufrían daño, y cuando no puso remedio a tantas maldades, los justos le tuvieron por injusto… Le llamaron imprudente, arbitrario y poco dispuesto a escuchar los buenos consejos de los prudentes.

Comoquiera que Carlos, una vez más, no hizo caso, Gattinara abandonó la corte y partió a Italia. Y en contra de lo previsto, Carlos no le suplicó que volviera, porque (como el embajador Navagero supo ver) «el emperador nunca niega a nadie el

permiso de dejar de prestarle servicio, ni piensa que necesita tanto a nadie como para no poderse valer sin él».[2] Aunque Gattinara continuó aconsejando a Carlos hasta su muerte, dejó de aleccionar a su señor sobre cómo gobernar.

Un nuevo estilo de toma de decisiones

La transición de Carlos a la independencia política no se produjo de la noche a la mañana. En 1521, no mucho después de la muerte de Chièvres, algunos le consideraban una persona indecisa. La archiduquesa Margarita trató de aliviar el orgullo herido de un ministro cuyo consejo había sido ignorado: «Nuestro emperador tiene una cabeza como todo el mundo, con oídos en los que se puede susurrar día y noche —le consolaba —, y que algunas veces cambia de opinión». Tres años después, cuando un embajador instó a Carlos a casarse con Isabel de Portugal, añadió: «Su majestad consultará con su Consejo y tomará la decisión que le parezca oportuna», a lo que el emperador replicó: «No piense que voy a comunicarle todo al Consejo» (aunque admitía que «eso era así cuando vivía M. Chièvres, que me controlaba»). El emperador revocó incluso decisiones tomadas por otros en su nombre. Cuando en 1524 anuló varios nombramientos efectuados por Margarita, un veterano ministro la advirtió de que sus protestas serían inútiles, porque

> Lo hizo el propio emperador, sin pedir consejo a nadie, como suele hacer con lo que atañe a su voluntad y autoridad. No hay nadie en sus dominios lo suficientemente importante o sabio para hacerle cambiar de opinión, a menos que él considere que el sentido común le exige hacerlo. He conocido a muchos príncipes de edades diversas, pero ninguno que se esfuerce tanto como él en entender de sus asuntos, ni que tome decisiones más inflexibles sobre lo que le afecta. Es su propio tesorero tanto en época de paz como de guerra; y concede cargos, obispados y títulos según la inspiración de Dios, sin atender a ninguna súplica que pueda recibir.[3]

La muerte de varios de sus consejeros más veteranos en los años siguientes, incluido Gattinara, libró al emperador de casi todos los que eran capaces de ejercer algún control sobre él, y no

tenía intención de sustituirles con una nueva remesa de voluntariosos y obstinados servidores. En 1532 rechazó de plano a un ministro que le habían recomendado para llevar el asunto de los Países Bajos «porque creo que enseguida querrá participar en la toma de decisiones. Prefiero a alguien que sea más fácil de manejar [*manyable*] y que se ocupe solo del papeleo», dejándole a él las decisiones políticas.[4]

A medida que el emperador se reafirmaba a sí mismo, era cada vez más elogiado por su inteligencia y diligencia. Erasmo, que presumía de haber estado «a menudo en la corte» durante la residencia de Carlos en los Países Bajos, informó a un corresponsal en marzo de 1523 de que el emperador «es un joven con un gran cerebro»; y ese mismo mes algunos embajadores ingleses que se quejaban de que «un día a la semana se da el gusto de practicar la caza o la cetrería», reconocían también que «no hay día que su majestad no pase largo rato con su Consejo, a veces cinco o seis [horas] seguidas», y que «entendía de sus asuntos no menos que cualquier miembro de su Consejo».[5] Muchos observadores señalaban también su rechazo a actuar apresuradamente. En 1526, mientras debatía con políticos italianos, el nuncio Baldassare Castiglione le dijo a Carlos que «debía tomar una decisión, y deprisa, porque demorarse es muy peligroso», a lo que el emperador respondió serenamente que «su política siempre había sido tratar primero los asuntos más fáciles de resolver y dejar los más difíciles para lo último». Lógicamente, esto sacaba de quicio a los afectados por aquellas decisiones —incluido Castiglione, que, poco tiempo después, se quejaba: «En realidad, la norma aquí parece ser posponer las cosas indefinidamente»—, pero otros valoraban su prudencia. Tres años después, cuando algunos cortesanos acusaron de herejía a Alfonso de Valdés, el secretario de latín de Carlos y ferviente seguidor de Erasmo, Valdés refería que «el

emperador, que no suele depositar su confianza en nadie así como así, dijo que no quería tomar una decisión hasta que le demostraran primero cuáles habían sido mis errores».[6]

Poco a poco, el emperador fue diseñando un sistema de toma de decisiones que combinaba una consulta extensa con una profunda reflexión, a menudo molestándose en poner por escrito las razones para las distintas alternativas. Varios de estos documentos han llegado hasta nosotros, incluida una au toevaluación de los problemas a los que tuvo que enfrentarse en febrero de 1525, «aun sabiendo que no hay nadie que los sepa más que yo» porque «quiero yo poner mi opinión a modo de confidencia por escrito» *(véase lámina 12).* Durante el invierno de 1528-1529, añadió otra arma más a su arsenal administrativo. Los esfuerzos de sus ministros españoles por sabotear sus planes de marcharse a Italia enfurecieron tanto a Carlos que creó una red alternativa de personal de confianza para soslayarlos. Redactó una larga carta ológrafa en la que informaba al príncipe de Orange, virrey de Nápoles, de su «deseo de irme a donde pueda alcanzar y ganarme honores y prestigio», y exigía su urgente consejo sobre cómo actuar; asimismo encargó al barón Balançon, un miembro veterano de su casa, entregar la carta en absoluto secreto («en caso de emergencia no dude en echar este documento al mar; y, pase lo que pase, asegúrese de que solo lo vea el príncipe»). Al mismo tiempo, redactó instrucciones secretas para el barón Montfort, otro veterano servidor de su casa, a quien envió a convencer a Fernando de que mandara tropas para reunirse con él en Italia. E incluso empezó a abrir las cartas que iban dirigidas a sus ministros. Ordenó a Antoine Perrenin (por entonces un empleado más) descifrar «sin que lo supiera su dueño» una misiva que había llegado; y mandó una copia de una carta interceptada a Montfort y de su respuesta, con orden de quemar la primera después de leerla, y de «volver a sellar con un cordel y

un poco de cera la carta que yo escribí» para que pareciera que no había sido abierta. Antes de sellar su carta introductoria, advertía a Montfort de que «le estoy enviando esto por medio de Perrenin. Caso de haya sido abierta, ruego me lo haga saber». Es evidente que en aquel momento el emperador no se fiaba de ninguno de sus ministros, a excepción de Balançon, Montfort y Orange (todos ellos de Borgoña), una situación realmente extraordinaria.[7]

La incapacidad (o la renuencia) de sus funcionarios españoles para recaudar los 300.000 ducados necesarios para su viaje a Italia irritó especialmente a Carlos. «No hago otra cosa que tratar de encontrar financiación», manifestaba indignado a Montfort, y «cada noche parece que lo he conseguido», pero «a la mañana siguiente me encuentro con que estoy más lejos que nunca de alcanzarlo». Concluía que dicha parálisis se debía a que «todo el mundo aquí es totalmente contrario a mi marcha, y sabe (o piensa) que ese es el propósito para el que busco el dinero», y amenazaba con que si era necesario «vendería esta ciudad» de Toledo a fin de conseguirlo.[8] Al final no llegó a tomar esta medida tan drástica y lo que hizo fue sortear a sus funcionarios españoles hipotecando sus derechos sobre las Molucas en favor del rey de Portugal a cambio de dinero. Los ingresos sirvieron para financiar no solo su viaje a Italia, sino también la victoria sobre sus enemigos italianos y la coronación oficiada por el Papa. El sistema alternativo de toma de decisiones de Carlos había triunfado.

Gasparo Contarini, que había servido a España como embajador a principios de la década de 1520 y luego volvió a reunirse con Carlos en Bolonia en el invierno de 1529-1530, percibió varios cambios. Aunque todavía «prudente, reservado y extremadamente atento a todo lo que le atañe», y «más devoto que nunca», Contarini notó entonces que el emperador «habla más —y con más coherencia— que lo hacía antes en España. En

algunas ocasiones traté asuntos con su majestad durante dos horas enteras, lo que nunca ocurría en España. Además, es menos obstinado en sus opiniones». A modo de ejemplo, Contarini relataba que

> Un día, en una animada conversación conmigo, su majestad me dijo que por naturaleza tendía a mantenerse firme en sus decisiones; y yo, deseando quitarle importancia, le dije «Señor, mantenerse firme en las decisiones correctas es ser constante, no obstinado». Él respondió inmediatamente «A veces me mantengo firme en las incorrectas». De ello deduzco que la prudencia y las buenas intenciones han permitido a su majestad superar los defectos de sus inclinaciones naturales.

Dos años después, el embajador Niccolò Tiepolo apuntaba que «Su majestad delega solo los asuntos rutinarios en sus ministros. Él quiere entender de todo lo demás, y pensar sobre ello, y no permitir que nada pase sin su intervención o al menos sin su conocimiento». El cardenal Tavera ordenó en cierta ocasión que «aunque Vuestra Magestad stoviese determinado de no seguir parecer de nadie sino el suio, podrá todavía obrar buenos efectos y parecer que se haze confiança dellos», pero Carlos se mantuvo inflexible. En palabas de Tiepolo: «Escucha el consejo y las opiniones de todos sus ministros, pero las decisiones son solo suyas».[9]

El emperador en el juego y la oración

La cada vez mayor carga de trabajo del emperador apenas afectó a su propensión a anteponer el placer a los negocios. Un registro de los gastos de la casa real entre 1530 y 1532 revela cuáles eran algunos de sus pasatiempos. Practicaba con frecuencia los juegos de apuestas (a veces de hasta 300 ducados); asistía a representaciones teatrales; y posaba para ser retratado con sorprendente frecuencia.[10] También dedicaba largo tiempo a los deportes de interior y de exterior. En 1522, una misión diplomática tuvo la mala fortuna de llegar mientras «el emperador estaba practicando el juego de palma [antecesor del tenis] en un recinto de juegos». Dado que Carlos no les hacía

caso, «nos condujeron al otro extremo de dicha galería y allí estuvimos sentados viéndole jugar hasta que casi se hizo de noche, momento en el que su majestad se retiró a sus aposentos». Posteriormente, se quejaban los embajadores, como «es tiempo de carnaval», Carlos «se dedica a los placeres propios de esta época»: participar en justas formando parte de un equipo de doce, jugar un «torneo de lucha al estilo albanés, primero con lanzas y luego con espadas», etcétera.[11] La cetrería, y sobre todo la caza, también podían tener a Carlos alejado de su despacho durante días enteros. En cierta ocasión pidió perdón a su hermana María «por haber tardado tanto en responder a vuestra carta, dado que cuando esta llegó estaba tan embebido en la caza [*tant enpesché en la chase*] que pospuse la contestación»; y cuando su hermano le rogó que tomara una decisión sobre un tema de crucial importancia, Carlos le respondió sin inmutarse que estaba cazando y que «no puedo decidir lo que debo hacer mientras me encuentro en este retiro campestre». Fernando y sus problemas, simplemente, tendrían que esperar.[12]

Hasta los cuarenta años, no parece que Carlos pasara mucho tiempo leyendo —casi ningún retrato suyo le muestra con un libro en las manos—, pero el registro de gastos de su casa revela que en 1530 y 1531 compró algunos «libros escritos en contra de Martin Lutero»; y pocos años después, un inventario de su biblioteca en Bruselas (653 ejemplares) mostró que poseía varios libelos contra los protestantes, así como algunos libros de viajes, material que hoy en día recibiría el calificativo de pornografía blanda *(Livre d'amours)*, y manuales de cetrería y de caza. La categoría más numerosa la formaban los libros de oración (entre ellos, 14 libros de horas).[13]

La devoción de Carlos a menudo se anteponía a los asuntos oficiales. Todos los días dedicaba un rato a sus oraciones privadas, asistía con frecuencia a misa, confesaba y comulgaba con regularidad y la Semana Santa la pasaba siempre de retiro

espiritual. En 1529, justo antes de partir a Italia, «dejó a su esposa y sus hijos el Domingo de Ramos» para pasar en un monasterio «los días santos, haciendo una pausa en sus asuntos oficiales»; en 1535, inmediatamente antes de su campaña en África, volvió a negarse a despachar ningún asunto público durante la Semana Santa, la cual pasó en un monasterio, etcétera. La única excepción ocurrió en 1526, cuando su decisión, justo antes de Semana Santa, de ejecutar al obispo Acuña de Zamora le llevó a ser excomulgado, si bien en cuanto el Papa le perdonó, acudió a un monasterio «donde permanecerá una semana en sustitución de la Semana Santa, y confesará y recibirá la comunión».[14] En dichas ocasiones, por más que sus impacientes ministros le atosigaran, no conseguían nada. El martes de la Semana Santa de 1531, el secretario de Estado Francisco de los Cobos redactó una consulta que resumía los nueve puntos que (según él creía) requerían una decisión urgente y la envió, junto con los documentos pertinentes, al monasterio donde se encontraba Carlos de retiro. El emperador no hizo nada hasta después de Semana Santa, y cuando devolvió la consulta a Los Cobos, su decreto incluía este lapidario recordatorio: «confesar y escreuir mucho son dos recias cosas juntas».[15]

La piedad de Carlos permitió a sus confesores influir en sus decisiones políticas. Fray Jean Glapion, un franciscano afín a Erasmo, se convirtió en su confesor en 1520 y al año siguiente acompañó al emperador a la Dieta de Worms y también en campaña. Al poco tiempo, algunos opinaban que tenía «más peso en la corte que Cristo mismo». Sus exaltados sermones de Cuaresma pronunciados en 1520 en presencia de Carlos denostaban los defectos de la Iglesia y de los eclesiásticos, e insistía en que, si continuaban los abusos por parte del clero, los príncipes tendrían el deber de intervenir: «Es vuestra obligación llevar la mano a la espada para garantizar que estos males no se

den entre el clero», bramó. Aunque sus sermones no hacían referencia a Lutero ni a las Indulgencias, Carlos encargó a Glapion la tarea de convencer al elector Federico de Sajonia para que hiciera retractarse a Lutero de algunas de sus propuestas y de este modo evitar el alto riesgo de que se llegara a una confrontación en la Dieta de Worms. No es de extrañar que uno de los libros de Glapion fuera más adelante incluido en el Índice de libros prohibidos.[16]

Glapion acompañó a Carlos a España, pero murió allí en septiembre de 1522. Tras casi un año, el emperador tomó como confesor al dominico García de Loaysa y Mendoza. Al igual que Glapion, Loaysa sirvió en el Consejo de Estado —los únicos confesores reales a los que Carlos encumbró tanto— y en 1526 fue nombrado presidente del Consejo de Indias. Los embajadores extranjeros empezaron entonces a buscar el favor del «Confesor por muchos respetos: el primero, porque está muy en la gracia de Su Majestad, más que ninguna que yo sepa».[17] Aunque pocos de los intercambios de Loaysa con Carlos durante este periodo han llegado hasta nosotros, su extensa correspondencia cuando el dominico sirvió como comisionado especial del emperador en Roma, entre 1530 y 1533, es muy reveladora de sus interacciones pasadas. En cierta ocasión Loaysa le recordó a Carlos «que pues me queda nombre de confesor, justo es que durando mi vida os ayude a salvar», y ciertamente se sentía legitimado para ello, «cuanto diría si acerca de Vuestra Magestad me hallara en su cámara como en los tiempos pasados». Y continuaba, «nascen mis palabras de la costumbre larga que tuve de decirlas en presencia y cerradas las puertas de la cámara».[18] Desde Roma, Loaysa le afeaba a Carlos que «siempre pelearon en vuestra real persona la pereza y la gloria» y le recordaba que «de ociosidades, regalos, vicios y recreaciones nunca nació corona ni triunfo». Llegó incluso a utilizar confesiones pasadas del emperador en su contra:

> Algún día dijo Vuestra Magestad que deseaba emplear su vida en defensión de la fé, porque con otra cosa no os parecía poder recompensar las infinitas mercedes que de Dios avíades recibido. Ahora escomienza el tiempo en que Vuestra Magestad entienda si eran ypocritas y falsas aquellas palabras, o si eran cordiales y verdaderas.[19]

Loaysa fue especialmente crítico con la autoindulgencia de Carlos. En 1530 se asombraba de que el emperador continuara comiendo pescado cuando «todo el mundo ve que vuestros pechos son enemigos de pescado». De hecho, «me escriben de allá que algunas veces se oyen de más lejos vuestros pechos que vuestra lengua». Al año siguiente, estallaba iracundo, «no os hizo Dios, en tanta necesidad de la Iglesia, para matar ciervos», y le reprochaba a Carlos poner en riesgo su salud e incluso su vida

> Por un pequeño deleite de bever demasiado, de comer cosas contrarias, y de no gobernarse con prudencia en el dormir y en el velar y en las otras cosas que se han de hacer. Por amor de Dios no menospreciéis mi suplicación, y apartáos de los placeres perniciosos. ¡Qué Dios no crió a Vuestra Majestad para que en este mundo se recrease, sino para que con vuestro continuo trabajo se salvase toda la república cristiana![20]

En 1532, los rumores de otra invasión de Hungría por parte de los turcos llevaron a Loaysa a ordenar: «No tenga Vuestra Magestad puestos los ojos en acabar y salir della [Alemania] sino en hazer vuestros negocios muy cumplidamente y dar cabo a la empresa que tomastes gloriosamente». En resumen, «No ay Castilla, ny muger ny hijos sino después de acabados bien los negocios de estado». Y, sin andarse con el más mínimo tapujo:

> Yo oso decir que este es el tiempo en que Vuestra Magestad en toda su vida se vio más obligado a no perder una hora ociosamente, porque cada día se ha de tener consejo y sin dilación se ha de efectuar lo determinado en él […] Siempre conoscí a Vuestra Magestad amar la honrra más mil veces que la vida, y la hacienda, y pues agora está puesta en el tablero, no es justo que se coma ni se duerme sin pensar cómo se acresciente y no se gaste, para que Vuestra Magestad comiese a solas la vitoria.[21]

Loaysa intercalaba hábilmente estas regañinas con comentarios positivos. Alababa «La perfección de vuestra fé y de vuestra verdad, porque en este mundo no era nascido puro hombre más enemigo de mentiras y engaños como Vuestra

Magestad» (1530). Afirmaba que «A todo el mundo fuera notorio que Vuestra Magestad era un ángel» (1531); y le ofrecía en general su apoyo en momentos de crisis: «Suplico a Vuestra Magestad se alegre y no se aflija con la grandeza de los negocios que le tienen rodeado, que puesto que sean muy difíciles, y fuera de humanas fuerzas, tened por cierto que de vuestra recta intención y sólida fe han de ser acabados gloriosamente» (1532). Periódicamente, Loaysa añadía una dosis de imperialismo mesiánico:

> Creo más que nunca que Vuestra Magestad vencerá a todas las dificultades presentes, y todos vuestros enemigos los porná Dios debajo de vuestros pies; y pues esta es la determinación divina, que vuestros triumfos se alcancen con trabajos, tenga Vuestra Magestad paciencia y recibidlos con alegre corazón, y cuanto ellos más crecieren tanto se augmente vuestro conoscimiento de Dios.[22]

Carlos parecía dispuesto a aceptar los reproches a cambio de mensajes tan alentadores. «Huelgo mucho —le aseguraba a Loaysa en sus respuestas ológrafas— de ser de vos aconsejado y auisado» y «assí os ruego que no canséys de hazerlo siempre». O, con algo menos de entusiasmo: por los «buenos consejos que me dáys, os doy muchas gracias. Holgaré que lo continuéys así y siempre me scriuáys vuestro parecer en todas las cosas, que yo lo tomo y tomaré con la buena voluntad que sé que lo dáys».[23]

Presenciar la muerte de su sobrino Hans, el hijo de catorce años de su difunta hermana Isabel y de Cristián de Dinamarca, parece haber sido el único revés que hizo tambalearse la fe de Carlos. «Me ha causado la mayor pena que podáis imaginar, porque para su edad era el chico más encantador que cabe encontrarse», le confesó a María en agosto de 1532. «Siento esta muerte más incluso que la de mi propio hijo [Fernando, fallecido dos años antes], porque era mayor y había llegado a conocerle mejor, y le trataba como a un hijo. No obstante, debemos aceptar la voluntad de Dios», aunque añadía enfadado: «Dios me perdone, pero ojalá se lo hubiera llevado a él [Christian] en lugar de a su hijo».[24]

Familia desdichada

Carlos siempre tuvo, y a menudo expresó, opiniones muy claras sobre sus familiares. Como señalaba María José Rodríguez-Salgado, «había nacido en una familia extraordinaria y disfuncional» y, añadía, consiguió perpetuarla. «Cuando examinamos sus relaciones con otros miembros de la familia, vemos que mostró poco afecto por ninguno de ellos; la característica más sobresaliente era su deseo de controlarlos». A algunos los trataba «con profunda desconfianza, a veces cercana a la paranoia».[25]

Al enterarse de la muerte de su tía Margarita, manifestó: «La he considerado y tratado como mi madre», aunque a menudo se comportó con ella con una inaudita falta de sensibilidad, especialmente cuando se emancipó. También trató muy mal a su madre biológica. Cuando por primera vez se encontraron en España, declaró que tanto él como su hermana Leonor habían venido como «niños humildes y obedientes» a «ofreceros nuestros respeto, servicio y obediencia», pero perpetuó el mundo ficticio, lleno de falsedades, creado para Juana por su padre. Incluso después de que los líderes comuneros expusieran la realidad a Juana, Carlos la siguió manteniendo confinada en Tordesillas; y cuando la iba a visitar, echaba mano de sus posesiones. En 1524, justo antes del matrimonio de su hermana Catalina (que había pasado casi toda su vida confinada junto a su madre), Carlos pasó un mes en Tordesillas apropiándose de tapices, joyas, libros, objetos de plata e incluso vestiduras litúrgicas de la colección de Juana para que sirvieran como parte de la dote de su hermana (y así evitar tener que pagarla él). También se llevó 25 kilos en objetos de plata y 15 en objetos de oro de los aposentos de su madre, que utilizó para financiar el viaje de Catalina a Lisboa (llenando cuidadosamente los cofres vacíos con ladrillos de un peso equivalente, con la esperanza de que su madre no se diera cuenta de que sus hijos le habían

robado).[26] Carlos mantuvo los planes de boda en secreto ante Juana todo lo que pudo, y luego «partió hacia Madrid para evitar que estuviera presente cuando llegara el momento de que la novia partiera a encontrarse con su marido por temor a que su madre diera grandes muestras de dolor», lo que demuestra que, pese a su valentía en el ámbito físico, el emperador era un cobarde en el terreno moral.[27]

También mostró falta de sensibilidad hacia su mujer, a quien desde el principio vio como regente y paridera. En enero de 1522, pese a estar comprometido con la hija de Enrique VIII, María, le aseguró al rey de Portugal, sin ningún romanticismo, que «nos sentimos más inclinados a casarnos con su hermana la infanta que con ninguna otra, porque no hay hija de rey tan dispuesta como ella [*si preste comme elle*]». Tres años más tarde, presumía ante su hermano de que casarse con Isabel significaría que casi de inmediato «podría confiarle el gobierno a ella» e irse de España; y justo antes de su matrimonio, prometió a Fernando que abandonaría a su futura esposa y partiría hacia Italia en cuanto la dejara preñada.[28] Esto se convertiría luego en la norma. Como su tía Margarita recordó a la emperatriz, Carlos «no ha menester otra cosa sino hijos para poseer los grandes reynos y tierras que Dios le ha dado», y le prometió que «yo solicitaré a Su Magestad, cuando le viere, que os vaya a ver para que comiençe otro». Carlos siguió su consejo —Isabel se quedó en estado al menos nueve veces—, pero una vez la dejaba embarazada, parecía que perdía interés. Solo asistió al nacimiento de su primer hijo, Felipe; y cuando su segundo hijo murió, encontrándose él todavía en Alemania, Carlos restó importancia a la aflicción de su esposa: «Pues Nuestro Señor, que nos lo dió [a Fernando], lo quiso para sí, deuemos conformarnos con su voluntad y darle gracias y suplicarle que guarde lo que queda; y así os ruego a bos, Señora, muy afectusosamente que lo hagáys, y olvidéys y quitéys de bos todo

dolor y pena». En 1535, cuando Tavera anunció el nacimiento de la infanta Juana a su señor, entonces en África, creyó necesario añadir: «paréçeme que Vuestra Magestad debe mostrar en su carta a la Emperatriz my señora mucho contentamiento con la nueva hija, porque sería agregarla más».[29] Pero lo peor fue que Carlos no informó a su esposa de que había prometido a Margarita de Austria que esta criaría a su segundo hijo en los Países Bajos. La emperatriz no habría tenido conocimiento de este compromiso de no haber sido porque recibió una alborozada carta de Margarita felicitándola por el nacimiento de Fernando: «Por mi parte no me pudieran venir nuevas que tanto deseara. Porque, *según lo que prometió Su Magestad*, yo tengo esperança que este será mi hijo, y caña para mi vejez que me vendrá a consolar de la pena que yo tengo cada día. Assí os ruego, señora, que no me queráys contradecir».[30]

Pese a esta conducta tan absolutamente desconsiderada, no cabe duda de que Carlos amaba a su mujer. Un día de 1532, en una carta a su hermana María, le prometió incluir un retrato de Isabel, «el más bonito que tenga, que será por tanto el que más se parezca a ella»; pero luego cambió de opinión. «Estaba escribiendo a mi esposa cuando llegó tu carta», explicaba, y ahora «quiero mirar yo el retrato, contemplar la gran belleza que posee», añadiendo con cierta mojigatería: «Soy un marido tan devoto que la belleza de otras mujeres no me dice nada». A los pocos meses pedía perdón a María por la brevedad de su carta, «porque de otro modo estaría muy mal escrita, ya que llevo dos horas escribiendo una carta a mi esposa». Carlos e Isabel no solo intercambiaban cartas: periódicamente también enviaban mensajeros de confianza «a visitar a vuestra magestad y a que me trayga nuevas de su salud y de las cosas de allá, y también para que vuestra magestad pueda saber de la mía y de los ilustrísimos príncipes e infantas nuestros hijos i de lo de acá». De forma aparentemente espontánea, en 1529 ambos se enviaron el

primero de estos mensajeros la noche siguiente de que Carlos partiera a Italia.[31] No obstante, como Rodríguez-Salgado apuntó perspicazmente, solo la muerte de Isabel parecía haber hecho al emperador «valorar de verdad lo que había tenido, y mostró por su recuerdo un sentimiento mucho más profundo que el que le había mostrado mientras ella vivía. Ya no había presiones, ni amargos reproches, nada que pudiera contrarrestar las muchas y admirables virtudes que ella había encarnado; ni tampoco enfermedad que distorsionara sus bellos rasgos». Tras su muerte, «se convirtió más en un icono que en una mujer real».[32]

La misma alternancia de amor y desconsideración caracterizó las relaciones de Carlos con tres de sus hermanos. Su hermana mayor, Leonor, había sido su compañera infalible hasta 1518, cuando él la obligó a casarse con el rey Manuel de Portugal; al volver ella a España tras la muerte de su marido, Carlos la visitaba cada noche; y cuando marchó de campaña a Navarra en 1523, la nombró su regente en Castilla. Siendo reina de Francia, entre 1530 y 1547, Leonor hizo todo lo posible para promover la armonía entre su marido y su hermano, asistiendo a las cumbres celebradas entre ellos y, al menos en una ocasión, escribiendo una carta secreta a Carlos en la que le revelaba la posición de Francia en la negociación. Tras la muerte de Francisco en 1547, se reunió con Carlos en Bruselas y una década más tarde le acompañó a España. Sobre el papel, el emperador le profesaba un profundo afecto. Siempre se dirigía a ella como «ma meilleure soeur». En 1522, tras el fallecimiento de Manuel, Carlos ordenó a uno de sus ministros de confianza que la trajera de vuelta a España porque «es la persona que más quiero y estimo de este mundo»; y cuando ella murió, le habló a su hijo del «grande y profundo amor que siempre hemos sentido el uno por el otro».[33] La realidad había sido ligeramente distinta. En 1517, Carlos cortó en seco el romance de su

«meilleure soeur» con el conde palatino Federico y la obligó a casarse con Manuel. Cuando, a la muerte de este, Federico volvió a pretenderla, Carlos frustró de nuevo sus planes. Poco tiempo después, cuando trataba de convencerla para que dejara Portugal, pese a que ello significaba abandonar a su hija siendo aún bebé, el emperador escribió conciliador: «Si por casualidad te hubieran dicho que una vez estés aquí te obligaré a casarte con alguien contra tu voluntad, no des a esto ningún crédito», porque «no tengo ninguna intención de casarte, si no es con quien tú quieras. Que de esto no te quepa ninguna duda». Casi de inmediato, Carlos incumplió su promesa y prometió su mano al duque de Borbón. Más adelante faltaría también a esta promesa y se la ofrecería al rey Francisco. Aunque él afirmaría luego que en «lo del casamiento del rey de Francia» Leonor «lo quiso y tovo por mejor qu'el del duque de Borbón *que yo había tratado*», no obstante no le permitiría unirse a su nuevo marido hasta cuatro años después.[34]

Las relaciones de Carlos con Fernando y María fueron también volátiles. Les concedió a ambos inmensas libertades como lugartenientes (al primero sobre las tierras hereditarias austriacas, y luego en Alemania; a la segunda sobre los Países Bajos), pero cuando en 1531 pidió a María que gobernara en los Países Bajos, insistió en que primero tenía que destituir a todos los funcionarios de su casa, que llevaban a su servicio desde que salió de Bruselas en 1515, y en su lugar nombrar solo a neerlandeses previa aprobación de él. También le pidió que aceptara el nuevo puesto sin saber qué poderes recibiría, porque «hasta que estemos juntos no puedo decidir cuáles han de ser». Al final, Carlos concedió a su hermana poderes excepcionales, mucho mayores de los que otorgó a la emperatriz: autorizó a María para abrir las cartas que iban dirigidas a él, la nombró máxima albacea de su testamento y por lo general ratificó sus decisiones (incluso cuando actuó sin consultar con él).[35]

Solo en contadas ocasiones ignoró o rechazó sus consejos. Uno de los ejemplos más llamativos se produjo tras la muerte de su sobrino Hans en 1532. Carlos informó a María de que «No hay otro remedio que encontrar maridos» para las dos hermanas del fallecido príncipe, Dorotea, de 12 años, y Cristina, de 10, a quien María estaba educando en su corte tras la muerte de su madre. Al año siguiente, concertó con el duque Francesco Sforza de Milán el casamiento de una de ellas, pero al hacerlo, lamentablemente, Carlos «cometió un error, al decir que el duque podía casarse con la mayor, cuando quería haber dicho la menor, porque su intención es que la mayor se case con el rey de Escocia». Cuando el emperador cayó en la cuenta de su error, «le dijo al duque que podía casarse con la que él quisiera». Francesco eligió a Cristina, pese a ser cuatro veces mayor que ella, porque tenía entendido que era la más guapa.[36] El contrato estipulaba que el matrimonio debía consumarse inmediatamente, a lo cual María se opuso vehementemente. Carlos decidió en contrario, en parte porque seguía confuso respecto a cuál de sus sobrinas menores de edad estaba entregando en matrimonio. Su respuesta comenzaba así: «En cuanto al matrimonio de mi sobrina Dorotea», para luego pasar a explicar «Encontrará al duque de su agrado, porque en cuanto a riquezas, está bien servido; y en cuanto a su persona, aunque sus extremidades y maneras puedan parecer raras, tiene la cabeza y el torso perfectamente formados. Se dice que no puede vivir sin una mujer, pero eso es algo de lo que ya nos ocuparemos nosotros». Esta actitud insensible enfureció aún más a María: «Nuestra sobrina os considera su señor y padre, en quien tiene depositada toda su confianza», pero «solo tiene 11 años y medio, y es contrario a Dios y al buen juicio casarla tan joven». Por otra parte, «como aún no ha dado señales de ser mujer —es decir, no había comenzado con la menstruación—, si se queda embarazada antes de haber desarrollado pondréis en riesgo tanto

a ella como a la criatura». Una vez más, Carlos no hizo caso a los sensatos argumentos de su hermana. «La diferencia de edad supondrá un problema mayor para el duque que para nuestra sobrina», se mofaba. María desplegó una retahíla de excusas para mantener a Cristina en su corte, pero, en 1534, a la edad de 13 años, hizo su entrada ceremonial en Milán.[37] Un año después, dado que las conversaciones para un matrimonio escocés quedaron en nada, Carlos concertó para «mi sobrina Dorotea» el casamiento con el conde palatino Federico (antiguo pretendiente de Leonor), pes e a ser 38 años mayor que ella. Ninguna de las dos uniones acabó bien. Francesco Sforza murió dieciocho meses después de su unión con Cristina en Milán; y Dorotea y Federico no tardaron en hacerse luteranos; ninguna de las dos parejas tuvo hijos.

La presión más flagrante que María sufrió por parte de Carlos ocurrió hacia el final de la vida de este. En 1555, María se jubiló tras gobernar los Países Bajos durante un cuarto de siglo, y viajó a España, donde tomó un solemne «voto a Dios… de no me entrometer en gobierno alguno por vía directa ni indirecta». No obstante, en Bruselas, el hijo de Carlos, Felipe, decidió que España sola podía proveerle de los fondos que necesitaba para derrotar a Francia, que solo estando él allí presente podía conseguirlos, y que los Países Bajos corrían riesgo si María no volvía para gobernarlos cuando él se fuera. Como sabía que ella se iba a negar, rogó al emperador que la persuadiera. Carlos contempló la idea de convocarla a una reunión personal, pero (según un testigo presencial) recordó que la última vez que había mencionado la posibilidad «habíala hallado tan recia que desconfiaba de que vendría en ello; y temiendo esto, parecíale que no era bien ponerse en término de venir a enojarse con ella», una prueba más de la cobardía moral de Carlos. Así pues, en agosto de 1558 le envió a su hermana una carta insistiéndole en

> que no permita que en nuestro tiempo se siga a nuestra honrra y patrimonio que heredamos de nuestros padres y pasados y havemos conservados, sobre que ella a padecido tantos y tan grandes trabajos, y que viniese agora a perder con tanta infamia nuestra y del rey [Felipe], que tan su hijo es como mío.

Carlos expresó su confianza en «que viendo a la clara tan gran pérdida como se apareja, lo pospondrá todo, y se disporná a yr, para escusarlo, porque será el mayor servicio que a Dios y bien que a todos y a nuestra casa podrá hazer». Por si pensaba en renunciar, añadía una posdata ológrafa repitiéndole «que la perdición, desonrra y ruin del rey mi hijo y de nuestra casa, o el remedio dello, depende della».[38]

Era Carlos al más puro estilo: una apelación descarada a la lealtad de María hacia él, a su dinastía y al país que ella había gobernado con tanta dedicación, seguida de la amenaza de que su intransigencia les pondría en peligro a todos. La demostración de que, pese a quedarle tres semanas de vida, seguía dispuesto a chantajear a sus familiares más próximos y, como siempre, lo consiguió. Aunque María protestó enérgicamente, empezó a preparar el equipaje para volver a los Países Bajos para ayudar a su sobrino y a «nuestra casa». Y continuó haciéndolo incluso después de conocer la noticia de la muerte de Carlos, pero el esfuerzo terminó por agotarla y murió cuatro semanas después que su hermano. En cierto sentido, la mató él.

Carlos sometió a su hermano al mismo sistema de halagos y presiones, empezando en 1517 (antes de encontrarse ambos por primera vez), cuando Carlos temía que algunos miembros del séquito de Fernando estuvieran planeando hacerle regente de Castilla. Por tanto, ordenó su dimisión, a la vez que reconfortaba a Fernando diciéndole que «el mucho amor que le tenemos vaya siempre adelante y que en Nos ha de hallar hermano y padre verdadero». Al mismo tiempo, prometió a los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos que tan pronto como él

llegara a España su hermano se iría a vivir a los Países Bajos, pero sin informar de ello a Fernando hasta el mismo momento en que le dio la orden de partir de inmediato. El infante, de solo 14 años, «que era muy sabio e obediente al rey don Carlos su hermano, le respondió que Su Alteza lo ordenase como era su voluntad», y abandonó de inmediato su patria con destino a la corte de su tía Margarita. Dos años más tarde, Carlos se opuso enérgicamente a los intentos de presentar a su hermano como candidato de compromiso para la elección de rey de Romanos, prohibiéndole incluso poner un pie en Alemania. Una vez más, Fernando obedeció, asegurándole a su hermano que «pongo mi destino por entero en vuestras manos como en las de mi señor y padre, pues así os considero y os consideraré toda mi vida».[39]

Esta sumisión tuvo su compensación, porque en 1521 Carlos le cedió a su hermano las tierras austriacas heredadas por él, hizo un testamento en el que reconocía a Fernando como su heredero universal, y prometió garantizar su elección como rey de Romanos una vez él fuera coronado emperador. Al año siguiente, nombró a Fernando su vicario general en el imperio y, gradualmente, fue dejándose aconsejar por su hermano. «No existe en el mundo nadie a quien quiera y en quien confíe más que en vos, a quien tengo por tan justo e igual a mí [*ung autre moy mesmes*]», escribió en 1524, repitiendo la frase pocos meses después, y añadiendo que «os considero no solo mi hermano, sino también mi hijo mayor». Dos años después otorgó a Fernando plenos poderes para actuar en Italia también y «para dar, vender, prometer y hacer todas las cosas que pudiera hacer yo, y mandarlas hacer, como si estuviera yo allí, pues tanto es el amor y la confianza que siento por vos».[40]

No obstante, el emperador a veces también regañaba a su hermano. En 1535, unos rumores sobre «la mala gobernación de su casa» llevaron a Carlos a humillar a don Martín de Salinas,

representante personal de Fernando, durante una audiencia pública. El emperador le espetó con dureza:

> «Decidme, ¿mi hermano está tan pobre como se dice?». — «Señor, sí». — «¿La casa está pagada?». — «Señor, no, de harto tiempo»… — «¿Es mucho lo que se debe?». — «Señor, a algunos años y a otros más»… — «Diz que mi hermano tiene tan gran casa como solía». — «Señor, sí, y creo que mayor, porque antes suele crecer que menguar».

Afortunadamente para Salinas, la llegada de un mensaje urgente interrumpió la reprimenda, y cuando volvió a encontrarse en presencia imperial, Carlos se había calmado, y le dijo: «Mi hermano es sabio; no quiero que piense que yo me quiero meter en su administración. Haga lo que quisiere».[41]

Carlos también rompía sus promesas a Fernando cada vez que le venía bien. «Me encargaré de que tengáis todo lo posible —le escribió en tono cariñoso en 1525—, porque os merecéis mucho más, ya que vos sois el responsable de la victoria» en Pavía, «y, además, sabéis que mis asuntos son vuestros y los vuestros son míos», pero en la misma carta revelaba las limitaciones de estas promesas. «Me han aconsejado hacer tres cosas para salvaguardar mi posición en Italia» —dos de ellas en detrimento de Fernando — y, anunciaba, «las he hecho». Había firmado una paz por separado con Venecia «a condición de que me pagen 120.000 ducados», pese al compromiso anterior de obtener de la República algunas concesiones a favor de Fernando; y había acordado volver a nombrar a Francesco Sforza duque de Milán a cambio de 600.000 ducados, pese al acuerdo de que conferiría el ducado a Fernando como recompensa por su ayuda. En resumen, había vendido los sueños de su hermano para pagar sus propias deudas.[42] Lo mismo volvió a hacer dos décadas más tarde, cuando la ayuda militar de Fernando demostró ser igualmente decisiva para la derrota de los protestantes alemanes. Fernando tenía todo el derecho a esperar que Carlos le concediera el ducado de Wurtemberg, que los protestantes le habían arrebatado en 1534; pero, en lugar de ello, el emperador

instaló allí guarniciones españolas y administró el territorio él mismo. Peor aún, durante el invierno de 1550-1551 Carlos obligó a Fernando a aceptar al príncipe Felipe como próximo rey de Romanos, abriendo una terrible brecha entre los hermanos, que a punto estuvo de resultar fatal para la dinastía.

Carlos el encantador

Este comportamiento tan insensible para con sus familiares no pasaba desapercibido. «Está en la naturaleza del emperador —escribió Contarini en 1525— no preocuparse por nadie [*non sa accarezzare alcuno*]»; y, afirmaba, ese egoísmo tan arraigado explica «por qué caía bien a poca gente».[43] Pero en esto Contarini se equivocaba. Incluso aquellos a quienes Carlos desairaba e intimidaba seguían siéndole devotos. En su última carta, dictada cuando sabía que se estaba muriendo, su tía Margarita afirmaba que lo único que lamentaba era que «no podré ver ni hablar con vos una vez más antes de morir». En una de las últimas cartas que le dirigió, su hermana Leonor también declaraba que «En cuanto a mí, nunca he querido tomar ninguna decisión sin saber si era del agrado de vuestra Majestad, a quien considero mi soberano y padre»; María afirmaba que «después de Dios, vuestra Majestad lo significáis todo para mí»; e incluso después de la muerte de Carlos, Fernando siguió siendo absolutamente leal al emperador, llegando a decirle a un confidente que «he amado y reverenciado a mi hermano el emperador como si hubiera sido mi padre».[44]

Su hermana menor, Catalina, fue quizá la mayor admiradora de Carlos. En sus cartas se refería a él como su «verdadero padre y señor», y agradecía cualquier consejo que él quisiera compartir con su «hija y hermana» y «servydora». Aunque solo se vieron dos veces, es indudable que Catalina tenía a Carlos por un gran hombre y por su héroe. En 1528, manifestó que leer su carta sobre el desafío del rey de Francia «fue para my la mayor pena

que yo nunca recebý porque yo nunca querrya ver ny saber cosa… [en] que Vuestra Majestad pudyese aventurar el menor rysco del mundo». Cuatro años después, cuando los turcos invadieron Hungría, no tuvo ninguna duda de que «Vuestra Majestad como padre de todos nos a de anparar y remedyar» todo.[45] Dondequiera que él se encontrara, Catalina le enviaba paquetes desde Lisboa con exquisiteces y otros regalos que ella creía podían ser de su agrado: guantes perfumados y pañuelos bordados, jengibre y canela, mermelada y conservas que preparaba ella misma. En 1553 envió a un representante personal suyo a Bruselas para que cuidara de él, y cuando se trasladó a Yuste tras su abdicación, le envió un loro que hablaba y dos gatos de la India para que le sirvieran de distracción, aparte de una remesa semanal de pescado atlántico. También hizo todo lo que pudo para favorecer los objetivos políticos de Carlos, actuando como defensora suya ante su esposo el rey Juan.[46]

Aunque sus familiares fueron los principales adeptos del emperador, no fueron los únicos: muchos diplomáticos alabaron su capacidad para ganarse los corazones de los que le rodeaban. En 1530, mientras cruzaba los Alpes, una anciana se acercó a la brida de su caballo y le pidió dinero: Carlos «puso una mano sobre su cabeza y le habló amablemente» antes de ordenarle a su limosnero que solucionara sus necesidades. Pocas semanas después, cuando se aproximaba ya a Augsburgo, 140 dignatarios alemanes salieron a recibirle y «el emperador descendió de inmediato de su caballo y les habló con afabilidad, estrechando la mano de cada uno de ellos». Al año siguiente, en los Países Bajos, un embajador expresó su asombro ante «la universal devoción de toda la población. Dejando a un lado los que le veneran y adoran como si fuera Dios, «no hay nadie que no hable del emperador con afecto y en términos elogiosos». Al poco tiempo, durante la investidura de su hermana María como

regente de los Países Bajos, «El emperador habló durante más de una hora de una forma tan conmovedora y entrañable que casi hizo llorar a la audiencia». Para cuando hubo terminado, «todos eran de la misma opinión, como si se hubieran convertido en sus esclavos».[47]

Carlos demostró repetidas veces su capacidad para conectar con la gente durante su gira victoriosa por Sicilia e Italia en 1535-1536, ganándose el favor de súbditos que antes le habían sido contrarios, e incluso de antiguos enemigos. Cuando un grupo de prisioneros franceses quiso besar su mano en señal de sumisión, Carlos se negó: «antes con amorosas palabras las echa las manos sobre sus hombros, pasando con ellas algunas palabras, por lo cual el emperador les mostraba buena voluntad». En las audiencias, Carlos siempre «escuchaba amable y atentamente, con gran paciencia, no solo a embajadores, enviados y nobles, sino a personas sin ningún rango, e incluso pobres, que quisieran explicarle o pedirle algo, escuchándoles hablar sin interrumpirles nunca». Normalmente se prestaba a ello dos veces al día: «Siempre que salía de sus aposentos se detenía a escuchar o extender la mano a quien quería presentarle una petición, de manera que todo el mundo tenía la libertad de compartir sin ningún reparo sus preocupaciones con él y expresar abiertamente sus quejas, sin ningún temor». Asimismo, después de cenar, «se levantaba de la mesa y se quedaba humildemente de pie escuchando y hablando con todos por igual».[48]

Muchos observadores alababan también el autocontrol del emperador. En marzo de 1525, la imperturbabilidad que Carlos mostró al enterarse de la victoria de Pavía y la captura de Francisco impresionó al embajador de Mantua, que comentó que, por lo general, «no hace alardes de los éxitos ni se deprime con la adversidad». Seis meses más tarde, su colega veneciano informaba de que, cuando supo que Francisco yacía al borde de

la muerte en el Alcázar de Madrid, «el emperador, cuyo ánimo no se eleva por las cosas buenas que le ocurren ni decae cuando son adversas, se limitó a decir: "El Señor nos lo da y el Señor se lo lleva"». Cinco años después, al conocer la noticia de la muerte de su hijo pequeño, Fernando, «el emperador no mostró ninguna señal de dolor como las que los padres, por estoicos que sean, suelen dar ante desgracias como esta», y cuando su hermano le ofreció su consuelo, «el emperador le dijo que los hombres no deberían rebelarse ante lo que Dios nuestro Señor tenga a bien mandar», y «terminó la conversación diciendo que él y su esposa se encontraban en edad y condición de tener más hijos».[49] Por último, algunos diplomáticos extranjeros comentaban con aprobación el comedimiento de Carlos con la comida y la bebida, en línea con el que habían mostrado sus predecesores. «Siempre come solo —según una crónica veneciana de 1530—, en completo silencio». Los criados llevaban entre 25 y 30 «bandejas tapadas a su mesa, y levantaban las tapas solo para que él indicara cuáles eran de su gusto»; después de lo cual elegía «10 o 12, tomando dos o tres bocados de cada una, que cogía con sus manos de una bandeja de plata», y bebía «vino de una jarra 3 o cuatro veces». Comía «muy poco pan y nada de ensalada».[50]

Más o menos por la misma época, el predicador y cronista imperial fray Antonio de Guevara escribió un ensayo titulado «De la fisionomía y condiciones del emperador don Carlos», en el que se hacía eco de muchas de estas mismas consideraciones sobre las discretas costumbres gastronómicas del emperador: «En el tiempo de sus comidas casi no hablaba palabra y tampoco en la sala donde estaba»; «No era amigo de comer potajes, sino de asado y cocido», especialmente «venados y puercos monteses»; etcétera. Pero Guevara también hacía un retrato íntimo coincidente con el que Sancho Cota relatara una década antes: «Fue el emperador don Carlos mediano de cuerpo, de

ojos grandes y hermosos; las narices aguileñas, los cabellos rojos… la barba ancha y redonda y bien proporcionada, la garganta recia, ancho de espaldas, los brazos gruesos y recios, las manos medianas y ásperas, las piernas proporcionadas». Guevara solo señalaba un defecto:

> Su mayor fealdad era la boca, porque tenía la dentadura tan desproporcionada con la de arriba, que los dientes no se encontraban nunca de lo cual se seguían dos daños: el uno tener el habla en gran manera dura (sus palabras eran como belfo), y lo otro tener en el comer mucho trabajo; por no encontrarse los dientes no podía mascar lo que comía, ni bien digerir, de lo cual venía muchas veces a enfermar.[51]

En su Relación Final, tras haber regresado sano y salvo de su embajada a España en 1525, Contarini destacó la misma característica del emperador: «la mandíbula inferior es tan grande y tan larga que no parece natural, sino falsa», utilizando la palabra *posticcia*: como un postizo añadido artificialmente al cuerpo.[52]

Poco tiempo después, el emperador tomó algunas medidas para disimular este defecto. Alguien que le vio desembarcar en Italia en 1529 comenzaba su crónica exclamando que aunque «su boca siempre está abierta» no se parecía a sus últimos retratos porque «Su majestad se ha cortado el pelo al estilo italiano» y «lleva una barba puntiaguda».[53] Cuándo se produjo exactamente esta transición sigue siendo un misterio. Una moneda de oro acuñada en Aragón en 1528 mostraba claramente al emperador luciendo una barba, pero con el pelo todavía largo y liso. Debió de empezar a cortárselo más tarde *(véase lámina 17)*. En tiempos normales, los embajadores se habrían hecho eco de estos cambios tan llamativos, pero Carlos había mandado a prisión a la mayoría del cuerpo diplomático en enero de 1528 y por tanto privado a los embajadores de la posibil idad de verle. De modo que, cuando llegó a Italia, la sorpresa se añadió al impacto de esta metamorfosis. Cuando hizo entrada en Bolonia para su coronación, «lo que le daba una seriedad añadida era su barba rubia y su cabello dorado, que

llevaba al estilo de los emperadores romanos, cortado a la altura de la mitad de la oreja». En lugar de un duque de Borgoña, Carlos se había convertido en Marco Aurelio.[54]

Marco Aurelio proporcionó a Carlos más de un nuevo peinado, gracias a Guevara. El fraile afirmaba (falsamente, casi con toda seguridad) haber encontrado el texto griego de las memorias y cartas de Marco Aurelio en una biblioteca italiana y haberlos traducido primero al latín y luego al castellano mientras sirvió como *predicador* en la corte de Carlos, a partir de 1518. Diez años después, apareció en Sevilla la primera edición impresa del *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio emperador*. En 1550, habían aparecido 17 ediciones españolas, 9 italianas y 9 francesas, convirtiéndose (según algunos) en el libro más leído en la Europa del Renacimiento después de la Biblia.

En su larga dedicatoria a Carlos, Guevara comentaba: «Veo yo, Señor, que sois uno y tenéis de complir con muchos; sois solo, y no podéis estar siempre acompañado. Y véohos engolfado en muchos negoçios. Por cuya occasión los prínçipes tenéis neçessidad de muchos avisos». Guevara ofreció su ayuda para navegar por este mar de papeles y «persuadiros a imitar y seguir no a todos, no a muchos, no a pocos, sino a uno; y si a uno, a este solo Marco Aurelio», que había expandido el imperio que había heredado mediante una combinación de paciencia y justicia, no de guerras y conquistas. En una versión ampliada de su libro titulado *Relox de príncipes*, también dedicado a Carlos y publicado por primera vez en 1529, Guevara dedicaba cinco capítulos a los males de la guerra y otros tres a los males de las guerras de conquista y de colonización forzosa, más concretamente.[55]

¿Fue el destinatario de la dedicatoria uno de los lectores de Guevara? Según el autor, en 1525, «estando Su Magestad malo de la quartana me le pidió para passar tiempo y aliviar su

calentura. Yo serví a Su Magestad entonces con *Marco Aurelio*, el qual aún no le tenía acabado ni corregido»; y en el Prólogo a su *Relox de príncipes* expresaba el deseo de que: «De quando en quando tome [Vuestra Majestad] por estilo de leer en este libro un poco, y podrá ser que halle en él algún saludable aviso, el qual le aprovechará en algún tiempo». Ciertamente, Carlos tenía una copia manuscrita firmada, sin duda obsequio del autor; y ambas obras formaron parte de la «librería portátil» del emperador hasta 1542, fecha en la que las depositó en el castillo de Simancas junto con otros libros que él tenía en estima, pasando así a formar parte el núcleo de la biblioteca imperial.[56] Pero, si Carlos de verdad leyó las obras de Guevara, lo hizo selectivamente, centrándose en otro pasaje del prólogo al *Libro áureo* que comentaba con aprobación el ejemplo de Julio César y continuaba:

> Si Dios lo permittiendo, vuestros y nuestros peccados lo meresçiendo, fuese tan baxa vuestra fortuna como son altos los pensamientos, a lo menos los escriptores que escrevimos de vuestro siglo para los siglos advenideros pornemos en nuestras escripturas que por hazer verdad la letra del *PLUS ULTRA* que traéis en torno de vuestra divisa, intentastes conquistar toda la tierra.

La decisión de tomar a Julio César y no a Marco Aurelio como modelo acarrearía grandes costes para Carlos y sus súbditos, así como para sus enemigos.[57]

TERCERA PARTE

«Soberano desde donde sale el sol hasta el ocaso»

«Ahora nuestro César bien puede escribir también a sus amigos,
como lo hizo el César a los suyos, *Veni, vidi, vici*.»*

9. El últ imo cruzado, 1532-1536

El enfermo imperial

El 18 de enero de 1532, el día después de que de mala gana dejara Bruselas con destino a Alemania, el emperador escribió una carta inusualmente apasionada a su hermana María: «Aunque hace muy poco que partí de vuestro lado —escribía—, me siento aburrido e irritado, principalmente por tener que dejaros. Podéis estar segura de que no podré olvidar el tiempo tan maravilloso que hemos pasado juntos, como tampoco a vos ni a mi tierra natal, por más lejos que me encuentre». Diez días más tarde, le dijo a María que seguía sintiéndose «disgustado por tener que irse lejos de lo que tantas razones tengo siempre para amar y abrazar: a saber, vos y el país donde nací y me crie».[1]

Carlos trató de sobreponerse a su aburrimiento y soledad mediante la caza, disfrutando al máximo con el encuentro de manadas de hasta 500 ciervos en Renania, pero su gozo terminó abruptamente cuando «la correa de su perro se enredó en las patas de su caballo mientras galopaba para tratar de dar alcance a unos ciervos. Su caballo le tiró, y el pie de su Majestad se golpeó contra una gran roca». Esto, refería Carlos, «ha dejado muy dañada mi pierna: aunque no está rota ni dislocada, me duele mucho».[2] Así dieron comienzo cinco meses de problemas de salud. Aunque Carlos se negaba a ser sangrado o purgado —los remedios preferidos por la mayoría de los médicos de la época para tratar casi todos los males—, al principio se fue recuperando bien; pero cuando volvió a retomar la caza, la pierna se le hinchó, se puso ulcerosa, y el dolor no le dejaba dormir por las noches. Algunos temían que perdiera la pierna, y sus médicos le prescribieron una dieta para perder peso y no salir de su aposento; «la cura me irrita tanto como la herida», comentaba Carlos enfurecido a su hermana, pero los médicos

tenían ya tomada la medida a su ilustre paciente: «podría bien andar fuera, pero si los médicos le diésemos lugar para poco, sospechamos Su Magestad la ampliaría a mucho». Así pues, «acordamos de nos resistir todo lo que podemos».[3]

La posibilidad de la amputación llevó a Carlos a «pensar en una pierna de madera» y, según le dijo a María, «no puedo negar que estoy asustado»; pese a lo cual (continuaba diciendo), «no puedo dejar de rascarme las úlceras». Esta indisciplina le salió cara. Según el doctor Escoriaza:

> Le había quedado comezón en toda la persona y se rascaba mucho, especialmente en las piernas. Y de esta rascazón se le sarpullían muchas partes del cuerpo de tal manera que le subió al rostro. Y como Su Magestad lo arascaba se le vino a hinchar algo y se le hacer algunas sarnillas… Y no solamente el rostro, pero aún a los ojos se le comunicó la comezón. Y con los fregar, que decía Su Magestad que no lo podía escusar, y con se le haber puesto al rostro algunos remedios para templar la gran comezón, al ojo izquierdo le cargó tanto humor que se le puso muy colorado y hinchado.

Cuando aparecía en público «llevaba una pieza de tela verde sobre el ojo izquierdo», mientras que en privado Carlos se quejaba de que «me han cubierto con un ungüento de tal modo que parece que he ofendido al rey del carnaval, porque tengo la cara más negra que blanca. La verdad es que estoy muy enfadado con que me hayan salido tantas enfermedades al mismo tiempo». Los embajadores extranjeros se mostraban inquietos, ya que «ante las órdenes de sus doctores, su Majestad Imperial no mantenía relaciones comerciales con nadie».[4]

A principios de mayo Carlos se creyó ya recuperado, así que «ahora me levanto y me acuesto temprano. Tomo la comida principal a las 10 y luego ya solo la cena». También retomó la caza, pero con resultados predecibles: tras pasar «tres horas en la montura, persiguiendo un venado», tuvo fiebres. A pesar de lo cual, una semana más tarde pasó «dos días de caza», llegando a recorrer «media legua a pie», lo cual él mismo consideró «bastante milagroso»; pero el milagro no duraría. Tras tomar

parte en una procesión por las calles de Ratisbona, mientras «iba hablando con uno de sus cortesanos», Carlos «de repente sintió un dolor agudo en la pierna» y, por precaución, sus médicos le trasladaron a unas fuentes termales cercanas. Tomar baños allí «me proporciona dos beneficios —bromeaba con su hermana—: El primero es que me puedo rascar mientras me recupero; el segundo que, con el consentimiento del doctor, puedo volver a mi régimen habitual», es decir, que podía de nuevo comer y beber tanto y tan a menudo como gustara. Además, «Ahora dispongo de más tiempo libre, porque no dejo que nadie me venga a ver aquí». Ni siquiera Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela obtuvo permiso para visitarle más que uno de cada dos días para entregarle las cartas importantes, despachar asuntos y (cuando resultaba posible) requerir la firma de su señor. Carlos llegó a dejar la caza hasta mediados de julio, cuando «pasó tres días siguiendo el rastro de un oso». Su crisis de salud remitió justo a tiempo para enfrentarse a otro ataque otomano encabezado por el propio Solimán en persona.[5]

El heredero de Carlomagno se enfrenta al heredero de Alejandro

Carlos y su hermano habían hecho mucho para provocar el ataque. Poco después de la liberación de Viena en 1529, Fernando reconquistó varias ciudades en Hungría y trató de pactar una alianza antiotomana con el enemigo oriental del sultán, el sah de Persia: ambas maniobras enfurecieron al sultán. También la coronación imperial de Carlos. Un espía destinado en Estambul informaba de que Solimán «siempre dice "¡A Roma! ¡A Roma!", y detesta al emperador y su título de *César*». A su vez, «hizo que a él le llamaran *César*». Sus agentes encargaron emblemas de soberanía occidentales a joyeros venecianos, incluida una tiara de cuatro coronas (una más que el Papa), e iniciaron una campaña de propaganda que pretendía representar a su señor como Alejandro el Grande. Los

venecianos, en efecto impresionados, empezaron a referirse a él como Solimán el Magnífico.[6] En abril de 1532, el nuevo Alejandro salió de Estambul rumbo a su tercera campaña Danubio arriba, mientras su flota de guerra se dirigía hacia el Mediterráneo occidental.

Estos acontecimientos situaron a Carlos frente a un dilema. Aunque necesitaba todo el apoyo que Fernando pudiera prestarle contra el sultán, no se atrevía a despojar a Italia de tropas por miedo a un ataque naval otomano, tal vez en conjunción con otra invasión francesa. Francisco echaba la culpa de la crisis a las provocadoras acciones de Fernando en Hungría, y rechazó airadamente un llamamiento para que contribuyera a sufragar los costes de la defensa de Austria, concluyendo mordazmente: «es absolutamente justo que aquellos que recibieron el dinero de mi rescate y que se ven más amenazados por este asunto que nadie, sean los primeros en utilizar el dinero que obtuvieron de mí».[7]

Una vez el rescate privó a Francisco de los recursos necesarios para atacar a Carlos de nuevo, utilizó la diplomacia para minar a su rival, principalmente encomendando a Antonio Rincón (un excomunero entonces al servicio de Francia) una misión secreta para desviar al ejército otomano de Hungría a Italia. Solimán recibió a Rincón con evidentes muestras de favor, pero se negó a cambiar su estrategia. En lugar de ello, el 12 de julio de 1532 lanzó un desafío personal. «El rey de España —el sultán se negaba a reconocer el título imperial de Carlos— lleva mucho tiempo proclamando que quiere actuar contra los turcos; y ahora, por la gracia de Dios, yo estoy avanzando con mi ejército contra él. Si es un hombre con redaños y coraje, que venga y despliegue su ejército en el campo de batalla contra mis huestes imperiales». «La cuestión —terminaba diciendo— la resolverá la voluntad de Dios».[8]

Carlos sentía lo mismo. Tras recobrar su salud, informó a su hermana María de que «He resuelto dedicarme en cuerpo y alma a la defensa de Alemania» y «dado que en todos mis asuntos deposito mi esperanza y mi fuerza en Dios, mi creador soberano, quien a través de su infinita bondad siempre me ha ayudado», le pedía que organizara por todos los Países Bajos «procesiones y rezos píos» para ganarse la ayuda divina. También movilizó recursos terrenales, reclutando tropas en todos sus dominios (12.000 alemanes, 10.000 españoles, 10.000 italianos, 4.000 neerlandeses, etcétera), e inició negociaciones para convencer a los luteranos alemanes para que le ayudaran en la defensa de «la Patria». Al final tanto los líderes católicos como los luteranos confluyeron en Ratisbona para unirse al emperador en una nueva Dieta: asistieron los siete electores, más de sesenta gobernantes seglares y eclesiásticos y delegaciones de cincuenta y cinco ciudades, cada uno de ellos acompañado de una multitud de asesores y funcionarios: en total, unas 3.000 personas.[9]

La Dieta afrontaba tres problemas importantes: las divisiones religiosas en Alemania, la necesidad de movilizar todos sus recursos contra los turcos y el riesgo de que Francia pudiera declarar la guerra. Girolamo Alejandro, de nuevo nuncio ante la corte imperial, temía que la determinación del emperador pudiera flaquear porque, «aunque sus intenciones son buenas… es por naturaleza muy dado a mirar por sus propios intereses». En concreto, a Alejandro le preocupaba que Carlos «negociara un acuerdo con los luteranos sin el permiso del Papa», y durante una audiencia le recordó precipitadamente al emperador que:

> Cuando su Majestad era más joven y menos consciente de su poder, cuando se vio acuciado por tantos enemigos de la iglesia en la Dieta de Worms, se mantuvo firme, atendiendo solo a Dios y a su conciencia, lo que dio lugar al hermoso y sagrado edicto por el cual su Majestad se ganó tanto la gloria perpetua en este mundo como la perspectiva de recompensas eternas en el otro. Todo este poder podría perderse si su Majestad, ahora mucho más prudente y seguro de sus fuerzas

por tantos gloriosos éxitos que Dios le ha concedido, permitiera —no diré hiciera — durante estas conversaciones con los luteranos concesiones no razonables en perjuicio de la iglesia universal.

Esto enfureció a Carlos. «El Edicto de Worms era ciertamente bueno, sagrado y razonable», le replicó, y «¡habría entrado en vigor si los Papas hubieran elegido cumplir con su deber como se les pidió en aquel momento! Del mismo modo, si después de la Dieta de Augsburgo, su Santidad hubiera hecho lo que había hablado con su Majestad —esto es, convocar un concilio general— ahora no nos veríamos obligados a buscar un acuerdo con los luteranos». Perplejo ante la vehemencia de esta respuesta, el nuncio abandonó prudentemente la presencia imperial comentando que «como dijo Salomón, "los corazones de los reyes son inescrutables"».[10]

Poco sabía Alejandro que Carlos ya había decidido «procurar un acuerdo con los luteranos», alentado por su anterior confesor, Loaysa:

> Cuando fuerza faltare, que era la medicina verdadera, trabaje Vuestra Magestad de concertarse con ellos de la mejor forma que se pudiere; y si fueren herejes, séanlo, pues no se les puede dar el castigo, a lo menos moderando sus errores, queden vuestros servidores, pues se juzga ser necesario para defender la cristiandad del enemigo común.

Loaysa, por tanto, instaba de nuevo a Carlos a hacer algunas concesiones a los principales príncipes luteranos «y dexarlos vivir en su secta con condición que no dañe a los cristianos con sus errores, y ponerlos a todos en defensa contra el Turco». Aseguró al emperador que «sin temor de error que Vuestra Magestad haga y tome los medios mejores que pudiere para concertarse con luteranos para que os ayuden contra el turco». En julio, Carlos siguió su consejo y, mediante la Paz de Núremberg, prometió a los luteranos alemanes que dejaría en suspenso el Edicto de Worms hasta que el Papa convocara un concilio general. A cambio, ellos acordaron «ofresçer buena y común paz

en todo el Sacro Imperio y de ayudar contra el Turco» aportando y pagando a 40.000 soldados de a pie y 8.000 de a caballo.[11]

Marco Antonio Contarini, embajador de la República veneciana en la corte imperial, comprendió inmediatamente la relevancia de estas novedades. «Los turcos habían contado con los luteranos —apuntaba—, pero se sentirán decepcionados porque pronto llegarán al campamento imperial con el doble de hombres de los que habían acordado proporcionar». En Ratisbona, «casi a diario pueden verse desfilar compañías de infantería» seguidas por «unas 80 piezas de artillería adquiridas por Su Majestad».[12] A mediados de agosto, Contarini informó de que «todo el mundo está ya reunido y sin duda son más de 120.000 soldados de infantería y 20.000 de caballería», y comentaba entusiasmado: «Estoy seguro de que nadie ha visto dos ejércitos tan grandes como estos en más de 800 años, ni dos emperadores tan poderosos asumir tamaño riesgo». Los registros administrativos coinciden: una estimación de la época sobre las raciones requeridas por las huestes cristianas deja constancia de 114.000 soldados, más de 74.000 empleados en otras tareas, y más de 73.000 caballos. Carlos entró en Viena el 23 de septiembre, «mostrando al mundo que él no rehúye la batalla», y un mes más tarde, Solimán el Magnífico y sus tropas comenzaron su larga retirada hacia Estambul. Mientras, la armada imperial comandada por Andrea Doria, «mejor equipada y organizada que cualquier otra flota en muchos años», conseguía arrebatar a los turcos las fortalezas griegas de Coron y Patras.[134]

Carlos sabía que le debía mucho a la fortuna. «La dilación de aguas que ha hecho y haze, con que han escresçido los ríos» de Hungría en junio y julio de 1532 retrasó gravemente el avance otomano por el valle del Danubio, «lo qual ha sido muy provechosa cosa —reconocía—, porque ha hauido lugar de

reparar y fortalescer a Viena y las otras fuerças que están más adelante, y proueerlas de bastimientos, artillería y municiones para que se defienden».[14] También tuvo suerte porque, a pesar de que el coste de su enorme ejército y su armada le obligó a aumentar algunos impuestos y créditos, Francia realizó sin duda la contribución más cuantiosa. «Haviendo yo de yr a la dicha empresa —le manifestaba a su esposa en abril de 1532—, no hay dinero más pronto que lo que está en la Mota de Medina del rescate del rey de Françia». Carlos le ordenó la transferencia de más de 400.000 ducados de su reserva estratégica a Italia, «con toda la dissimulación y secreto que ser pueda»; y «quando se dixese que sacan algún dinero, no se debe dezir que es tanta cantidad, porque así en esos reynos como fuera dellos piensen que está todo allí». En julio y agosto, con similar «dissimulación y secreto», Carlos transfirió casi 500.000 ducados más.[15]

A pesar de que todo este gasto y concesiones a los luteranos alemanes no consiguieron llevar al ejército otomano a la batalla y por lo tanto tampoco vencerle, el emperador había hecho demostración de unas excelentes dotes de liderazgo, confiando el mando de las operaciones al conde palatino Federico, que llevaba tres décadas luchando en distintas guerras, así como solicitando y siguiendo el consejo de experimentados consejeros militares como Antonio de Leyva y Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duque de Alba.[16] Por otra parte, la capacidad para reunir unas fuerzas armadas de un tamaño sin precedentes en contra del «infiel» reivindicaba la tradición cruzada de la Casa de Borgoña, ejemplificada en las crónicas de caballería en las que le habían educado. Cuando el 21 de septiembre de 1532 Carlos subió en Linz a bordo de un barco que había de llevarle Danubio abajo a tomar personalmente el mando de su inmenso ejército, ataviado con una casaca de oro y una airosa pluma

blanca en la gorra, sin duda era —y así se le veía— el soberano más poderoso y exitoso que el mundo occidental había visto desde Carlomagno *(véase lámina 19)*.

De vuelta a España

Tales éxitos alarmaron al Papa. Aunque Clemente reconocía la necesidad de aprovecha r la retirada de Solimán y «romperle bien la cabeça porque no pensasse más en bolver a poner la Cristiandat en la necesidat pasada», temía que si Carlos «quisiesse tomar la empresa de seguir al Turco» en persona, «Francia entraría luego por Ytalia, y no hallando resistencia, pudiera hazer su hecho y poner en mucho trabajo y aflictión a Su Santidat». Así pues, le rogó al emperador que se reuniera con él en Roma para mantener más conversaciones sobre política. García de Loaysa se oponía rotundamente a esto. Retomando su papel como confesor y a la vez consejero, enunció con toda claridad: «[lo] que más convienen a vuestra conciencia y vuestra honra». Advertía que incluso «cuando Vuestra Magestad no durmiese entre tanto que es en Italia más de cuatro horas, y que todo el resto de las veinte y cuatro horas del día natural se ocupase en los negocios que ha de dexar asentados en Italia para la paz della, y para que otro día no se concierten con el rey de Francia, no podrá embarcarse» rumbo a España «antes del principio del mes de mayo» de 1533. Loaysa le recordaba a Carlos como «dexó a España y a su muger y hijos contra voluntad de todos, por el servicio de Dios y bien público de la cristiandad» y que cualquier retraso adicional en su regreso «no será pequeña tristeza» para ellos. Por tanto, urgía al emperador a que ahorrara tiempo limitándose a llegar tan solo hasta Bolonia para tratar con el Papa «lo que a sus negocios y paz de Italia conviene».[17]

El emperador había llegado a la misma conclusión. Alarmado por un brote de peste en la ciudad, a mediados de octubre abandonó Viena y no paró hasta llegar a Villach, la pequeña localidad de los Alpes austriacos a la que huiría cubierto de ignominia treinta años más tarde. Desde allí, la única ruta viable a Bolonia era a través del Paso del Brennero y las tierras venecianas, lo que generaba una situación delicada debido a que Carlos viajaba a la cabeza de 10.000 veteranos de infantería, 3.000 de caballería y un tren de artillería, así como su corte y «6.000 o más mujeres y chicos». Consciente de que solo hacía tres años desde que amenazara con invadir la República, el emperador dejó claras sus pacíficas intenciones a los diplomáticos venecianos que fueron a presentarle sus respetos (y tener vigilado a su ilustre visitante). Durante una audiencia, «vestido con su traje de montar y estando de pie todo el tiempo», explicó que «iba de camino a España, pero quería primero hablar con el Papa» y establecer «una unión para la defensa de Italia y sus Estados que mantendría cada uno de ellos dentro de sus actuales fronteras; y que decía esto no como emperador o rey de España, sino como rey de Nápoles y soberano italiano». Estaría de regreso en España por Navidad.[18]

Su plan se vino completamente abajo porque Clemente retrasó su salida de Roma, obligando a Carlos a posponer su partida hacia España. De modo que este aceptó la invitación del duque de Mantua para reunirse con él y (como comentaron con desaprobación los diplomáticos venecianos en su corte) «apenas una hora después de la salida del sol, su Majestad imperial sale a cazar con los nobles» hasta que «se hizo daño en el dedo índice de la mano derecha mientras cazaba unos jabalíes muy grandes», y su firma se hizo ilegible (Los Cobos tuvo que certificar que, efectivamente, el emperador había firmado las órdenes enviadas en su nombre).[19] Como terapia ocupacional, Carlos asistió a bailes, banquetes y representaciones en el gran castillo de

Gonzaga, y cuando nevó se prepararon «unos trineos al estilo alemán», «que proporcionaron gran divertimento a las damas, por ser algo tan nuevo e inusual». Todos comentaban que Carlos parecía sentirse «como en casa [*ha usato tal domesticheza*]» en Mantua, y que se las arreglaba «sin ninguno de sus sirvientes personales» y salía «sin ninguna escolta, caminando solo por la ciudad y el campo de sus alrededores».[20] Estos paseos le llevaron hasta la casa de Andrea Mantegna, que tenía un peculiar diseño en forma de cubo con un patio circular dentro, y al Palazzo del Te de Giulio Romano, diseñado como lugar de recreo para el duque y cuya construcción estaba a punto de terminar. Favorablemente impresionado, en noviembre de 1532 Carlos «dio orden de invertir 12.000 ducados al año en la renovación del castillo y palacio real de Granada, con la idea de vivir tranquilamente allí, al ser de los lugares más bonitos del mundo». Sus arquitectos elaboraron diligentemente un modelo italianizante del Palacio de Carlos V en el corazón de la Alhambra, y la construcción comenzó a la primavera siguiente.[21]

Esta prolongada residencia en Mantua dejó otro notable rastro artístico. Varios pintores habían retratado a Carlos desde niño, pero el día que entró en la ciudad el duque mandó llamar a Tiziano. El resultado se tradujo en una de las representaciones más celebradas del emperador: de pie, de cuerpo entero, con una barba que disimulaba en gran medida su prognatismo, mientras un perro de caza olfateaba la enorme coquilla de su armadura. Tiziano no trabajó solo. El pintor de corte de Fernando, Jakob Seisengger, había acompañado a Carlos a Mantua, y realizó un retrato prácticamente idéntico, lo que ha llevado a Diane Bodart a hacer la plausible sugerencia de que el emperador «posó» para ambos artistas en la misma época, quizá alentando una competición similar a la que en su día organizó Alejandro el Grande entre Lisipo y Apeles.[22] Durante casi una

década, sus o bras adquirieron en efecto la categoría de «retrato oficial» y fueron imitadas por todos los que querían pintar al emperador *(véase lámina 20)*.

Al final Clemente llegó a Bolonia el 10 de diciembre de 1532, y Carlos se reunió con él tres días más tarde. Como en la anterior ocasión, «el Papa y el emperador se alojan aquí en la misma casa», para que pudieran hablar juntos sin ser observados. Cuando se encontraron, «el emperador besó el pie del Papa con gran humildad y reverencia» y Clemente «abrazó a Carlos y le besó en la mejilla». Después Carlos pasó dos horas «describiendo todo lo que había ocurrido desde la última vez que se habían visto», pero luego (se quejaba el embajador veneciano) «aunque el emperador continúa reuniéndose a solas con el Papa, es imposible saber de qué hablan». En sus apariciones públicas juntos, el Papa y el emperador mostraron una absoluta cordialidad —durante una misa de Navidad, Clemente «bendijo la espada imperial» mientras Carlos leía uno de los sermones—, pero «cuando terminó la misa, los dos volvieron juntos a su palacio» para retomar sus conversaciones secretas.[23]

Clemente anunció una espectacular consecuencia de estas reuniones justo después de Año Nuevo: convocaría un concilio general para resolver los problemas religiosos de Alemania e invitaría a todos los gobernantes de la cristiandad para que asistieran a él en persona. A continuación nombró un comité de cardenales para que mantuviera «entrevistas casi diarias» con los ministros imperiales (incluidos Los Cobos y Granvela) con el fin de ultimar detalles y de este modo «evitarles a los dos Príncipes la molestia de conferenciar personalmente». Al menos un observador de Bolonia entendió esto como una mera estratagema para «desperdiciar el tiempo de la estancia del emperador aquí sin concluir nada» de importancia respecto al concilio general:

> El Papa dice desearlo, pero va dando largas al emperador y engaña a todo el mundo. Los dos nunca se pondrán de acuerdo en el tiempo y el lugar. Si Carlos fuera prudente, y viera el inminente peligro que corren él mismo e Italia, se encargaría seriamente de ello y no continuaría esperando… que sea el tiempo el que traiga la solución, porque lo más probable es que ocurra lo contrario.

Pero Carlos fue un ingenuo: nada más despedirse de Clemente, le aseguró confiado a Fernando que el concilio se reuniría en Bolonia, Mantua o Piacenza, y que en él se tomarían medidas para «la erradicación de la herejía luterana y el castigo de sus partidarios».[24]

En sus *Memorias*, el emperador reconoció con arrepentimiento que Clemente le había engañado: en la crónica de su segunda (y última) reunión, escribió, «no resultó el efecto completo de lo que Su Majestad pretendía». ¿Por qué se dejó embaucar por el Papa igual que siete años antes se había dejado embaucar por Francisco? Es fácil identificar un denominador común. El emperador llevó consigo a Bolonia casi 10.000 soldados «además del personal de su casa y su Consejo», y cada noche 500 hombres hacían guardia fuera y otros 200 dentro del palacio donde él y el Papa residían. Ante una fuerza tan abrumadora, Clemente podía alegar (como Francisco lo había hecho antes) que sus concesiones se habían hecho bajo coacción y no eran por tanto vinculantes.[25] Esas concesiones iban más allá de lo que Carlos habría soñado. El 24 de febrero de 1533, día del cumpleaños del emperador, además del aniversario tanto de Pavía como de su coronación, Clemente firmó un acuerdo secreto —«tan secreto que solo cuatro personas lo conocen»— por el que prometía persuadir a Francisco para que enviara ayuda en caso de otro ataque turco, denegar la petición de Enrique VIII para divorciarse de Catalina de Aragón y no firmar ningún tratado sin el consentimiento de Carlos. Tres días después, firmó también una «liga para la defensa de Italia» por la que se comprometía, tanto él como la mayoría de los demás estados italianos, a evitar servir de pretexto ni invitar a ninguna

potencia extranjera a interferir en los asuntos italianos, y crear un fondo de guerra destinado a la defensa mutua en caso de invasión.[26]

Mientras distraía al emperador con estos ardides, Clemente negociaba con los enviados especiales de Francia y de Inglaterra, llegados a Bolonia para insistir en la propuesta de Francisco de que su segundo hijo, Enrique de Orleans, se casara con la sobrina del Papa, Catalina de Médici, y de que los dos soberanos se reunieran en persona «una vez el emperador deje Italia», tal vez acompañados por Enrique VIII (convencido de que, si él se lo suplicaba en persona, el Papa le concedería su demanda de divorcio). Los enviados también entregaron una propuesta secreta de Francisco: dieciocho meses después de que se celebrara el matrimonio, él invadiría Italia y reconquistaría el ducado de Milán, que Clemente otorgaría entonces a Enrique de Orleans y Catalina.[27]

Vida familiar de nuevo

Ignorante del doble juego del Papa, en marzo de 1533 Carlos salió de Bolonia para solazarse: visitó el campo de batalla de Pavía, donde sus generales le mostraron el punto exacto en el que Francisco se había rendido, y Pizzighettone, donde el rey había permanecido prisionero. A continuación volvió a Génova, donde las galeras de Andrea Doria le esperaban para trasladarle a España, pero, en lugar de la habitual travesía de seis días, su flota tardó más de dos semanas en llegar. Según el embajador de Venecia, «era imposible descansar ni de día ni de noche» porque «todas las galeras, incluida la del emperador, portaban setenta u ochenta hombres más de lo habitual, por lo que en cubierta se estaba mal y bajo cubierta aún peor». En resumen, «parecía el infierno». El último tramo fue el más complicado, porque el viento se fue haciendo adverso a medida que las galeras se aproximaban a la costa española, «y los remeros, todos ellos

desnudos, remaron dos noches y casi dos días hasta acabar casi muertos». En cuanto pudo avistarse desde la galera del emperador la costa catalana, «sin decir ni una palabra, salvo para impedir que nadie más le siguiera», el emperador y un reducido grupo de cortesanos bajaron a una pequeña barca que les llevó hasta la orilla y se incautaron de «todos los caballos que pudieron encontrar en un pueblo cercano». Cabalgando de incógnito toda la noche hasta Barcelona, el emperador recorrió 150 kilómetros en solo 24 horas y «halló a la emperatriz en la cama, que aún no era levantada, donde el emperador también se echó, y estuvo hasta las dos, que se levantaron y comieron».[28]

Carlos había indicado a Isabel que llevara a los dos hijos que les quedaban vivos a reunirse con él cuando desembarcara. Más de sesenta años más tarde, Felipe II recordaba todavía la emoción de aquella reunión: «En el principio del año de 1533 [fui] con la emperatriz mi señora, que aya gloria, a Barcelona a esperar allí al emperador mi señor» y «cumplí entonces en Barcelona seis años».[29] El príncipe había cambiado mucho desde que su padre le dejara, cuatro años antes, al igual que la emperatriz. Durante sus primeros meses como regente había sentido la necesidad de solicitar «la común opinión de vuestros súbditos y servidores que hablan en esta materia» antes de remitir los asuntos a Carlos para que él tomara la decisión final: pero poco a poco había ido ganando confianza en sí misma. Cuando en septiembre de 1530 su marido le dio orden de preparar una campaña en el Mediterráneo al año siguiente, ella se opuso enérgicamente:

> Cada día se conosce y vee por espiriencia ques mayor la necesidad, y que desde luego se entendiese en preparar los aparejos que para la dicha armada serán menester, porque de otra manera no se podría hazer a tiempo que el verano que biene se pudiese esecutar esta empresa.

También le hacía reproches a su marido cuando este no le escribía —«suplico a Vuestra Magestad sea servido a dar orden como de aquí adelante no se pase tanto tiempo sin screvirme, sino de un XX en XX días yo sepa de Vuestra Magestad»— y continuamente le insistía en que volviera a casa porque «con más razón que nadie la deseo».[30]

Carlos pasó casi dos meses con su esposa en Barcelona antes de marchar a celebrar el Corpus Christi en Montserrat y luego a reunirse con las Cortes de la Corona de Aragón en Monzón; pero nada más hubo pronunciado el discurso de apertura llegó la noticia de que Isabel estaba «muy enferma y a punto de morir», casi con seguridad a raíz de un aborto espontáneo. El emperador entonces hizo el viaje más rápido de su vida, recorriendo en solo dos días los 234 kilómetros de distancia que hay entre Monzón y Barcelona para estar al lado de su mujer. No volvió hasta que ella se recuperó del todo.[31]

Carlos pasó el resto del año aislado «en los mortales trabajos destas Cortes», y se reunió de nuevo con la emperatriz en Zaragoza para celebrar el Año Nuevo. A continuación la pareja se trasladó a Toledo, que se convirtió en su capital hasta mayo, cuando «los calores del verano» les llevaron a moverse hacia el norte. La emperatriz y la mayor parte de la corte se trasladaron directamente a Valladolid, mientras Carlos viajaba por las ciudades de Castilla la Vieja que habían tenido más protagonismo durante la revuelta comunera: Segovia, Ávila, Salamanca, Zamora y Toro.[32] Llegó incluso a visitar Villalar, donde había tenido lugar la decisiva batalla, y pasó un tiempo en la Universidad de Salamanca, «diziendo era el tesoro con que proueía a sus reynos de justicia, y gouuierno, para el buen concierto dellos». Carlos empezó por expresar su agradecimiento al obispo, Luis Cabeza de Vaca, su primer preceptor, y luego fue «a las Escuelas y oyó misa en la capilla de las Escuelas, y acabada ovo una disputa» sobre un tema muy pertinente: «Si un príncipe

cristiano debe librar una guerra para vengarse de la ofensa a un aliado». Después, el emperador asistió a una serie de conferencias impartidas por las más destacadas eminencias universitarias; fray Francisco de Vitoria sobre teología, Juan Martínez de Silíceo (que en breve se convertiría en preceptor del príncipe Felipe) sobre filosofía, el doctor Gonzalo Hernández sobre medicina y el resto sobre leyes. En cada aula, el emperador «arrimóse a un vanço luego en entrando» y se puso a escuchar (aunque dado que toda la enseñanza era en latín, probablemente no entendió mucho) antes de visitar «la librería y las escuelas». En total, pasó cuatro horas haciéndose pasar por un estudiante.[33]

Entonces ocurrió una tragedia familiar. Mientras Carlos estaba visitando a su madre en Tordesillas, la emperatriz «a la seis de la tarde, malparió un hijo muerto; que por el cuento de su preñado seria de ocho meses». El cronista Pedro Girón dedicó un párrafo extensamente corregido a este trágico suceso. Algunos doctores afirmaron que la causa «avya sido que como se avya hecho preñada estando en conbalescencia de la grave enfermedad que tubo en Barcelona no estaba tan fuertes las ligaduras»; otros «dizen que pasando a ver al príncipe su hijo» la emperatriz «cayó y desta cayda moryó. Dios sabe lo cierto». Tal como sucediera con la muerte de su hijo Fernando, el emperador «tomó lo del parto de la imperatriz como príncipe y como cristiano», y pronto retomó la caza y la práctica de deportes (excepto cuando «algún exceso en jugar a la pelota» le dejó «algo achacoso de un pie»). Es evidente que también reanudó las relaciones conyugales, ya que, por Navidad, la emperatriz volvía a estar embarazada.[34]

Por entonces la escena internacional se había transformado debido a importantes acontecimientos. Enrique VIII no solo repudió oficialmente a su esposa Catalina y declaró bastarda a su hija María, sino que además se casó con Ana Bolena y la hizo

coronar reina de Inglaterra. Clemente excomulgó a Enrique, que se vengó renunciando a su obediencia a Roma. El Papa entonces viajó a Marsella, donde ofició el matrimonio de Catalina de Médici con Enrique de Orleans y coordinó la política anti-Habsburgo con Francisco: ambos gobernantes acordaron oponerse tanto a un concilio general (porque eso fortalecería la posición de Carlos en Alemania) como a la nueva Liga italiana (porque desbarataría los planes franceses de conquistar Milán).

Carlos no podía ignorar la humillación de Enrique VIII a su tía Catalina, e instó a sus hermanos —Fernando en Alemania, María en los Países Bajos, Leonor en Francia, Catalina en Portugal— a unirse a él en una declaración de apoyo a Catalina «porque la cuestión no solo afecta a la conciencia, sino también, dado el estado actual de los asuntos públicos en la cristiandad, debemos apoyar el criterio y el mandato de la Iglesia».[35] De manera significativa, su carta incluía, en dos ocasiones, la advertencia «por el momento [*pour maintenant*]», sin duda porque, durante algunos meses, Clemente y Enrique dejaron también la puerta abierta a un acuerdo negociado: el Papa pospuso la publicación de su sentencia de excomunión y el rey retrasó la aprobación definitiva de la legislación en virtud de la cual Inglaterra rompía relaciones con Roma. Entonces, en marzo de 1534 el Papa dio por finalizado el *impasse* mediante una declaración de validez del matrimonio de Enrique con Catalina y de legitimidad de su hija María. En una carta de Roma en la que se anunciaba esta decisión, un diplomático imperial alardeaba de que esta constituía el más importante de todos los éxitos del emperador, «porque las otras victorias an sido en bienes temporales y dominios deste mundo, pero esta ha sido en defensión de nuestra sancta fee catholica», y abría el camino a la conquista de Inglaterra. Los consejeros españoles de Carlos sentían menos entusiasmo. Nada más recibir la noticia

tres semanas más tarde, instaron al emperador a mandar enviados a Roma, París y Londres para explorar las posibles reacciones a una invasión de Inglaterra por parte de los Habsburgo, porque «haciéndolo de sobresalto y sin ellos seria darles ocasión de sospecha que Su Magestad querría guiar la cosa que concertalle sin ellos». Hasta entonces, Su Magestad debía anunciar que «entiende emplearse como él ha dicho en todo lo que se hallare ser conveniente para la dicha execución», pero no hacer nada «por el momento» mientras «se podra tanto major ver y considerar segun el tiempo y el suceso de los negocios».[36]

Carlos siguió su consejo. Pese al odio generalizado en España hacia la nueva esposa de Enrique, como refleja el insultante vocablo «anabolena» (como sinónimo de «enredadora», «loca», «prostituta»), que (sorprendentemente) todavía hoy se sigue utilizando, el emperador no hizo nada para ayudar a su tía Catalina.[37] En unas cartas dirigidas a su hermano achacaba su inacción a «la agitación y los conflictos tanto en Alemania como en Italia, que desde la cumbre de Marsella han ido caldeándose y finalmente han acabado por explotar». En concreto, tropas luteranas, dirigidas por Felipe de Hesse y financiadas por Francia, invadieron el ducado de Wurtemberg y restauraron al gobernante exiliado por Carlos y Fernando, expulsando a las guarniciones Habsburgo. Una vez más, Carlos no actuó y aconsejó a su hermano «ganar tiempo contemporizando y disimulando». En septiembre repitió su mensaje a Fernando: «haríais bien en olvidar o hacer pasar por alto el pasado» a fin de preservar la paz de Alemania. La pérdida de Wurtemberg era un precio pequeño en pago por la lealtad de los luteranos.[38] El Consejo demostró ser prudente: una flota otomana de 160 galeras acababa de entrar en el Mediterráneo occidental y apoderarse de Túnez, un estado subordinado a España situado en el norte de África, a solo 250 kilómetros de Sicilia.

Carolus Africanus

Herido por las derrotas de 1532, Solimán adoptó una estrategia naval diferente. Mandó traer a Estambul a Jeireddín Barbarroja, quien llevaba tiempo usando Argel como base desde la que aterrorizaba con sus galeras a los cristianos a todo lo largo del Mediterráneo occidental, y le nombró comandante de la flota imperial. Dos años después, Barbarroja navegaba hacia el oeste y tomaba Túnez mientras el sultán marchaba hacia el este en contra del sah de Irán. Carlos no podía pasar por alto esta combinación de desafío y oportunidad. Un diplomático inglés comentó que, dado que «Túnez es una ciudad tan grande como Roma, donde Barbarroja puede fácilmente mantener su flota y tener bajo constante amenaza a España e Italia», el emperador «tendrá que reforzarse lo suficiente para poder hacer frente a la flota de Barbarroja en combate o si no habrá de estar en constante movilización para defenderse». Carlos opinaba lo mismo, e informó a Lope de Soria, entonces su embajador en Venecia, de que había dado órdenes para que «se adereçen las prouisiones y otras cosas nescesarias para que a la primavera se pueda hazer una armada gruessa para resistir a la de los enemigos y ofenderla y hecharla de los mares de la Cristiandad».[39]

Poco tiempo después, Carlos supo que el Papa había fallecido. Aunque Clemente había sido un aliado un tanto voluble, que conspiró a menudo para utilizar a Francia para poner freno al control Habsburgo sobre Italia, había apoyado incondicionalmente los esfuerzos del emperador contra los turcos. Carlos se preguntaba si el próximo Papa renegaría de los tratados defensivos firmados por sus predecesores y animaría a Francisco a hacer cumplir sus reivindicaciones sobre Milán y Génova; pero, llegado el momento, el cardenal Alejandro Farnesio, convertido en el papa Pablo III, declaró de inmediato que mantendría todas las alianzas existentes y que tomaría

medidas drásticas para reformar la Iglesia. En su primer cónclave también anunció su apoyo total a la campaña en África que Carlos tenía prevista y la proclamó como una Cruzada. En marzo de 1535, al saber que Solimán se había quedado en Bagdad para comenzar una nueva campaña en Irán, Pablo declaró que «supone una gran oportunidad para el emperador atender no solo a todo aquello que África requiera sino también a empresas mayores y de más grande honor» —refiriéndose con esto a la conquista de Estambul—, y le urgía a «no desperdiciar esta maravillosa oportunidad que Dios ofrece».[40]

Una vez más, los consejeros de Carlos no compartían el mismo entusiasmo. Granvela predijo una alarmante escalada de potenciales desastres si Carlos abandonaba su campaña en África porque los franceses «enseguida pondrían su pie en Italia» en apoyo de la reivindicación del duque de Orleans y su prometida Médici sobre Milán, «y a continuación encontrarían alguna excusa o pretexto para ocupar Nápoles» y «reclamarían Florencia, Urbino, Parma, Piacenza, Montserrat, Génova y Saboya». Tavera subrayaba los altos riesgos de «tentar tantas vezes la fortuna, como Vuestra Magestad lo haze, saliendo destos sus reynos y cometiéndose a los peligros de mar y de las tierras donde no es señor», dado que «mueve la guerra es tan peligrosa materia y tan larga y incierta, como avemos ya visto». Y añadía cruelmente: «Acuérdese Vuestra Magestad quel emperador Maximiliano, seyendo tan valeroso príncipe y tan sabio en la guerra, por no medir su caudal con su coraçón, erró grandes empresas». Tavera a continuación repetía los argumentos que había utilizado en contra de desafiar al rey Francisco a un duelo: no convenía que Carlos «se aventure como le haría un caballero mancebo, que ni toviese que perder ni aún a quien dar cuenta de si», porque

> Al cabo es total destrución de reinos y señoríos tan apartados y divisos como los que Dios le a dado; y que Vuestra Magestad siendo tan acabado príncipe tiene el trabajo quel sabe en regirlos y sustentarlos, quanto más quedarían desolados y desanparados en poder de un niño de tan tierna hedad si Vuestra Magestad fuese por allá detenido o le acaesciese otro desastre semejante.[41]

Al principio, parecía que el emperador hacía caso de estos avisos, porque en febrero de 1535 le aseguró a su hermano desde Madrid que, aunque iba a ir a Barcelona, era solo «para desde allí poder observar y reaccionar a lo que Barbarroja podría hacer y mejorar el estado de mi propia armada». Carlos había prometido volver a Alemania en cuanto Doria hubiera zarpado con la flota. Algunos le creyeron. Aunque los preparativos navales y militares «para hazer guerra en Africa a Barabarroxa» impresionaron a Pedro Girón, «no se pensó en este tienpo que Su Magestad en persona fuera en ella». El representante de Fernando en España también informó en tono de satisfacción de que el emperador viajaba a Barcelona meramente «a dar calor a su armada y hacer rostro a lo que se puede ofrecer de Francia».[42] Su error salió a la luz por primera vez por un descuido. El 28 de febrero, Carlos hizo un nuevo testamento declarando explícitamente «que había decidido viajar en persona con su armada» y su secretario le envió una copia a su hermana María, quien inmediatamente compartió las sensacionales noticias con Fernando, añadiendo en tono desaprobatorio que la reputación de su hermano «no se mantendría como debiera, porque a fin de cuentas está poniendo en riesgo su persona por hacerse a la mar y por ir a luchar contra un simple pirata».[43]

Tres días después de haber firmado su testamento, «partí Sa Majestat» de Madrid a Barcelona, dejando de nuevo a su esposa «bien preñada» y deprimida: según doña Estefanía de Requesens, una de las damas de compañía de Isabel, «ans dexada tanta soledad, com se pot pensar: la Enperatriz està qual Deu se apiade».[44] Tres meses después, Isabel dio a luz de nuevo: a Juana. Como de costumbre, lo hizo sola.

Una vez quedó claro que Carlos encabezaría la flota en persona, sus súbditos acudieron en masa a Barcelona. Según un testigo presencial, «Era tal e tan grande la fama e la voluntad con que se iva contra los infieles que los caminos venían llenos de gente. Induzían a sus hijos los padres a guerra tan justa… Querían fasta los hijos pequeños yr con los padres, las mugeres seguir la fortuna de los maridos». Don Martín de Salinas se mostraba de acuerdo: «Es cosa incredible los caballeros que cada día vienen para ir en esta jornada». Entre ellos, el hermano de la emperatriz, don Luis de Portugal, el duque de Alba, siete marqueses, once condes y una docena de otros prominentes nobles españoles. Los contemporáneos elogiaron la cantidad y calidad de los barcos y los soldados reunidos en Barcelona. A finales de abril arribó un escuadrón portugués de más de veinte navíos, incluyendo un galeón que pasaba por ser el más grande del mundo y que transportaba a unos dos mil hombres, y se unió a otros contingentes venidos de Vizcaya, Andalucía y Málaga. También llegó una flota de galeras desde Génova, encabezada por Doria. «Llegando en frente [del emperador] abaxaron tres vezes las vanderas con gran grita diziendo "Imperio, imperio"», tras lo cual Doria desembarcó para saludar al emperador y «estovieron solos e platicaron en secreto».[45]

El emperador dio una serie de pasos importantes para asegurarse de que Europa permanecería en paz durante su ausencia. Tras haber convencido al nuevo Papa, de quien esperaba que disuadiera a Francia de atacar cualquiera de sus propias posesiones, dio orden a sus lugartenientes de que se abstuvieran de atacar a otros, incluyendo a Enrique VIII. Considerando «que dos tan grandes empresas serían difíciles o como imposibles de emprender y bien conduzir en un mismo tiempo», Carlos ordenó a Enrique de Nassau, comandante de las fuerzas imperiales en los Países Bajos, «que se deve escusar de sacar gente de guerra para hacer ejército de tierra en el presente

año y sazón». Cuando Nassau protestó, Carlos le replicó con firmeza: «Comprendo perfectamente que el asunto de Inglaterra no es algo que deba dejarse en el olvido pero debemos adaptarnos a la situación actual y concentrarnos en los asuntos más apremiantes». Del mismo modo recordó a Fernando de nuevo que «nuestra intención y resolución es no ir a la guerra en sitio alguno a menos de que nos veamos forzados a ello».[46] Mientras tanto, en Barcelona, «No paraua noche e dia el emperador, yendo a ver lo uno e proueer lo otro». Estuvo presente cuando «acuñóse mu cha moneda de escudos e coronas de oro», que usó para pagar a la flota entera hasta finales de mayo. Además, «leva Su Magestad en dinero 2.000.000 ducados», y dejó otro millón como reserva estratégica en La Mota de Medina de Campo. Supervisó la fabricación de picas, arcabuces y munición; y cuando supo que una flota con hombres y provisiones llegaba a Barcelona desde Málaga, «subió a cauallo por el Monjui» donde «desde la altura del monte se descubrieron».[47] A continuación, presidió una asamblea general de todas sus fuerzas «armado y en persona, sentado con sus oficiales» *(véase lámina 21)*. Cuando algunos «grandes y cortesanos» preguntaron dónde iban a ir y quién iba a dirigir la expedición, el emperador contestó:

> «No queráis saber el secreto de vuestro señor. A lo que decís queríades conocer generales yo las mostraré»; y a la hora manda desplegar su estandarte y les muestra un devoto y rico crucifijo que en él había figurado, diciéndoles: «Veis aquí vuestro capitán general, y a mí me habéis de obedescer por su alférez».[48]

El 28 de mayo, «antes de ser el día [Carlos] fue a visitar la casa e monasterio de Monserrat» donde «confessó e recibió los sacramentos e torno este día en la tarde a Barcelona». Dos días después, «sonó la real trompeta por toda la ciudad» convocando a embarcar al resto del ejército. Tras escuchar misa de nuevo en la iglesia de Santa María del Mar, Carlos «se vino a la galera bastarda del príncipe Andrea Doria de 26 vancos e boga en cada uno de quatro en quatro», donde «haziendo el señal de la Cruz

en la frente, los ojos al cielo levantado con votos secretos, invocó la soberana deidad». Su flota de 215 navíos y 20.000 soldados puso rumbo a Cerdeña.[49]

Gracias a la formidable fuerza logística de sus dominios, Carlos llegó a Cagliari justo seis días más tarde que otra flota imperial con tropas y municiones procedentes de Alemania, Países Bajos e Italia, que también llevaba a bordo a muchos nobles (entre ellos Ferrante Gonzaga, hermano del duque de Mantua, y el marqués del Vasto). Estos hombres y sus colegas de la península ibérica llegarían a establecer un fuerte vínculo afectivo en el transcurso de la campaña, que formaría un poderoso cuadro internacional en el centro de la monarquía, y en cuya lealtad Carlos siempre podría confiar. También acompañaba al emperador un séquito cuidadosamente escogido (que incluía al cronista Jean Vandenesse, el poeta Garcilaso de la Vega y el pintor de batallas Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen), dispuesto siempre a ensalzar y difundir sus logros. Gracias a ellos, y a los numerosos embajadores extranjeros presentes entre esta fuerza expedicionaria, es posible hacer un seguimiento casi hora a hora de la empresa de Túnez y del papel que Carlos desempeñó en ella.

Mientras su flota se abastecía de provisiones en Cerdeña, el emperador se reunió con sus principales ministros y entró a orar en varias iglesias hasta que el 14 de junio la gran flota (compuesta entonces por 400 navíos con unos 50.000 hombres a bordo) partió hacia África. Llegaron al día siguiente. «Mucho quisiera ser el emperador el primero que saltara a tierra —comentaba con aprobación el arcabucero Martín García Cerezada—, mas fuéle estorbado por su consejo». En lugar de ello, la flota viajó al emplazamiento de la antigua Cartago, donde Carlos y sus tropas desembarcaron y marcharon en dirección a La Goleta, el puerto de Túnez.[50]

No pillaron a Barbarroja desprevenido —un diplomático enviado por Francisco a Estambul había parado en Túnez para ponerle al día sobre los preparativos del emperador—, pero el rey pirata confió en el calor y las defensas improvisadas que había desplegado en torno a La Goleta para diezmar a la fuerza invasora y no pudo impedir el desembarco, dándole de este modo tiempo a Carlos para montar su campamento aproximadamente a un kilómetro y medio de la ciudad. El emperador pasó casi un mes «construyendo trincheras, fosos y bastiones para la salvaguarda de sus huestes», actuando como su «capitán general y sargento y soldado, llamando a unos hermanos y a otros hijos» y tomando también parte en las continuas escaramuzas. Un día, «con su lanza en la mano, diciendo *Santiago*, se va para los moros con la determinado ánimo»; otro, se metió en las trincheras, pidió un arcabuz y disparó tres descargas contra el enemigo. A continuación, «como se açercaua el tiempo de dar la batería, tanto más al César crescía la diligencia e se le aumentaua el cuidado de lo que se auía de proveer». Ofreció recompensas a «qualquier persona que primero entrasse en La Goleta» y

> Por sus quarteles hizo su habla a los tudescos e italianos; de ay vino a los españoles, e les dixo: «Bien sé que ni mis palabras abiuaran vuestro esfuerço pues ya sé a lo que se estiende, ni lo que digo es por dubda que tengo de lo que sois. Las otras batallas de que auéis salido vencedores han sido mías; esta que tenéis de presente es de Dios, del qual en esta jornada quise yo ser su alférez».

El 14 de julio, «auiendo el emperador oydo misa con los de su corte», a las 5 de la mañana, la artillería comenzó un bombardeo simultáneo desde las trincheras y desde las galeras hasta que, ocho horas después, abrieron una brecha por la cual la infantería pudo lanzar un exitoso ataque, procediendo acto seguido al saqueo de la ciudad.[51]

Llegado este momento, informaba Carlos a su hermana María, «mi Consejo al completo decidió que debíamos abandonar la campaña. Yo tenía que embarcar, decían, porque

ya había conseguido el objetivo para el que había venido». En un principio, añadía Carlos, «como nuevo capitán yo aceptaba sus consejos», como había hecho en Hungría tres años atrás; pero en esta ocasión se impuso a sus generales y fue él quien tomó la iniciativa. «Yo no estaba de acuerdo», informaba a María, de modo que «tras continuar debatiendo sobre el tema, cambié de opinión, y el miércoles 20 de este mes zarpé hacia Túnez».[52]

Era una decisión temeraria, porque para llegar a Túnez había que atravesar 10 kilómetros de arena desértica, y «nuestro ejército carecía de carros para transportar el equipaje», por lo que «los soldados tuvieron que cargar sobre sus espaldas todo lo que necesitaban» aparte de llevar a rastras los cañones de asedio. Pronto empezó a escasear el agua, incluso para el propio Carlos. García Cerezada «le estaba mirando a la boca» cuando el emperador visitó su unidad «y veía sobre sus dientes tanto sarro negro de polvo y de la sed, que era cosa muy de ver sobre tales dientes».[53] Barbarroja había desplegado sus tropas a las afueras de la ciudad y cuando su artillería abrió fuego sobre el ya próximo ejército cristiano, Carlos fue serenamente a ocupar su puesto entre las tropas, hablando con cada grupo en su propio idioma. Ante las protestas del marqués del Vasto, «El emperador se rio y le aseguró que "no había motivo para temer, porque ningún emperador ha muerto por fuego de artillería"». De repente, los cautivos cristianos de la ciudadela se sublevaron contra sus captores, haciendo huir a Barbarroja, preso del pánico. Aunque la ciudad no ofreció resistencia, una vez las tropas del emperador entraron y liberaron a todos los cautivos cristianos (20.000, según Carlos), comenzó el expolio. Mezquitas, madrasas y hogares fueron saqueados; y según un testigo presencial inglés, todos los musulmanes «que encontraron fueron vendidos como bestias, así como muchas mujeres y niños, una escena lamentable de ver».[54]

«La continua preocupación, vigilancia y esfuerzos, más propios de un capitán de a pie que de un emperador», dejaron a Carlos exhausto. Cuando el embajador de Ferrara llegó para darle la enhorabuena, se encontró al vencedor tendido «sobre su cama, a medio vestir» porque «mientras iba de aquí para allá atendiendo a todo» durante el enfrentamiento con Barbarroja, «se había caído a los pies de un caballo» y herido en la pierna derecha; y al día siguiente, «habiendo entrado en la ciudad con el deseo de intervenir en persona para impedir desórdenes entre los soldados, se resbaló sobre unas baldosas mojadas y volvió a ser atropellado por un caballo, haciéndose esta vez daño en la pierna izquierda». El obligado reposo permitió al emperador darse cuenta de lo afortunado que había sido. Confesó entonces que «nunca había pensado que Barbarroja pudiera reunir tantos soldados», y que «la ciudadela estaba tan bien protegida y abastecida con tal cantidad de pólvora, municiones, sal de roca y alimentos» que habría podido resistir un largo asedio. También se quejó amargamente de que sus aliados locales no hubieran prestado la ayuda prometida. No obstante, el emperador no tardó en olvidar estos perennes peligros asociados a las campañas en África, y en su lugar agradeció a Dios que le hubiera concedido la victoria «sobre un enemigo que no era tan débil ni insignificante como creíamos, sino muy poderoso por tierra y por mar, en una operación que implicaba dificultad y determinación». A continuación restauró al rey depuesto por Barbarroja y le impuso un tratado que permitía practicar el culto católico en la ciudad, antes de regresar a La Goleta, donde sus ingenieros repararon y mejoraron sus fortificaciones.[55]

Dado que solo estaban a mediados de agosto, y que el sultán Solimán continuaba en la campaña contra Irán, algunos se hicieron eco del requerimiento del Papa a Carlos para acometer empresas aún mayores. Según Lope de Soria, «Todos juzgan que deue yr derecho a Constaninopoli, siendo tan poderosa, pues al

presente sería más fácil allí la victoria que la de Barbarossa, por estar tan solo de Turcos y de armada de mar Constaninopoli y toda la Grecia, y el Turco ausente y tan lexos y con tanto trauajo». Otra coyuntura tan favorable, advertía, «no sucedera en muchos años». El emperador continuó imperturbable: «conformándonos con el tiempo y con la posibilidad de las cosas», prefirió retirarse mientras sacara ventaja. «Tras haber debatido, sopesado y considerado todo, viendo que la temporada de navegación toca a su fin… y que un gran número de nuestros soldados han caído enfermos o heridos —explicó a su embajador en Francia—, hemos decidido, teniendo en cuenta la estación y los límites de lo posible, embarcar junto con nuestro ejército y visitar nuestros reinos de Nápoles y Sicilia». Puso entonces precio a la cabeza de Barbarroja —«50.000 ducados a quien le traiga vivo y 10.000 ducados a quien lo entregue muerto»— y volvió a embarcar en su buque insignia, dejando una nutrida guarnición en La Goleta. El 21 de agosto puso rumbo a Sicilia.[56]

La gira victoriosa

Según un diplomático inglés, toda Europa «espera el resultado de la empresa del emperador, porque si fracasa, el mundo entero» abandonará su causa. Es más, «si el emperador perdiera la vida, o a gran parte de su ejército, o si se diera en retirada», el francés «entraría en Italia so pretexto de defenderla» de Barbarroja, «quien, si el emperador emprende la retirada, estará con su flota en Italia para invadir Génova, Toscana, Roma, Nápoles y Sicilia, que quedarán desprotegidas». El jefe del escuadrón papal en La Goleta se mostraba de acuerdo: «Dado que Barbarroja no anda falto de galeras, esclavos y tropas otomanas —predecía—, se recuperará fácilmente» de la pérdida de Túnez y, en efecto, al mes siguiente el rey pirata saqueó la ciudad de Mahón, en Menorca, matando o tomando cautiva a

casi toda su población.[57] Pese a sus incansables esfuerzos y desorbitados gastos, Carlos había de este modo fracasado en su objetivo: «hechar» a Barbarroja «de los mares de la Cristiandad».

Mapa 3. En su discurso de abdicación, pronunciado en Bruselas en 1555, Carlos recordaba a sus oyentes los «viajes» que había realizado en nombre de todos ellos: «9 a Alemania, 7 a Italia, 10 a los Países Bajos, 4 a Francia (tanto en época de paz como de guerra), 2 a Inglaterra y 2 a África; en total, 40». Todavía le quedaba por realizar uno más, el último, al convento de Yuste, en España, lo que le convertiría en el monarca más viajado de la Europa de comienzos de la era moderna.

Fuente: de Boom, *Voyages*, separata.

El emperador puso todo su empeño en disfrazar esta verdad incómoda emprendiendo una gira victoriosa. Durante ocho meses, viajó por Sicilia y Calabria, y de aquí a Nápoles y a Roma, presentando su campaña africana como un

acontecimiento que había hecho época a la vez que difundía su visión de una Italia unida bajo su protección y proyectaba una imagen heroica de sí mismo como emperador romano y cruzado cristiano a la vez *(véase mapa 4A)*. En esto, Carlos volvía a desobedecer a sus consejeros españoles. Antes de partir de España, Tavera le había advertido de que «si se pusiese en Ytalia, parece que Vuestra Majestad no podría allí ser tan fuerte ni tan proveído como en Spaña», porque podría

> hallarse con gentes que ni le ternan amor ni la obediencia que le tienen sus naturales, fiarse de personas que amarán más sus yntereses que vuestro servicio, hombres que procurarán de sacar a Vuestra Majestad hasta las entrañas y aun que quiça holgaran de verle en necesidad o le pornan en ella para se aprovechar dél, y no temerán vuestro peligro por pensar que se pueden engrandecer o hazer sus propósitos.[58]

El instinto de Carlos acertó —su gira victoriosa por Sicilia e Italia le convirtió en un icono entre sus súbditos de todas partes —, pero el razonamiento de Tavera también demostró estar fundamentado. Muchos miembros de la élite napolitana habían mostrado lealtad a los franceses durante el asedio de 1527-1528; y los nobles de Sicilia habían montado una rebelión durante la transición de los Trastámara a los Habsburgo en 1516-1517, habiendo varios de ellos tratado de entregar la isla a los franceses en la década de 1520. Viajar entre «gentes que ni le ternan amor ni la obediencia» era, en efecto, una estrategia de alto riesgo. No obstante, al ser el primer monarca que visitaba Sicilia en un siglo, desde el momento en que desembarcó en Trapani en 1535, Carlos se esforzó por granjearse todas las simpatías posibles. En cada ciudad en la que iba parando durante su ruta, los principales dignatarios salían a recibirle fuera de sus murallas, a menudo acompañados por niños y niñas de la localidad (tal vez para demostrar que la siguiente generación le sería más leal que la anterior). Tras hacerle entrega de las llaves y de lujosos regalos, el emperador confirmaba los privilegios locales y distribuía parte del botín de campaña antes de hacer su

entrada oficial seguido de un enorme séquito de esclavos cristianos liberados, moros cautivos, soldados y cortesanos. También iba visitando los principales enclaves religiosos, lo que asemejaba el recorrido a un peregrinaje, que hacía a caballo y bajo palio, vestido de dorado y blanco, mientras iba admirando los arcos triunfales que celebraban su reciente victoria con imágenes e inscripciones que lo comparaban con héroes clásicos y bíblicos: Jasón, Escipión, Augusto, Gideón, David. Una memorable inscripción, con la que le daban la bienvenida tanto en Palermo como en Messina, se convertiría en lema imperial: «A SOLIS ORTU AD OCCASUM» (una cita del Salmo 112, «Desde la salida del sol hasta el ocaso»).[59] El emperador asistía a justas, torneos, representaciones teatrales y recreaciones históricas (como la derrota de Aníbal a manos de Escipión y la destrucción de Cartago) y a menudo salía de caza; pero también trabajaba duro. Según un cronista, «enseguida empezó a conceder audiencias a todo el mundo, prestando oídos a disputas y agravios»; a la vez, «deseando saber de gobierno civil, estudiaba la forma en que los magistrados administraban justicia, llegando incluso a visitar los archivos reales». Granvela, por lo general infatigable, se quejaba de «estar muy ocupado ahora mismo» con los asuntos internos de la isla «en los que su majestad está tan enfrascado, que, doy fe, apenas tengo tiempo para respirar».[60]

Gracias a su cuidadosa combinación de oración, trabajo y ocio, la visita de Carlos resultó un sonado —y duradero— éxito. Presidió personalmente el Parlamento del reino, que votó a favor de proporcionarle 250.000 ducados en impuestos, y no había ciudad que visitara que al parecer no hubiera encargado una estatua, o como mínimo un busto, de su victorioso soberano, muchas de las cuales siguen en pie. También quedan aún otras huellas de su visita: las murallas de la ciudad de Mesina, diseñadas al estilo «moderno» por indicación del emperador, siguen constituyendo el esqueleto básico de la

ciudad; la nueva localidad de Carlentini, cercana a Siracusa, fundada y bautizada en su honor, alberga actualmente 18.000 habitantes; la ciudad de Nicosia, donde el emperador solo pasó un día, ha conservado el asiento especial que ocupó y cada año recrea el episodio de su visita.

En noviembre, Carlos cruzó a la península y prosiguió su avance a través de los dominios de importantes partidarios suyos y lugares relacionados con la derrota de Aníbal hasta llegar a Nápoles. En esta ciudad estableció su capital durante el invierno, y en su corte se organizaron justas, banquetes, cacerías, obras de teatro, recorridos turísticos y concursos poéticos. En una ocasión, Carlos «demostró una gran destreza y elegancia durante una corrida de toros», y en otra participó en el juego de cañas «ataviado a la manera moruna, en honor a su victoria en Túnez». Posteriormente, «disfrazado con una máscara, bailó con mujeres de la nobleza, dejando un momento aparte su habitual porte serio». Tras un banquete celebrado por Ferrante Gonzaga en febrero de 1536, y pese a estar guardando luto por Catalina de Aragón (que acababa de morir), el nuncio papal hizo constar con desagrado que «todos estuvieron bailando y festejando hasta el amanecer, dejando claro lo poco que la muerte de la reina había afectado a su majestad».[61]

En Nápoles, al igual que en Sicilia, Carlos combinó los negocios con el placer. Como explicó en el discurso que pronunció desde el trono ante el Parlamento del reino, no había ido allí «solo de visita, sino también a poner las cosas en orden y proporcionar a este reino todo lo que sea de interés general y particular para ustedes, tanto en lo que respecta a la correcta administración de la justicia y a la pacífica existencia de la gente, como también a todas sus demás preocupaciones». Carlos había nombrado virrey a don Pedro de Toledo, tío del duque de Alba, cuya política de ejecuciones e imposición de castigos ejemplares a los que se habían puesto del lado francés durante la fallida

invasión le hizo rápidamente muy impopular. Algunos esperaban que Carlos le apartara del poder, pero se vieron decepcionados: en lugar de ello, don Pedro permaneció al mando hasta 1553, castigando tanto a los nobles como a las ciudades, y recaudando enormes impuestos para financiar los diversos proyectos del emperador, empezando por 500.000 ducados «para ayuda a los gastos passados y presentes, y con un millón de ducados en çiertos años venideros». Carlos esperaba emplear estos ingresos en conseguir la meta fijada por Pablo III de conquistar la capital otomana, porque (en palabras del secretario de Estado del emperador) «Todo va bien en La Goleta, Túnez, Bone y Bizerta, y el sultán carece del poder necesario para tomar La Goleta; pero el emperador sí lo tiene para tomar Estambul, y ruego a Dios le favorezca para que podamos asistir a su triunfo».[62]

En marzo de 1536, Carlos reanudó su triunfal avance hacia Roma. El Papa había hecho grandes preparativos para darle la bienvenida, pese al hecho de que las tropas imperiales hubieran saqueado la ciudad y pedido rescate por ella nueve años antes. Según François Rabelais, que servía en la embajada francesa como médico, Pablo «puso la mitad de su palacio y 3.000 camas» a disposición del emperador y «demolió y arrasó más de 200 casas y tres o cuatro iglesias» situadas a lo largo de la antigua *sacra via*. El 5 de abril, el nuevo césar condujo a 5.000 veteranos españoles, 400 soldados de caballería y «los miembros de mi corte» (entre los que en aquel momento se contaban también nobles de Sicilia y de Nápoles, además de los españoles) bajo los arcos de Constantino, Tito y Septimio Severo, atravesando con ellos el Campo dei Fiori y el río Tiber para llegar a San Pedro a reunirse con el Papa.[63]

Como era Semana Santa, a diferencia de su ostentosa conducta en Nápoles y Sicilia, Carlos «visitó los lugares más típicos e interesantes de forma privada, acompañado solamente

por un número reducido de miembros de su casa»; y, como era costumbre en él, dedicó mucho tiempo a sus devociones. Participó en la procesión del Domingo de Ramos, portando una hoja de palma, y «con gran devoción asistió a los oficios religiosos diarios en la capilla de San Pedro, en presencia del Papa y de los cardenales». El Jueves Santo realizó el lavatorio de los pies a trece pobres y el sábado de Pascua «visitó las siete iglesias, llevando consigo hasta veinte caballeros, sin guarda ni otra persona alguna». Al día siguiente asistió a misa mayor en la Basílica de San Pedro «vestido de pontifical» y llevando guantes «como de obispo», ante una multitud de 30.000 personas. Durante toda la misa, el Papa y el emperador ofrecieron una clara imagen de armonía: se levantaban y sentaban al unísono, y cada vez que el Papa se quitaba y se volvía a poner la tiara, Carlos hacía lo propio con su corona imperial, «como solían hacer los emperadores de antaño».[64]

Como señaló Karl Brandi, la entrada en Roma «fue como una bienvenida al hogar» para Carlos, ya que «fue la culminación de todos sus deseos».

> Ya había puesto el pie en cada uno de sus territorios, averiguado sus necesidades y cumplido con sus deberes. Había establecido contacto personal con cada uno de los estados de los que era soberano… Había convocado y estado presente en los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos; en las Cortes de Castilla y Aragón; ante los electores y príncipes y estados del imperio alemán, tanto en sesiones locales como en la Dieta general; y, por último, en los Estados de Sicilia y Nápoles. Había incorporado a algunos de los principales hombres de estas tierras a la Orden del Toisón de Oro.[65]

Para ilustrar el impacto acumulativo de tantos triunfos, el humanista Christopher Scheurl de Núremberg publicó un panfleto basado en «varias cartas italianas y alemanas» para describir *La entrad a del emperador Carlos en la antigua capital imperial*. En la portada, bajo el retrato del emperador, aparecía la predicción que Abner hizo al rey David: «Reinarás sobre todo

lo que desees» *(véase lámina 23)*.[66] Pero Scheurl se equivocó: la predicción no salió bien para Abner, que fue asesinado al poco tiempo por los partidarios de David.

Y tampoco salió bien para Carlos.

10. Años de derrota, 1536-1541

A la guerra con Francia de nuevo

Mientras sus súbditos coreaban entusiasmados «Carlos, Carlos, César, César, Imperio, Imperio» en Messina el 1 de noviembre de 1535, parecía que la ofensiva de seducción del emperador había resultado un éxito sin reservas que le permitiría volver a África y tomar Argel al año siguiente; pero un hecho acaecido el mismo día 1.300 kilómetros más al norte, la muerte sin descendencia del duque Francesco Sforza de Milán, lo cambió todo. Al enterarse de la noticia, los embajadores franceses en Roma predijeron acertadamente que «ya sea por medios amables o violentos, su muerte resolverá de una vez por todas no solo los problemas de Italia, sino los de toda la cristiandad».[1]

Dado que la delicada salud de Sforza venía siendo desde hacía tiempo motivo de preocupación, y que Milán era un feudo del Sacro Imperio Romano, Carlos había tomado algunas medidas de precaución. Aunque en 1530 había perdonado a Francesco y le había restituido como duque, las tropas imperiales continuaron acuarteladas en algunas plazas fuertes, y tres años más tarde promovió el matrimonio de Francesco con su sobrina Cristina de Dinamarca, con la esperanza de que esta pudiera traer hijos que fueran leales a la Casa de Habsburgo. De no ser así, el ducado finalmente revertiría a la propiedad del emperador; y, en efecto, inmediatamente después de la muerte de Francesco, los senadores de Milán «juraron la fidelidad a Su Magestad» y reconocieron «por su gouernador al príncipe de Ascoli don Antonio de Leyva hasta tener nuevo orden de Su Magestad».[2] Carlos se alegró enormemente de que siendo el Estado [de Milán] «deuoluto a Nos, como feudo del Imperio, fuesse puesto y tenido por Nos y en nombre nuestro y conseruado en quietud y reposo, hasta que lo proveyéssemos

como viéssemos conuenir a su beneficio y al bien de la Cristiandad y de Italia», y contemplaba solo tres opciones: ceder el ducado a un miembro de la familia real francesa, mantenerlo directamente bajo control imperial, o «se podria proveer en alguna persona italiana». Por un momento, la última opción —la única que podía preservar el *statu quo*— parecía probable. Leyva informó de que «en el archivo de las scripturas deste stado se havía hallado un privilegio del emperador Maximiliano, que extinguiéndose la línea legítima de la casa sforçesca, pudiesen suceder los naturales», y aconsejó a Carlos investir a un primo ilegítimo del difunto duque. El candidato partió hacia Nápoles para presentar su candidatura, pero murió en el camino.[3] Esto dejaba aún dos opciones: mantener Milán o conferirla a un príncipe francés. Leyva, que había pasado gran parte de su carrera luchando por adquirir el ducado para Carlos, era firme partidario de la primera:

> Ha plazido a Nuestro Señor de volver el dicho estado a Vuestra Magestad con aquella paz, quieto y sosiego que se puede desear; y cierto creo que Dios lo ha hecho con muy gran misterio, aunque al presente no lo vemos. Lo que este estado importa a Vuestra Magestad, aquella lo sabe mejor que no yo; y acuérdese que deste estado resulta el de Jenoba, que no menos tengo aquel queste, por las cosas de la mar, las quales Vuestra Magestad mejor que nadie sabe lo que le importa.

Pero el hecho seguía siendo que mantener Milán «daría inicio a una gran Guerra», en la que la lucha sería «más dura y amarga que nunca».[4]

Carlos tuvo que sopesar esta situación mientras su corte estaba en el Castel Nuovo de Nápoles. Según el diario de un funcionario napolitano, Gregorio Rosso, «durante el tiempo que el emperador se encontró aquí, de cara al exterior [*nell'estrinseco*] estuvo asistiendo a pasatiempos y fiestas pero, en secreto, estuvo trabajando seriamente en los preparativos para la guerra contra el rey de Francia».[5] La manifestación más evidente de esta agenda secreta era la oleada de actividad diplomática en la corte de Carlos. El nuevo duque de Florencia, Alessandro de Médici,

llegó para casarse con la hija ilegítima de Carlos, Margarita (conforme a lo acordado en el tratado de Carlos con el papa Clemente), uniéndose a los duques de Mantua, Urbino y Ferrara, así como a los enviados del papa Pablo, de Venecia y de varios estados más.

Lope de Soria, que presumía de más de treinta años de experiencia como diplomático español en Italia, expresó de forma memorable el dilema al que en aquel momento se enfrentaban los gobernantes italianos. Hasta el Papa,

> Como Cristiano, se huelga de las victorias que Dios da a Vuestra Magestad contra infieles, pero como señor destado y hallándose victorioso, y con tales exércitos por mar y por tierra, y en el grado en que está, le dava causa de pensar lo que Vuestra Magestad podría hazer.

Mientras, Soria suponía que los Venecianos, «como sabios y prudentes, deuían pensar lo mismo y que les acordava como amigo para que con tiempo pensassen en el remedio para en caso que quisiesse Vuestra Magestad occupar Italia».[6] La tarea de Carlos, por tanto, consistía en presentarse a sí mismo como principal garante de la paz en Italia y a Francisco como principal amenaza.

En un principio, Francisco le hizo el juego a su rival. Reiteró su petición de que Carlos otorgara Milán a su segundo hijo, Enrique de Orleans, e invadió las tierras del duque de Saboya, utilizando como pretexto una disputa sobre Ginebra. La ciudad había intentado declarar su independencia de Saboya, formando una liga defensiva con el cantón suizo de Berna, aliado de Francia, y a finales de 1535 el duque intentó someterla, para lo cual pidió al emperador que le enviara ayuda militar. Leonard de Gruyères, enviado especial de Carlos ante la Confederación Suiza, apoyó esta petición, recordándole al emperador que «es necesario elegir el menor de los dos males; y, por tanto, mi

opinión es que sería mejor hacer la guerra en el extranjero que en casa». Concretamente, una guerra en Suiza «evitaría que se extendiera a Italia». El Consejo de Carlos no estuvo de acuerdo.

> [Considerada] la sazón del tiempo, y que los Suyços no acostumbran estar tanto tiempo a su costa en campo siguiendo sus empresas… no convernía, haviendo sobrevenido la muerte del Duque de Milán y los términos en que se halla el estado de Milán, desampararle ni quitarle las fuerzas ni mover nada en aquellas partes [en Suiza].[7]

Se equivocaron. En enero de 1536 Berna envió un heraldo a declarar la guerra al duque en nombre de Ginebra, y al mes siguiente Francisco hizo lo propio, afirmando que la alianza de Francia con Berna le obligaba a hacerlo. Ordenó además una movilización general y, en marzo, tropas francesas cruzaron los Alpes y ocuparon el Piamonte, quedando cerca de la frontera con Milán. Francisco autorizó a su comandante atacar al ejército imperial si veía posibilidad de victoria.[8]

Como Granvela admitió arrepentido, esto representó un rotundo fracaso de inteligencia. «No fuimos capaces de prever la repentina invasión de Berna, ni de imaginar que el rey de Francia se valdría de una excusa tan desafortunada, execrable e indignante para justificar el ataque» de Saboya. Carlos tenía pues que reaccionar. Aunque abrigaba una leve esperanza de que los franceses solo «hazen estas demostraciones pensando en negoçiar con ellas a más ventaja y prouecho suyo, todauía, porque si alguna cosa quisieren començar no nos halle despreuenidos, y se le pueda resistir y ocurrir si lo hiziesse, y proueer lo que convenga en qualquier nescessidad que se offrezca», comenzó a reclutar tropas en Lombardía, Alemania, Países Bajos y España. También ordenó que 400.000 ducados, «hechos del oro y plata del Perú» en la casa de la moneda de Sevilla, fueran enviados a Génova, si bien «con la esperança que tenemos que las cosas no vernán a rotura», en cuyo caso «se podrá hazer la empresa de Argel este verano, como está platicado».[9]

Durante algún tiempo, pareció que la guerra podía evitarse, cuando el Papa propuso que Cristina, la duquesa viuda de Milán, se casara con el hijo menor de Francisco, el duque Carlos de Angulema. El emperador se mostró de acuerdo, con la condición de que Angulema se comprometiera a renunciar a cualquier derecho al trono francés para siempre, y a que si él y Cristina no tenían hijos, el ducado revertiría al imperio «como está acostumbrado de los otros feudos del imperio».[10] Francisco rechazó esta oferta, insistiendo en que su segundo hijo, Enrique, duque de Orleans, debía ser el próximo duque de Milán. Pero entonces le llegó una carta a Carlos de su hermana Leonor, «escrita en secreto de su puño y letra», donde le revelaba que, pese a las declaraciones públicas de su marido, en realidad este iba a aceptar la investidura de Angulema. El emperador, absurdamente, no le hizo caso, y en su lugar informó a su enviado ante la corte francesa de que estaba dispuesto a tratar la cuestión de otorgar Milán a Orleans, pero dejando claro en un apéndice cifrado que mentía: «Queremos dejarle absolutamente claro que siempre nos hemos negado, y nos seguimos negando, a conferir Milán a Orleans». Que lucharía antes de devolver el ducado a manos francesas. «Por eso, señora —Carlos le dijo a su esposa—, no son menester aquí soledades ni requiebros. Ensanche esa corazón para sufrir lo que Dios ordenare, que espero que será todo bien; y provea con estrema diligencia las cosas de allá» de modo que «a la postre, con la ayuda de Dios, le quebraremos las cabezas a los Franceses».[11]

De puertas afuera, Carlos continuó fingiendo que todo iba bien. Mantuvo frecuentes reuniones con el Papa, asegurándole «que somos contento de tratar del Estado de Milán para el señor de Angulema, hijo tercero del rey de Francia, con medios y seguridades convenybles», a cambio de lo cual «habemos obtenido de Su Santidad que declare de nuevo el derecho de nuestro patrimonio en las iglesias de España» y «se determine

convocar el concilio y celebrarlo en Mantua dentro de un año». Entonces, cuando llegó un nuevo embajador de Francia facultado exclusivamente para tratar sobre la transferencia de Milán al duque de Orleans, Carlos estalló.[12]

El 16 de abril de 1536, lunes de Pascua, muy de mañana, el Papa, el Colegio de Cardenales y el cuerpo diplomático de Roma se reunieron a petición del emperador en el aposento del Papa, creyendo que el emperador iba a hablarles de la campaña de Túnez y pedir apoyo para la propuesta de atacar Argel. Pero en lugar de ello, y durante bastante más de una hora, Carlos se dedicó a denunciar la hipocresía de Francisco, «con mucho sosiego sin cólera alguna; e hizo la habla en Español».[13] Según don Martín de Salinas, «La habla fue muy larga, porque en ella se narró desde el tiempo que las guerras fueron criadas en Italia hasta la hora presente, justificando nuestra partida y narrando los excesos hechos por el Rey de Francia». Carlos empezó citando las palabras que «el savio emperador Maximiliano»:

> dixo la postrera vez que con el rey de Francia hizo paz, que fueron estas: «Esta es la oncena vez que con el rey de Francia hago paz; agora ansí como las otras vezes, por el deseo que tengo de la paz de la Christiandad y no porque no sepa que la ha de romper el rey de Francia, ansí esta como todas las otras que la ha hecho».

Carlos pasó luego a detallar las ocasiones en las que el rey Francisco había incumplido tratados y a denunciar sus vínculos tanto con Barbarroja como con el sultán, antes de reafirmar que él había deseado «siempre orgullosamente emplear todo el poder y grandeça que Dios nos dio contra los paganos e infieles, enemigos de nuestra santta fee catholica». En cambio, recordaba a su auditorio, «quanto por parte del rey de Francia de continuo los tales effettos se ayan estorvado, digo de la paz de la Christiandad y de la guerra que con ella a los enemigos de Dios y nuestros se pudiera haver hecho». Negó «que yo quiera ser monarca del mundo», y en cambio señaló la invasión de Saboya llevada a cabo por Francisco sin mediar provocación alguna y su

insistencia en hacerse con Milán «a tuerto o a derecho». Para reparar estas injusticias, Carlos anunció que partiría al día siguiente a reunirse con el ejército que había congregado en Lombardía e iría a invadir Francia, a menos que:

> El rey de Francia se quisiere conduzir conmigo en campo de su persona a la mía, de conduzirme con él, armado o desarmado en camisa, con una spada y un puñal, en tierra o en mar, o en un puente o en isla, o en campo cerrado, o delante de nuestros exércitos, o do quiera y como quiera que él querrá y justo sea. Y con tanto, no digo más; sino que yo le doy veynte días de plazo para que se resuelva en tomar la paz.

Los dos monarcas se apostarían Milán y Borgoña, y el vencedor se quedaría con las dos.[14]

Con este desafío, el emperador no solo retaba a su rival, sino también a sus ministros. Según Salinas, «De esta habla no fueron sabidores el Comendador Mayor [Los Cobos] ni Granvela, y de su propio motu la hizo Su Magestad. Yo creo que fuera más limitada si dello fueran sabidores; o a lo menos las palabras del desafío se escusaran». Cuando los diplomáticos franceses presentes pidieron a Los Cobos y a Granvela una copia del discurso, estos replicaron que «solo la primera parte debería ser tomada en serio»: es decir, que Francisco debía ignorar el reto a batirse en duelo.[15] Carlos, por el contrario, se tomaba este desafío muy en serio: el 4 de mayo le preguntó a su embajador en Roma si había llegado una respuesta, porque «el domingo primero serán cumplidos los xx días que señalé para que el rey de Francia pudiesse responder a lo que ofrecí en la habla que hize en presencia de Su Santidad». Finalmente, Francisco declinó, bromeando con que sus espadas eran «demasiado cortas para enfrentarse el uno al otro a tanta distancia». Carlos se apresuró a sacar provecho de esta respuesta tan a la ligera, y estableció un paralelismo con el desafío fallido de 1528: «[El rey de Francia] tiene razón al decir que nuestras espadas son demasiado cortas para enfrentarnos a tanta distancia. Me pregunto si es por esto por lo que la otra vez solo se ofreció —en

términos muy ofensivos— a combatir conmigo cuando yo estaba en España y él en París».[16] En esta ocasión, tal y como había prometido durante su «habla», partió para reunirse con el ejército congregado en Lombardía.

Carlos toma el mando

El emperador continuó siendo objeto de adulación mientras iba avanzando hacia el norte, especialmente en Siena, Florencia y Lucca; cada una de ellas, capital de un estado independiente. Como Salinas comentó:

> En estas ciudades por do Su Magestad viene, es muy bien rescibido y con gran alegría, algunos de amor y otros de temor, y pasamos sanos y salvos, pero no como dicen a lumbre de pajas, porque sin la Corte trae Su Magestad cinco mil soldados españoles de los viejos y trescientas lanzas; y los otros caminos van llenos de caballos ligeros; de suerte que toda Italia está ocupada con gente de guerra.

El emperador, proseguía Salinas, «Muestra mucha voluntad a esta guerra y creo que no holgaria que se le ofreciese cosa para darle ocasión de no entrar en Francia». Por el contrario, «pasa tiempo, mientras llega en su exército, en salir cada tarde con sus caballeros á escaramuzar… Está muy bueno: mejor que yo le había visto jamás; y alegre y con gran deseo de ser partido para esta empresa».[17]

El emperador también ordenó a la emperatriz, a María y a Fernando movilizar los recursos necesarios para lanzar varios ataques simultáneos contra Francisco «por si acaso nos vemos forzados a volver a hacer la guerra». En Bruselas, María le confió a Fernando que, «aunque yo siempre haya odiado la guerra, sería mejor luchar ahora, porque no estoy segura de que su Majestad vaya a tenerlo todo tan a favor en otro momento». Desde Asti, el 9 de junio, Carlos anunció a su hermano, con una mezcla de ira y fervor religioso, que «en el momento en que esté listo para partir, enviaré un heraldo a que le diga al rey de Francia que… haré todo lo que pueda para vengarme de él, con la esperanza de que Dios me ayudará a atacarle con tal fuerza,

tanto por mar como por tierra, que lamentará haber empezado la guerra». Richard Moryson, que más tarde sería embajador ante el emperador, predijo un rápido triunfo imperial, porque, aunque los franceses habían empezado bien, «la victoria no es tanta cuando nadie te hace frente». Dada su juventud y su escasa preparación, y la falta de experiencia de sus jefes, Moryson vaticinaba que no durarían mucho cuando se enfrentaran a los soldados de Leyva, «acostumbrados a beber sangre en vez de vino».[18]

El emperador sabía exactamente adónde conduciría a estas tropas sedientas de sangre. Ya había consultado con sus principales comandantes, Leyva y Andrea Doria, cuál sería la mejor manera de responder si Francisco volvía a declarar la guerra, y ambos se mostraron a favor de volver a invadir Provenza. «Se ha visto por la experiencia, quando Mussiour de Borbon fue a Marsella» en 1524, «que fue menester juntar toda Francia para socorrella, y sy no fuera por el armada de mar todavía se perdiera»; así que esta vez, Doria tenía que proporcionar una flota. La única cuestión pendiente era si Carlos debía encabezar la nueva invasión en persona. Según Salinas, Leyva «trató con Su Magestad por muchas razones cómo no debía pasar su persona en Francia, y no se resolvió Su Magestad en lo que había de hacer y quiso que se viese en Consejo; en el cual, bien debatidas las razones, Su Magestad se determinó de pasar». El 17 de julio, Carlos partió con sus tropas hacia Col de Tende, tomando «el camino más áspero y más corto con la infantería española y alemana».[19]

Al principio todo fue bien. Carlos, al igual que su abuelo Maximiliano, «va en atavío de soldado»,

> En calzas y jubón y su coselete vestido, y una cuera de seda toda acuchillada y labrada de recamado y sin otra ropa encima, y una banda de tafetán colorado, que es la seña que todos llevamos. Quiere pasar los puertos en compañía de los soldados, y a la causa va de este atavío. Es muy gran placer de verle tan sano y alegre en estos trabajos, y no es él que menos parte dellos toma.

Por tanto, el emperador sufrió lo mismo que sus hombres cuando «comenzamos a pasar la montaña, la cual no hay seso de hombre que pueda decir lo que es, así de trabajosa como de peligrosa, y de jornadas excesivas de grandes; por respeto que la disposición no daba lugar a otra cosa; y para hacer la jornada era necesario partir a media noche y caminar con hachas». Pese a estas dificultades, cruzaron la frontera francesa el 25 de julio, pero dado que Carlos «pasa gran fatiga por respeto que con su persona ha de visitar todo su exército para lo meter en orden», él y su ejército pararon a descansar durante tres días. Luego, según un arcabucero español del ejército, «caminamos a toda furia y vamos cargados como hormigas, porque llevamos el bizcocho y comida para seis días». Aunque el emperador envió «dos banderas de arcabucería española a recoger todos los enfermos y cansados», no mostró ninguna clemencia con los desertores:

> Uno que se desmandó fue visto por el emperador, y lo sigue por donde iba, y lo alcanzó entre unas arboledas y lo mandó ahorcar. Éste rogó al emperador que por aquella vez le perdonase; Su Magestad no lo quiso oír, y así le fue ahorcado en un árbol de los que allí había. Esto hizo el emperador porque toda persona de su ejército obedesciese los bandos que en el ejército se echasen.[20]

Mientras tanto, Enrique de Nassau cruzó la frontera a la cabeza de otro ejército y entró en Picardía, desde donde siguió avanzando hacia el río Somme; una amenaza que en un principio preocupaba más a Francisco, dado que París quedaba a solo 150 kilómetros del Somme, lo que hizo que transfiriera algunas tropas de la Provenza a Picardía. Abandonó su plan de plantar cara en Fréjus, al darse cuenta de que la poderosa artillería de la que estaban dotadas las galeras imperiales (de la cual el Borbón carecía) haría imposible defender la plaza, y en lugar de ello instaló una poderosa guarnición en Marsella y en todas las ciudades del Bajo Ródano, para impedir el camino de regreso de Carlos a España. A continuación, evacuó sus tropas de la Provenza basándose en que los invasores «no serán capaces de pasar mucho tiempo allí y se verán obligados a batirse en

rápida y vergonzosa retirada, porque he dado órdenes de sacar de la región toda la comida posible y destruir la que quede, para que ningún ejército pueda sobrevivir allí». Francisco había tendido una extensa trampa de la que la única salida posible era la retirada.[21]

Durante algún tiempo, Carlos no llegó a ser consciente de este riesgo. Llegó a Aix-en-Provence el 5 de agosto y se autoproclamó conde de la Provenza y rey de Arlés, dos títulos reclamados por sus predecesores imperiales. Aunque tal vez su esperanza fuera anexionar la región, los acontecimientos en otros frentes lo hacían muy poco probable. En Estambul, los representantes de Francisco alcanzaron un tratado formal de cooperación militar y económica con Solimán, que perduraría mientras ambos soberanos vivieran, y el sultán lo cumplió de inmediato enviando un poderoso ejército a Hungría que impidió que Fernando pudiera enviar una fuerza expedicionaria a Francia como había prometido.[22] En los Países Bajos, María estaba preocupada por «el entendimiento entre Inglaterra, Francia y Güeldres, y la forma en que todos están reclutando tropas». Suplicó a su hermano que autorizara un tratado de neutralidad con Francia, pero este se negó, ordenándole, por el contrario, apoyar un intento de recuperar el trono por parte de su depuesto cuñado Cristián de Dinamarca. Aunque las tropas de María tomaron la ciudad de Groningen y sus alrededores (Ommelanden), que ella se apresuró a anexionar, no consiguieron grandes progresos contra los daneses. Aún peor, Gante y otras ciudades de la provincia de Flandes se negaron a pagar más impuestos, lo que socavaba los esfuerzos de Nassau por avanzar más allá del Somme.[23]

A la Provenza llegó un heraldo francés para pedirle a Carlos que explicara por qué había invadido el reino. El emperador le contestó recordándole algo «que el rey vuestro señor dijo: que las espadas estaban muy de lejos. Yo soy venido aquí para

acercallas tanto cuanto el quisiere, de mi persona a la suya o ejército con ejército, e para esto le espero en campo, como yo he prometido al Papa».[24] Una vez más, Francisco ignoró este desafío. La repentina muerte de su hijo mayor, acaecida el 10 de agosto, parecía ofrecer una posible resolución al conflicto, porque incluso el rey francés admitía que los gobernadores de Italia no aceptarían a Enrique de Orleans, entonces el delfín, como duque de Milán; pero rehusó entrar en negociaciones mientras Carlos «permaneciera en su reino con un ejército tan grande y poderoso». En su lugar, esperó a que el hambre obligara a los invasores a retirarse. Ese momento llegó el 4 de septiembre de 1536. Habiendo perdido «entre siete y ocho mil soldados por enfermedad o hambre desde que llegaran», y «tras consultar con gran secreto qué debía yo hacer a continuación», el emperador advirtió a Nassau de que tendría que emprender la retirada.[25] Prometió no ejecutar esta decisión hasta después de haber intentado una vez más tomar Marsella, pero sus esfuerzos se frustraron cuando una banda de exiliados encabezados por Cesare Fregoso organizaron un ataque sorpresa sobre Génova, obligando a Doria y sus galeras a abandonar su posición frente a la costa de la Provenza y volver a toda prisa a defender su base. El 12 de septiembre, Carlos y su ejército iniciaron la humillante y larga retirada.

El ejército francés encontró el abandonado campamento imperial lleno de «caballos muertos y hombres enterrados, algunos aún con la armadura, un montón de picas y otras armas desperdigadas por los campos y un hedor increíble»; y, en su persecución de los imperialistas, se encontraron

> Todos los caminos llenos de enfermos y muertos; armaduras, lanzas, picas, arcabuces y otras armas; y caballos abandonados… Podían verse hombres y caballos apilados en montones donde los vivos se mezclaban con los muertos, presentando un espectáculo tan espantoso y lamentable que incluso el enemigo

más decidido y pertinaz sentiría pena. Cualquiera que hubiera visto aquella desolación no podría por menos que compararla con la descripción que Josefo hizo de la destrucción de Jerusalén.[26]

El propio Carlos quedó profundamente afectado. Salinas le describió como «muy descontento y no bien sano, y creo que lo debe causar los trabajos pasados, y también que tiene algo del mal que tuvo en Ratisbona [en 1532], porque tiene la comezón en sus compañones». Es posible que la dolorosa enfermedad del emperador explique su extremada reacción cuando un destacamento de doce arcabuceros y dos muchachos franceses, escondidos en una torre cercana a Fréjus, tendieron una emboscada e hirieron fatalmente a su amigo, el soldado-poeta Garcilaso de la Vega. Finalmente, tras rendirse a cambio de la promesa de que no les enviarían a galeras, «así el emperador mandó que no llevasen en galeras, mas se ahorcasen a los 12 hombres, y que desorejasen a los muchachos».[27]

Carlos no volvió a hacer ninguna parada hasta que llegó a Génova el 28 de octubre. Ciertamente había infligido daños a su enemigo —un testigo presencial estimó dichos daños en tres millones de ducados; otro predijo que la Provenza tardaría medio siglo en recuperarse—, pero su ignominiosa retirada y la pérdida de la mitad de su ejército (incluido Leyva y muchos de los veteranos «acostumbrados a beber sangre en vez de vino») significaban que había perdido la campaña.[28] Muchos se alegraron de su derrota. En la Provenza, algunos ciudadanos compusieron poemas épicos celebrándola y un diplomático francés ridiculizó al emperador por llevar a cabo su campaña basándose en «un mapa de los Alpes y el plano de la Provenza en la mano o delante de sus ojos, que estudiaba tan a menudo y tan atentamente que llegó a creer que era el país lo que tenía en la palma de la mano, en lugar de solo el mapa». En Italia, Miguel Ángel, todavía resentido por la caída de la República florentina, también se burlaba diciendo:

> Si el Emperador Carlos V cuando entró por Provenza mandara primero debujar la manera del correr del río Ródano, que no recibiera tanta pérdida, ni retirara su ejército tan desbaratado, ni le debujaran después a él un cangrejo en Roma (el cual anda al través) que queriendo ir hacia adelante volvía hacia atrás con la letra que traen las colunas de Hércules «PLUS ULTRA».

En Roma, el lugar donde había pronunciado su jactanciosa habla en abril, aparecieron carteles en los que un río ocupaba el lugar de las columnas de Hércules, con la leyenda «NON PLVS VLTRA RHODANVS». Y, lo más cruel de todo, una imagen en la que aparecía el emperador a caballo con el lema «PLVS RETRO».[29] Estas burlas contenían una parte de verdad: durante más de un año Carlos no había escuchado otra cosa aparte de desmesuradas alabanzas y continuos halagos que le comparaban favorablemente con héroes clásicos y bíblicos. Tal vez esto le había llegado a convencer de que era en efecto invencible e invulnerable, de que la «favorable *Fortuna*» le tenía reservados triunfos sin fin, llevándole a adoptar estrategias altamente arriesgadas.

El camino de vuelta a la paz

Este fracaso dejó a Carlos deprimido, e incluso en la tranquilidad de Génova «ha estado y está algo mal dispuesto de romadizo, y con las grandes importunidades no ha podido despachar los negocios como algunos quisieran». Aunque la temporada de navegación tocaba peligrosamente a su fin, el 15 de noviembre ordenó que las galeras de Doria le llevaran de vuelta a Barcelona, y esta vez tuvo suerte: llegó sano y salvo tres semanas después. Carlos había dado orden a su familia de que fuera a reunirse con él en Tordesillas y atravesó España a caballo para encontrarse con ellos. «No tuvo trabajo ninguno, aunque hubo alguna caída como es de costumbre a los que corren postas» (un recordatorio interesante de los peligros cotidianos que conllevaba cabalgar por las primeras carreteras modernas). Después «se detuvo en Tordesillas siete días para se holgar».[30]

Pero el holgar no duró mucho, porque 1537 trajo consigo otra oleada de contratiempos. En enero, se enteró de que Francisco había declarado que renunciaba a los condados de Flandes, Artois y Charolais, que mantenía como feudos de la Corona francesa; y que el duque Alejandro de Florencia, su yerno, había sido asesinado a manos de conspiradores cuya intención era restaurar una república profrancesa. Entonces, en abril, cuando Carlos pidió a las Cortes de Castilla que le dotaran de fondos, un grupo de procuradores de la ciudad, encabezados por don Juan de Mendoza de Sevilla, se opusieron rotundamente. Según un testigo presencial, «Su Magestad supo esto que don Juan dixo y ovo enojo dello y dixole malas palabras», y cuando las Cortes finalizaron y don Juan pidió la misma merced que otros procuradores, «Su Magestad respondió que por el exemplo no se avía de hazer lo que pidió don Juan».[31]

El emperador hizo todo lo que pudo por holgar de nuevo junto a su familia durante la Semana Santa, con justas, juegos de caña y corridas de toros en las que de vez en cuando tomaba parte —cuando un toro corneó a don Luis de Ávila, el propio Carlos «dió una lançada al mismo toro, muy bien dada»—, pero en cuanto «tiénese por nueva cierta que la emperatriz está preñada», Carlos se dispuso a abandonar una vez más la corte. Isabel protestó y le dijo a su marido que «a de anar, encara que estiga ab lo ventre a la gola», pero fue en vano: el emperador partió hacia Aragón en julio. Encontró las Cortes «muy enojosas y así Su Majestad se hubo con ellos más áspero que ellos quisieran. Al fin se hizo como Su Majestad quiso, y quisiéramos que se hiciera antes». La emperatriz por tanto volvió a dar a luz sola, esta vez a otro infante que recibió el nombre Trastámara de Juan y que murió al poco tiempo, dejando al príncipe Felipe como único hijo varón de la pareja.[32]

Según Pedro Girón, que como alcalde de Casa y Corte gozaba de un puesto de observación privilegiado, «no estaba bien dispuesta después de su alumbramiento», y la preocupación de que su esposa estuviera aproximándose al final de su vida fértil llevó a Carlos a volver a toda prisa «para que comiençe otro» niño. Esta vez, comentaba Girón con sorpresa, pese a la presencia de su marido, «la emperatriz estuvo muy triste y hazía grandes demostraciones dello en el rostro y atavío de su persona. Nunca se vistió como solía quando otras vezes el emperador estava presente, antes se vistió de negro como andava quando estava ausente». Y una vez más, Carlos partió en cuanto el nuevo embarazo pareció cierto, dejando a Isabel «molt amarga desta partida».[33]

El emperador regresó a Barcelona, esta vez para tratar de hacer las paces con Francia. Impaciente por retomar su cruzada africana, había aprobado la decisión tomada por María en julio de 1537 de acordar un alto el fuego en el norte de Europa, y cuatro meses más tarde permitió a los representantes pontificios hacer lo propio en Italia; entonces autorizó a Los Cobos y a Granvela para iniciar conversaciones formales con sus homólogos franceses en Salces, en la frontera catalana. Carlos se tomó un gran interés personal en ello. Cuando llegó un mensajero de Salces a «una hora de noche» con un borrador de las condiciones, «Su Magestad me oyó luego y vió todo lo que traýa», y «después de haver mucho platicado en la respuesta» con García de Loaysa (una vez más la voz de la conciencia de Carlos), «Su magestad dixo que él tenía pensado otros medios, pero no era aún tiempo de declararlos, ni los declararýa hasta que fuese oportuno a sus consejeros ni a su mujer». Cuando Loaysa le instó a consultar al menos con Los Cobos, Carlos «respondió que de su ánymo, si pudiese, los querría concluir y que en ninguna manera se declararýan».[34] La razón para este secretismo quedó clara cuando Carlos se encontró con un

enviado francés en persona. «Como se veýa —el emperador le dijo astutamente—, todas las dificultades venían en fin a caer en la falta de confiança». Aunque los dos monarcas podían continuar «declarando del vno al otro sus voluntades y intenciones por el medio de los ministros», él creía que una reunión cara a cara entre él y Francisco «era el verdadero y mejor medio para paruenir a la dicha paz». Bromeó diciendo que ambos monarcas «no eran aún tan viejos ny tan impotentes que no pudiessen correr vn ciervo a fuerça y aún la posta, ny tan apartados que por vn grand bien no se pudiessen acercar». No obstante, reconocía, «que pues que entre sus dos majestades hauía tal desconfiança, le paresçía que no solamente era menester tercero entre sus dos majestades para tractar, mas para assegurarlos». Para este papel mediador propuso a Pablo III.[35] El Papa aceptó y sugirió el puerto de Niza, uno de los pocos lugares del ducado de Saboya que no estaba en manos francesas, como campo neutral. Carlos llegó en galera desde Barcelona el 9 de mayo de 1538, y él y Francisco pasaron muchas horas hablando por separado con el Papa. Tras tres semanas de negociaciones, sus asesores firmaron una tregua de diez años: Carlos prometió transferir Milán al hijo pequeño de Francisco, que iba a casarse con una de las hijas de Fernando, y Francisco se comprometió a retirar su apoyo al duque de Güeldres. La guerra había terminado.

Los dos soberanos dejaron Niza el 20 de junio sin haber llegado a encontrarse ni una sola vez frente a frente, pero esta aparente descortesía ocultaba el entendimiento secreto de que volverían a reunirse para resolver los problemas pendientes en un entorno menos formal en AiguesMortes, una localidad a medio camino entre Niza y Barcelona, lo que implicaba cierta igualdad y reciprocidad entre ambos mandatarios. En cuanto Francisco vio las galeras de Carlos aproximándose al puerto el 14 de julio, salió a toda prisa, sin escolta, al encuentro de su

huésped. E igual de impulsivamente, Carlos «bajó los dos peldaños de la escalera para recibir al rey, para que ambos pudieran subir a bordo juntos». De pie sobre la cubierta de popa, a la vista de todos sus cortesanos, «se abrazaron con cara sonriente cinco o seis veces»; y luego (según Carlos) pasaron dos largas horas solos «intercambiando palabras amables y afirmando nuestro deseo de ser en adelante buenos y leales amigos. Asimismo, decidimos no tratar nosotros de los detalles y dejar esto en manos de nuestros ministros». Cuando los monarcas salieron a comer, ambos se esforzaron por ser a cual más humilde: debatieron sobre quién debía sentarse primero —«Vos sois mayor», bromeó el emperador. «Lo admito», respondió el rey, «mayor y más tonto»—, y durante toda la comida «el emperador trató de no empezar a comer cada plato hasta que el rey lo hubiera hecho primero». La velada debió de ser larga.[36]

La confianza del rey francés en subir él solo a bordo de la galera de su antiguo enemigo impresionó a Carlos —el recuerdo del asesinato del duque Luis de Orleans y el duque Juan de Borgoña en el siglo anterior no había desaparecido—, y correspondió aceptando una invitación de bajar a tierra al día siguiente. No obstante, a todos pilló por sorpresa que se pusiera de rodillas mientras abrazaba al delfín y su hermano menor cuando estos vinieron a recibirle, un acto de máxima humildad que algunos interpretaron como una petición de perdón por el mal trato causado mientras el delfín había sido su prisionero en España. Tras otro espléndido banquete, los dos monarcas continuaron su amigable charla y acordaron «no creer o hacer nada que pueda causar daño al otro»; «concertar algunas alianzas matrimoniales» para reforzar la unión de las familias; y coordinar sus esfuerzos para luchar contra los protestantes y los turcos. A continuación, intercambiaron unos anillos y Francisco declaró: «Os prometo, por mi palabra de caballero, que me

declararé enemigo de todos aquellos que deseen actuar contra vuestros territorios, a costa de todos mis bienes y arriesgando mi propia persona si es preciso». El emperador «pronunció un juramento recíproco» y al día siguiente partió hacia España. El eminente historiador Robert Knecht ha comparado este «giro de 180 grados en las relaciones franco-imperiales» con la caída del muro de Berlín en el siglo xx, porque ambos hechos cogieron por sorpresa a sus contemporáneos y apuntaban a que una larga guerra daría a partir de ese momento paso a una paz duradera.[37]

El emperador y sus críticos

Carlos regresó a España desde Aigues-Mortes «decidido a ir en persona» a la cruzada contra Argel con la que llevaba soñando tanto tiempo. Era consciente de que esto requeriría «nos dissimulamos con los destos nuestros reynos», que no querrían que se volviera a marchar tan pronto, pero le aseguró a su hermano que «No solo me siento inclinado, sino obligado, a acometer esta empresa: esto es más importante que todo lo demás, tanto para vos como para mí y nuestros dominios, posesiones y vasallos». Salinas discrepaba: «Esta empresa de Levante que Su Majestad quiere hazer en persona escandaliza acá a todos», informó, e instó a Fernando a

> Ecribir [al emperador] de su mano, sin que otra persona lo sepa de allá, suplicándole que mire a la importancia de su persona y las cosas de la christiandad en los términos que están y quedarán en todas partes della, así en Alemania como en Flandes, y señaladamente por lo que se ofrece agora de Gueldres y de Inglaterra; y que la amistad con Francia es aún muy nueva y las cosas no del todo asentadas.[38]

Al mes siguiente, las Cortes de Castilla escucharon un largo discurso donde se detallaban los logros de las recientes guerras del emperador (todas libradas fuera de la península) y su coste (más de 6 millones de ducados recaudados en préstamos que debían ser devueltos a España), seguido de una petición de aún más impuestos «para el gasto de la jornada que quiere hacer». El emperador propuso la imposición de una sisa (un impuesto

temporal sobre las ventas) exigible a todo el mundo, pese al hecho de que (como apuntó Salinas) «es en perjuicio de los hijosdalgo, que es cosa a ello muy grave y que en otros tiempos no lo consintieron». Cuando los hijosdalgo se mantuvieron inflexibles, Carlos disolvió malhumorado la asamblea, y los nobles de Castilla no volvieron nunca a asistir a las Cortes, que en adelante estuvieron formadas solo por treinta y seis miembros (dos representantes de dieciocho ciudades), lo que hacía todavía más fácil que el gobierno se saliera con la suya. Como Salinas comentó apenado, «De todas partes veo el cielo nublado: no sé en qué parará este eclissi, ni qué ha de ser de nosotros».[39]

Mientras sus ministros presionaban a las Cortes, Carlos se fue «a holgar por doce o quince dias a la caza», y organizó un espectacular juego de cañas, al que asistió toda su familia, además de una gran multitud de personas. Parece evidente que también pasó tiempo a solas con la emperatriz, porque esta concibió su noveno hijo. El 21 de abril de 1539, dio a luz a otro mortinato. «Desde que comenzó el embarazo», recordaba Carlos, la emperatriz «no se ha encontrado del todo bien». Inmediatamente después del parto pareció recuperarse, pero a los diez días murió.[40]

La inesperada tragedia dejó a Carlos devastado. «Podéis imaginar la angustia y la tristeza que siento por tan terrible pérdida», le escribió a Fernando justo antes de retirarse al convento jerónimo de La Sisla, a las afueras de Toledo, donde pasó las siguientes siete semanas llorando su muerte. Las consecuencias políticas del fallecimiento no pasaron desapercibidas para Salinas. En primer lugar, como le recordaba taimadamente a Fernando (que había sido el heredero de Carlos hasta 1527): «El Emperador no teniendo compañía, ni intención de la tomar, quedan solos estos estados en solo un varón y dos hembras; y lo que Dios fuere servido de hacer de todos, no se puede escusar; pero los hombres han de pensar a

todas occurrencias lo que podría acaescer». Para confiarle a continuación: «Yo he tenido temor, y no estoy sin él, que haya mudanza en las cosas que han sido pensadas hasta aquí por lo nuevamente acaescido». Se refería a la revuelta de los contribuyentes, no solo en Castilla, sino también en los Países Bajos.[41]

En diciembre de 1537, la hermana de Carlos, María, elaboró un presupuesto para el año siguiente que arrojaba unos ingresos de solo 233.628 libras tornesas, un gasto de 441.184 libras y una deuda de 1.356.381 libras (casi 700.000 ducados). Argumentaba que esta grave situación era el resultado del coste de las guerras, y advertía de que ella no iba a atreverse a recaudar más impuestos. En todo caso, Gante se negó a pagar ni un penique más, pese a la carta escrita personalmente por Carlos en la que recordaba a los magistrados de la ciudad que: «Siempre hemos mantenido la creencia y la esperanza de que, en nuestra ausencia, os afanaríais por ayudarnos, asistirnos y servirnos más que ningún otro, porque nos también somos de Gante»; pero a la vez advertía que, si no pagaban voluntariamente, les obligaría a hacerlo.[42] Gante no hizo ni caso. La elite de la ciudad se negó a aceptar las demandas fiscales y las tropas que le exigía el gobierno central, e incluso declinó unirse a la delegación enviada por María a España para presentar sus condolencias a Carlos por la muerte de la emperatriz. En septiembre de 1539 Gante envió una embajada secreta a París para pedir ayuda militar.

Afortunadamente para Carlos, Francisco se mantuvo fiel al acuerdo alcanzado en Aigues-Mortes, confiado en que ello le reportaría Milán. Sus ministros habían prometido que Francisco resolvería todas las diferencias pendientes con el duque de Saboya y se abstendría de prestar ayuda a los enemigos del emperador, en tanto que sus homólogos imperiales prometieron al anterior duque de Angulema (nombrado duque de Orleans

cuando su hermano mayor pasó a ser el delfín) que se casaría con su hija María o bien con la hija de su hermano Fernando, Ana, con Milán como dote. Carlos expresó también el deseo de viajar de España a los Países Bajos «a través de Francia, para poder volver a ver al rey, disfrutar con él de la caza y pasar muchos ratos de ocio con él y su hermana la reina [Leonor]».[43] La familia real francesa empezó de inmediato a bombardearle con invitaciones, pero «con el mucho sentimiento que ha tenido y tiene del fallescimíento de la Emperatriz, que Dios tiene en su gloria, ha estado y está retirado fuera de poblado».[44]

No obstante, el emperador no podía ignorar el agravamiento de la crisis en los Países Bajos con la abierta oposición de Flandes y Güeldres. Como María le manifestó muy a las claras, «Lo que está aquí en juego es si vuestra Majestad va a ser señor o vasallo»: solo su inmediata intervención personal, afirmaba, podía restaurar en ese momento el orden y la obediencia. Al carecer de tiempo y de dinero para reunir una flota atlántica o mediterránea, el viaje a través de Francia era la única ruta posible a los Países Bajos; pero Carlos temía las protestas de sus súbditos españoles cuando anunciara su intención de quedar a la merced de su inveterado enemigo. De modo que rogó a Francisco y a su familia que escribieran «una afectuosa carta para convencerme de que haga este viaje, sin hacer ninguna mención a que vos ya sabéis exactamente lo que quiero». También le pedía que le garantizara que durante su estancia en suelo francés no tratarían ningún asunto de Estado.[45]

En cuanto llegaron las cartas y garantías solicitadas, consciente de las rebeliones que casi le habían costado el trono la última vez que se había ausentado de España sin nombrar a un pariente consanguíneo que le representara, Carlos tomó medidas para establecer un gobierno de regencia efectivo. El 5 de noviembre, nombró a su hijo Felipe, de 11 años de edad, su regente, pero invistiendo el poder ejecutivo en Tavera, que

actuaría de «Gobernador» además de como presidente del Consejo Real e inquisidor general. Asimismo designó a Los Cobos, plenamente familiarizado con las políticas del emperador, dado que había acompañado a su señor en sus anteriores viajes, como secretario de Felipe.[46] También redactó un codicilo a su testamento y dos juegos de instrucciones: uno, dirigido a sus ministros, en el que detallaba sus deberes y responsabilidades administrativas (tanto para con el emperador como de unos para con otros); el otro, escrito para Felipe, establecía sus objetivos políticos a fin de que «el dicho príncipe sepa nuestra intención» en caso de que «Dios será servido de llevarnos para sí». Incluía, además, «por forma de admonición, parecer y consejo», las estrategias religiosas, dinásticas y políticas que su hijo debería seguir «para que poder vivir y reinar pacíficamente y en prosperidad». Fue el primero de los muchos documentos de consejo en los que el emperador reveló a su hijo sus más íntimos pensamientos. De este modo comenzó el largo aprendizaje político del príncipe.[47]

Tras conminar a Felipe a amar a Dios y defender su Iglesia, el emperador le instaba a confiar en sus familiares.

> Que tenga y conserve buena, verdadera, sincera y perfecta amistad y inteligencia con el Rey de Romanos, nuestro hermano [Fernando], y con nuestros sobrinos y sobrinas sus hijas; con las reynas de Francia [Leonor] y viuda de Hungría [María]; con el rey y reina de Portugal [Catalina], y sus hijos y hermanos del dicho señor rey, como por deber de parentesco el dicho nuestro hijo es obligado, y siguiendo la dicha amistad y inteligencia como ha sido y es entre Nos.

Carlos pasaba a abordar a continuación tres contenciosos: Francia, los Países Bajos y Milán. Los consideraba relacionados porque la buena sintonía que en aquel momento mantenía con el rey Francisco solo podría continuar si las partes se ponían de acuerdo «en el quitar y extinguir todas las querellas y pretensiones de intereses» respecto a los Países Bajos y Milán mediante «alianzas de casamientos». Aunque acababa de aceptar que el duque de Orleans podía casarse con su hija María, con

Milán como dote, Carlos revelaba que tanto él como la emperatriz habían estipulado en sus testamentos que, «en caso que no tuviéresemos otro hijo que el dicho príncipe, como ha subcedido», María se casaría con uno de los hijos de Fernando y el matrimonio gobernaría los Países Bajos. En aquel momento Carlos tenía sus dudas, no solo por los «movimientos y motines» en Flandes, sino por «la diversidad de los vecinos y multitud de sectas contra nuestra sancta fe y religión, fundados so color de libertad y gobierno nuevo y voluntario, que podría causar no solamente su entera perdición y apartarse de nuestra casa y linaje, más aún su enajenación de nuestra sancta fé y religión». Así pues, declaraba su intención de renegar de todos los compromisos anteriores, «para que queden [los Países Bajos] al dicho príncipe, nuestro hijo, y él suceda en ellas si es posible». Consciente de los graves riesgos que suponía esta revocación de sus políticas, aseguraba a su hijo que si, al final, «dipusiéramos de las dichas tierras para la dicha nuestra hija y en favor del dicho casamiento, será por obviar a los inconvenientes antes dichos y por el grand bien de la Cristiandad, y del dicho nuestro hijo».[48]

La siguiente instrucción del emperador establecía la política que Felipe debía seguir respecto a otros tres estados: Portugal, Saboya e Inglaterra. Su hija Juana debía casarse con el heredero del trono portugués, el príncipe Juan, y los franceses debían evacuar Saboya y devolverla al duque. Respecto a Inglaterra, Felipe debía «tener gran advertencia por no condescender livianamente a cosa de que el negocio de nuestra fé y religión veniese a peores términos», y también tener a su prima María de Inglaterra «por encomendada, y asistirla y favorecerla cuanto convenientemente fuere posible». Un codicilo hecho al testamento de Carlos, firmado aquel mismo día, repetía las disposiciones hechas en las instrucciones, con un añadido: en caso de su muerte, sus ministros «deben poner el ducado de

Milán en manos de nuestro hermano… el rey de romanos, y nuestro presunto sucesor como emperador», a quien también encargaba cumplir el resto de sus deseos.[49]

Si bien ni el codicilo ni las instrucciones se llevaron a efecto, dado que Carlos sobrevivió, abordaban varios temas que dominarían la política exterior española durante el resto del siglo: mantener buenas relaciones con la rama austriaca de la familia, los acuerdos matrimoniales con la familia real portuguesa, la separación de Milán o de los Países Bajos (o de ambos) de España, la devolución de Saboya a su duque y defender la fe católica y al pretendiente católico al trono de Inglaterra. Los documentos revelaron también dos prácticas habituales que socavarían la política exterior española durante un siglo: la tendencia a renegar de promesas solemnes y la renuencia a entregar ningún territorio. Las instrucciones de Carlos de 1539 dejaban claramente patentes tanto las fortalezas como las debilidades de la monarquía que su hijo heredaría después.

A través de Francia hacia los Países Bajos y Alemania

Carlos se despidió de sus hijos y partió hacia Francia el 11 de noviembre de 1539 acompañado de un reducido séquito entre cuyos miembros se contaba el duque de Alba y don Luis de Ávila. El delfín, que había sido rehén de Carlos, volvió a entrar en España para encontrarse con ellos en Fuenterrabía y les condujo a través del reino vía Burdeos, Poitiers y los castillos del Loira, hasta el nuevo palacio de Francisco en Fontainebleau, y de allí a París, donde Carlos hizo su entrada el 1 de enero de 1540, ante unos 200.000 espectadores que le aclamaban. Algunos encontraron extraño que el soberano, que apenas dos años antes había sido vituperado como jefe de un malvado imperio, fuera ahora recibido en todas partes con arcos de triunfo, fanfarria y discursos de bienvenida, pero Carlos, como

era habitual en él, disfrutó al máximo con tanta adulación. «Habemos sido y somos tan bien tratados y festejados quanto más se podría escarescer, y con gran afición y alegría», informó. Se liberaron presos en su honor, y «vinieron todo el tiempo cazando y monteando, y las noches danzando y baylando hasta que era ora de acostar». Dos consideraciones explican esta efusiva bienvenida. Tras muchos años de guerra y numerosos reveses, la mayoría de los hombres y mujeres de Francia sintieron un genuino entusiasmo ante tan irrefutable prueba de que por fin había regresado la paz. Por otra parte, a Francisco le agradaba tener la oportunidad de que su huésped viera la extensión y la riqueza de su reino, así como la devoción que por él sentían sus súbditos. El emperador quedó abrumado ante los costosos regalos que le hicieron cuando ambos monarcas se encontraron, que culminaron en un lujoso guardarropa valorado en 40.000 ducados. Aunque Carlos declinó aceptar los trajes y siguió llevando «prendas negras y un sombrero de fieltro también negro, sin ninguna insignia, en señal de luto por la emperatriz», este arrollador despliegue de riqueza no pudo pasarle desapercibido.[50]

Desde París, el emperador continuó su avance hacia los Países Bajos, acompañado por Francisco hasta la frontera. Como habían acordado, el rey no había mencionado el tema de Milán, proclamando enfáticamente que un caballero no debía aprovecharse de sus huéspedes (como había acusado a Carlos de hacer durante su cautiverio en España), pero Carlos le prometió que «llegado el serenísimo rey de Romanos, nuestro hermano a Bruselas, y comunicado con él, se podrá entender en lo que se ha de hacer», concretamente, la transferencia de Milán al duque de Orleans.[51] Primero, no obstante, lidió con sus rebeldes flamencos.

El emperador no quiso correr riesgos. Antes de entrar en Gante desplegó más de 3.000 soldados alemanes, los cuales «se han aposentado al derredor de palacio para que, si algo se ofresciese, se hallen juntos», y el 14 de febrero de 1540 «estubieron juntos en la Plaza hasta ser yo pasado della», a la cabeza de «mi corte y guardia, cinco compañías de hombres darmas y archeros».[52] Luego pasó a analizar concienzudamente las pruebas de traición por parte de ciudadanos de Gante y otros lugares de Flandes. En total, el emperador mandó ejecutar, mutilar o deportar a más de cien hombres y mujeres, a menudo tras someterlos a tortura, y confiscó sus propiedades; impuso una gravosa multa y se cobró todos los impuestos atrasados que la provincia se había negado a pagar; revocó privilegios, abolió o restó poderes a las instituciones locales; y confiscó toda la artillería y armas pesadas. Luego, como había hecho en Valladolid tras la revuelta de los comuneros, Carlos puso el punto final con una teatral puesta en escena. El 3 de mayo, tras desplegar a «todos los soldados estacionados en la ciudad, completamente armados, por las calles y carreteras», Carlos vio desfilar desde el escenario a toda la élite de la ciudad con la cabeza descubierta y vestidos solo con la camisa. Todos se arrodillaron y suplicaron su perdón, y a continuación el propio emperador tomó parte en esta pequeña representación. Durante un rato estuvo «con la mirada puesta en la distancia, sin decir nada en respuesta, como si estuviera reflexionando sobre lo que la gente de Gante había hecho y si debía o no perdonarles», hasta que María se volvió hacia él y le rogó que les perdonara «en honor y en memoria de haber nacido él allí». A lo que él gentilmente accedió. También puso la primera piedra de una ciudadela, erigida en el lugar elegido por su abuelo Maximiliano tras una revuelta anterior.[53]

Fernando se reunió con su hermano y hermana en Gante, donde es evidente que los tres trataron el tema de la partición de las posesiones de Carlos tras su muerte, porque el 24 de marzo el emperador le propuso a Francisco una forma absolutamente diferente de zanjar sus discrepancias: otorgaría los Países Bajos a su hija María, que se casaría con Orleans, y a cambio Francisco renunciaría a todas sus demandas sobre Milán y Saboya (Carlos haría lo propio respecto a Borgoña). Además, el emperador estipulaba que su hija y su futuro yerno solo serían sus «lugartenientes» en los Países Bajos, y tendrían que residir allí, aunque Carlos seguiría siendo su soberano hasta su muerte, y que si la princesa moría sin herederos las provincias revertirían de nuevo al gobierno Habsburgo. También exigía que Francisco prometiera a Carlos ayudarle a anexionar Güeldres (que quedaría incorporado a los Países Bajos); a extirpar el protestantismo en Alemania; asistir a Fernando para sacar a los turcos de Hungría; permitir que el príncipe Felipe se casara con Juana de Albret, heredera de Navarra; y dotar a Orleans con una «bonne partage» de territorio francés.[54]

Esta propuesta no solo difería drásticamente de la anterior, sino que era totalmente inaceptable, aunque Carlos parecía no darse cuenta. Incluso una década más tarde, escribía en sus *Memorias*: «mandó cartas al rey de Francia, ofreciéndole tan grandes partes que se maravilló de que no fueran aceptados por él y de que no se siguiese la paz deseada». Al parecer, no era capaz de ver hasta qué punto Francia se vería debilitada si evacuaba Saboya, abandonaba Güeldres y fortalecía la frontera norte de España con el matrimonio de Felipe y Juana; o de cómo su propuesta de cederle a Orleans el control sobre un territorio tan amplio dentro de Francia recordaba a la creación de un infantazgo para los duques de Borgoña que un siglo antes casi había abocado al reino a su destrucción. En abril, los embajadores franceses en la corte imperial advirtieron que «es de

dominio público que al rey no le han gustado las ofertas presentadas por el emperador y la gente aquí piensa que las conversaciones se han roto, por lo que algunos ya temen que se desencadene otra guerra». Su colega inglés Thomas Wyatt estaba de acuerdo: «Respecto a las cosas de Francia», escribió, todo «se ha enfriado tanto que parece que lo pasado recientemente hubiera sido solo un sueño», y predecía que «la donación de Milán no ha de llegar, ni ahora, ni nunca». También afirmaba que Carlos había «decepcionado tanto al rey francés» que Francisco «prefería aplazar el asunto hasta que él estuviera preparado antes que confiar en llegar a ningún otro acuerdo». En resumen, veía como inevitable que los franceses volvieran a declarar la guerra.[55]

Wyatt estaba en lo cierto. Aunque en mayo Francisco propuso «dejar las cosas como están por ahora», una sugerencia que Carlos aceptó, ambas partes tomaron medidas en secreto para cambiar el *statu quo*. En julio, el emperador informó a su hermano de que, «después de reflexionar sobre los asuntos públicos, tanto vuestros como míos, debo sin duda volver a España», tanto «por el estado de mis relaciones con Francia» como porque en caso de guerra «no podré apoyarme más que en mis reinos de España». Tres meses más tarde, el emperador participó en un engaño aún mayor. Temiendo que una «gran guerra fuera en perjuicio de la cristiandad en general, así como de nuestro hijo, reinos, dominios y súbditos, y nuestro hermano», si Milán «caía en manos enemigas, o de alguien incapaz de defenderlo», invistió al príncipe Felipe con el ducado como feudo imperial, y redactó un codicilo a su testamento revocando sus anteriores órdenes de que pasara directamente a Fernando («quien estoy seguro comprenderá nuestras razones»).[56] Por su parte, Francisco firmó órdenes de pago por valor de 5.500 ducados a favor de Antonio Rincón, «su chambelán y embajador en el Levante», y Solimán concedió a

Rincón una audiencia de varias horas de duración —«algo que nunca había concedido a ningún otro hombre en el mundo»— antes de enviarle de vuelta para negociar los términos en los que él y su «buen amigo y hermano» Francisco atacarían a los Habsburgo.[57]

Antes de regresar a España, Carlos realizó un recorrido por sus provincias de los Países Bajos para reafirmar su autoridad tras los problemas en Flandes, y convenció a los Estados Generales para que aprobaran una serie de importantes propuestas económicas, legales y religiosas. Los Estados Generales aprobaron leyes para la regulación de las bancarrotas, los monopolios, la usura y la moneda; para vigilar la conducta de los jueces civiles y eclesiásticos; para estandarizar códigos legales regionales; y para castigar con la muerte a todos los que fueran declarados culpables de herejía. Carlos también emitió instrucciones revisadas para los tres consejos adicionales que asesorarían a María cuando él se hubiera marchado, modificando sus criterios de afiliación y sus protocolos a la luz de los hechos acaecidos a partir de 1531, cuando él los estableció. Al mismo tiempo, como de costumbre, estuvo pendiente de los acontecimientos en el resto de sus dominios. Así, en septiembre de 1540, aprobó una sugerencia de Los Cobos consistente en que, en pro de una administración más eficaz, todos los documentos supervivientes generados por el gobierno central de Castilla fueran transferidos a un nuevo archivo en la fortaleza de Simancas.[58]

Para entonces, Carlos había decidido que volvería a España vía Alemania, donde esperaba resolver todas las divisiones religiosas como preludio a una segunda campaña en África. Reconocía las dificultades inherentes a esta tarea. Desde que abandonara Alemania nueve años atrás, a cambio del apoyo luterano contra los turcos, había dejado en suspenso el Edicto de Worms, con sus castigos a la no conformidad, y acordado

remitir todas las diferencias entre luteranos y católicos a un futuro concilio eclesiástico. Dado que los protestantes veían poco probable que el concilio se mostrara favorable a la tolerancia, en 1535, los miembros de la Liga de Smalkalda habían prorrogado su existencia otros doce años más y solicitado manifestaciones de apoyo a soberanos extranjeros (en particular, a los reyes de Dinamarca, Inglaterra y Francia), dando de este modo lugar a que algunos soberanos católicos constituyeran su propia Liga para la mutua defensa. Luego, en 1539, alarmadas por la reconciliación de Carlos con Francia, ambas partes habían acordado no emplear la fuerza una contra la otra, ni ampliar su número de miembros, y habían prometido enviar teólogos a un «coloquio» (o conversación amistosa) con la esperanza de resolver sus diferencias.

El Papa trató de hacer descarrilar las conversaciones convocando la reunión de un concilio general en Vicenza, en la República veneciana, y le pidió a Carlos que no permitiera que se tratara ningún tema religioso en la Dieta; pero Carlos respondió que los luteranos no asistirían a ningún concilio celebrado fuera del Imperio. También señaló que, a diferencia de una dieta, un concilio general no generaría fondos para la defensa de Hungría contra los turcos. Lutero asimismo desechó la idea de que un concilio general ofreciera ninguna esperanza de reforma en otra destemplada controversia titulada *Sobre concilios e iglesias*. También él era favorable a encontrar una solución justa para Alemania. Así pues, las conversaciones continuaron.[59]

En enero de 1541 los teólogos alemanes habían hecho considerables progresos, y Carlos dio órdenes de elaborar un borrador que se debatiría en su presencia en la próxima Dieta Imperial, programada para ser inaugurada en Ratisbona. También trató de crear un frente católico unido. Gasparo Contarini, que había sido embajador de Venecia en su corte y

en aquel momento era el enviado especial del Papa a la Dieta, informó de que en su primera audiencia el emperador «me advirtió que todos [en el bando católico] debían hablar con una sola voz, y no divergir unos de otros, si queríamos que este asunto concluyera satisfactoriamente».[60] Con este propósito, el propio Carlos eligió seis teólogos —tres de cada bando— para encontrar un terreno común, y nombró a Granvela y al conde palatino Federico presidir sus deliberaciones. El 6 de abril, uno de los ministros de Carlos leyó en voz alta ante los miembros de la Dieta allí reunidos «una larga declaración en la que se recapitulaba todo lo que el emperador había hecho» desde que se habían reunido la última vez, a saber: su éxito al conseguir que el sultán huyera de Hungría; su intento de que el Papa convocara un concilio general «conforme a lo que había prometido en la Dieta»; sus campañas en África (para defender la cristiandad) y en la Provenza (para restaurar en su puesto al duque de Saboya, un príncipe del Imperio); y su éxito en hacer las paces con Francia y restablecer el orden en los Países Bajos. A continuación llegó una declaración «en nombre de su Majestad, en alemán (el emperador no hablaba esta lengua con fluidez)», con su doble objetivo para la Dieta: encontrar una fórmula de acuerdo religioso con el Imperio y preparar su defensa contra los turcos.[61]

En mayo, para el asombro general, los teólogos llegaron a un acuerdo sobre la cuestión de la Justificación y procedieron a tratar el crucial asunto de la Eucaristía, algo que Contarini consideró un error, argumentando que ya había quedado decidido en un concilio general. Carlos se mostró claramente en desacuerdo, entre otras cosas, porque Solimán estaba de nuevo aproximándose a Hungría a la cabeza de un enorme ejército, lo cual (como en 1532) le obligaba a hacer las concesiones necesarias para contar con las tropas e impuestos luteranos. En varias ocasiones expresó su frustración por la incapacidad del

Papado para entender este dilema. Así, cuando Contarini solicitó una audiencia imperial el 14 de mayo, y «explicó los errores de los luteranos sobre los sacramentos de la Eucaristía y la confesión», y de «cómo era imposible llegar a un acuerdo a menos que cambiaran de opinión», Carlos le «escuchó atentamente» y a continuación replicó (sin duda sarcásticamente, dado que Contarini, exdiplomático, solo llevaba cuatro años de sacerdote) que «Yo he cumplido mi deber, porque él no era un teólogo». No obstante, proseguía, «las diferencias entre ambas partes respecto a la Eucaristía consistían en una sola palabra: "transustanciación"». ¿Cómo podía ser tan difícil, se preguntaba Carlos, encontrar una fórmula aceptable para todos? Dos semanas después, Granvela repitió el mensaje del emperador. «La palabra "transustanciación"» era «un concepto sutil [*una cosa sottile*] que solo tenía importancia para los entendidos. Era una cuestión irrelevante para la gente normal, que solo necesitaba saber que el cuerpo de Cristo estaba en el Sacramento y debía de ser venerado… A continuación, afirmó que una vez «resolviéramos esta dificultad, sería fácil llegar a un acuerdo sobre los demás artículos». A menos que los dos bandos llegaran a un arreglo, predecía Granvela sombríamente, «a los tres meses de haberse ido el emperador, toda Alemania será luterana».[62]

Al amanecer del día siguiente, 21 de junio de 1541, Fernando llegó a Ratisbona. Nada más conocer la noticia, su hermano se levantó y «le estuvo esperando en camisa junto a la ventana, y tras abrazarse y permanecer un breve rato juntos, ambos se fueron a descansar». Los hermanos a continuación rogaron a la Dieta que les proporcionara fondos para salvar Buda, entonces bajo el asedio otomano, pero los miembros luteranos de la Dieta se negaron a hacerlo si no les daban garantías de que continuaría habiendo tolerancia religiosa y, como siempre, se salieron con la suya: en la ceremonia de clausura de la Dieta, celebrada el 29 de

julio, ambos grupos acordaron dejar todas sus diferencias en manos del próximo concilio general, que iba a celebrarse en suelo alemán o, en su defecto, de un concilio nacional o (de no haber tenido lugar ninguno de ellos pasados dieciocho meses) de otra reunión de la Dieta. Hasta entonces, la paz de Núremberg seguía vigente. A cambio, la Dieta acordó financiar la dotación de 24.000 soldados para la defensa de Hungría, pero fue demasiado tarde: Buda se rindió al día siguiente.[63]

Tormenta sobre Argel

Algunos contemporáneos se asombraron de que Carlos partiera de Ratisbona con destino a Italia en lugar de a Hungría, pero esto obedecía a una gran estrategia que había planeado. Tres años antes, durante la cumbre que mantuvo en Niza con el Papa, había explicado a un embajador veneciano que «como vimos cuando el sultán fue a atacar Viena, no siempre es posible obligarle a entrar en batalla cuando uno desea, ya que tiene a su mando una caballería tan numerosa que puede avanzar y retirarse, y devastar todo el territorio, cuando se le antoja». Esto, explicaba Carlos, le llevó a ser partidario de tomar una postura defensiva en Hungría «mejorando las fortificaciones e instalando guarniciones en los bastiones fronterizos, y no destinar tropas a ninguna campaña». En lugar de ello, a los turcos había que combatirlos por mar; y, según les dijo a los embajadores, «habiendo aprendido de mi campaña africana» que el éxito exigía una fuerza expedicionaria mucho mayor, planeaba reclutar y ponerse al frente de 60.000 hombres, 200 galeras y «tantos barcos como fuera necesario» para lanzar un ataque sobre «Constantinopla, que está rodeada de mar por tres lados, a través de los Dardanelos, que me han dicho pueden ser tomados fácilmente».[64]

Cuando María se enteró de esto, escribió una descarnada consulta advirtiendo a Carlos de los riesgos que aquello implicaba.

> Aunque vuestra Majestad es el más importante príncipe cristiano en honor y en número de dominios y súbditos, no está obligado a defender a la cristiandad solo, o con poca ayuda, y menos aún a atacar a nuestro común enemigo, sobre todo si es tan poderoso como los turcos. Es más, aun si vuestra Majestad quisiera hacerlo, debería considerar si tiene la capacidad de hacerlo con éxito… Por buena y cristiana que sea la empresa en sí misma, no debería acometerse a menos que vaya a salir adelante.

Tras admitir que la guerra «no es mi oficio», María le recordaba a su hermano que «he escuchado a mucha gente que conoce bien a los turcos» (en referencia a los once años que fue reina de Hungría). También le refrescaba la memoria sobre todo lo que había salido mal durante su expedición a Túnez: «¿en qué situación os habríais visto vos y vuestro ejército si Barbarroja no hubiera salido a batallar?». Y eso que Túnez «¡es nada menos que la entrada a vuestras posesiones!». ¿Cómo resolvería problemas similares en el Mediterráneo oriental? A continuación, María censuraba la decisión de Carlos de hacer campaña en persona (el hecho de que su propio marido hubiera muerto en batalla contra los turcos añadía fuerza a su opinión). «Si os ocurre alguna desgracia —inquiría retóricamente—, ¿qué será de vuestra familia y de nosotros, de vuestros súbditos y vuestras tierras, y de toda la fe cristiana, que, como todo el mundo sabe, depende por completo de vuestra vida y vuestra reputación? ¿Cómo responderéis ante Dios si dicha desgracia ocurre por vuestra culpa?». Y continuaba, cruelmente: «La tarea de vuestra Majestad es vencer, no ser vencido», e:

> Incluso si la campaña empieza tan bien que vuestra Majestad toma alguna plaza o comienza a avanzar, si carecéis de los medios para continuar, pensad lo deshonroso y lamentable que sería. Y si vuestra Majestad quisiera mantener sus adquisiciones, párese por favor a considerar cuál sería el coste y cuán difícil sería abastecerlas y defenderlas ante tan poderoso enemigo, dadas las distancias.[65]

Tal vez recapacitando ante tan poderosos argumentos, Carlos recortó el alcance de sus ambiciones y se centró en conquistar Argel. Como en el caso de la campaña de Túnez, su estrategia requería la unión de dos fuerzas anfibias, una procedente de España y la otra de Italia, que serían comandadas personalmente por él, pero con dos diferencias importantes: esta vez navegaría con el contingente italiano y la operación tendría lugar en otoño.

Varias razones explican estos trascendentales cambios. La más importante, que la Dieta de Ratisbona se alargó mucho más de lo esperado, pero Carlos se sentía incapaz de marcharse hasta haber conseguido los fondos para defender Hungría. Al fin, el 28 de julio, el emperador ordenó a su séquito hacer el equipaje y al día siguiente «apareció ante la Dieta vestido con sus ropas de montar» para dar su consentimiento a la resolución final (la *Reichsabschied*).[66] A continuación, emprendió el viaje a máxima velocidad, llegando en ocasiones a recorrer 60 kilómetros al día, en dirección sur, hacia el paso de Brenner y continuando hasta Cremona, en Lombardía; pero luego, en lugar de apresurarse a unirse a su flota, se dirigió a Milán, donde pasó una semana antes de proseguir hacia Génova. Allí volvió a hacer una parada, durante la que él y sus asesores debatieron sobre cuál sería el siguiente paso. Según Francisco López de Gómara,

> El emperador, estando en Génova, supo por cartas del rey, su hermano, cómo se había apoderado de Buda y de toda Hungría, por lo cual hubo diferentes pareceres sobre la ida de Argel entre los de su Consejo. Decía el marqués del Vasto que convenía estar en Italia para enviar socorro al rey de Romanos o volver allá si necesario fuese, y para la seguridad de Lombardía, pues el rey de Francia amenazaba mucho.

«Lo mismo sentía Andrea de Oria —añadió Gómara—, pareciéndole tarde por la costa de Barbería»; pero el emperador argumentó que la ausencia de Barbarroja y su flota de galeras,

convocado por Solimán para acompañarle en la campaña del Danubio, propiciaba una ocasión única al dejar Argel demasiado debilitada para resistírsele.[67]

Finalmente, Carlos embarcó en Génova el 10 de septiembre, pero se detuvo en Lucca, donde había quedado en encontrarse con el Papa. Pablo trató de disuadirle de atacar Argel, «por ser el tiempo muy adelante y porque fuese aquel ejército al rey de Romanos»; Carlos instó al Papa a convocar un concilio general en suelo alemán y mantener la tregua con Francia «a fin de que él pudiera continuar defendiendo a la cristiandad frente a los turcos».[68] Tras tres días de infructuoso debate, y dos meses después de haber salido de Ratisbona, el 28 de septiembre Carlos y su flota zarparon por fin para unirse a la fuerza expedicionaria española reunida en Mallorca, y desde allí lanzar un ataque sorpresa sobre Argel *(véase mapa 4)*.

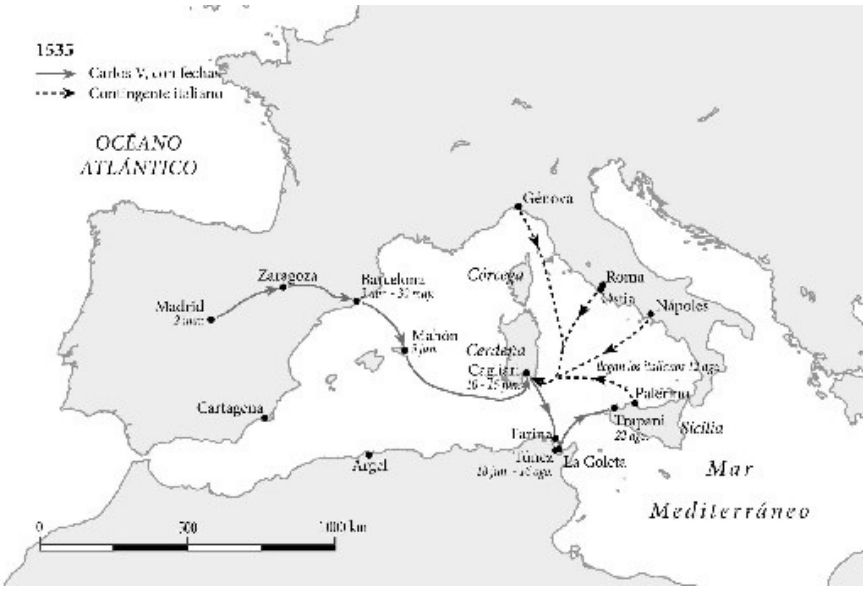
El mal tiempo obligó a Carlos y a su flota a retrasarse todavía más, por lo que no llegaron a Mallorca hasta el 13 de octubre. Allí tuvieron que tomar un descanso, la tripulación de galeras porque estaba exhausta y Carlos porque «se syntió bien malo de su pecho». El emperador utilizó el obligado descanso para organizar su agenda del año siguiente, que empezaba por reunirse en Sevilla con las Cortes de Castilla en cuanto volviera, «para quedar desembaraçado él para visitar a Granada» y supervisar los progresos de su nuevo palacio. De allí, quería «pasar a Valencia y a Monçon para hazer jurar al príncipe y para hallarse a la primavera allí para lo que pueda suceder en Ytalia». También mandó llamar a sus principales secretarios, Alonso de Idiáquez y Juan Vázquez de Molina, y mientras «se sintió apretado del pecho» les dijo que:

> Considerado que pudiera acaecer morirse de aquella indispusición o en la mar o después de desembarcado en Argel, sin acabarse la empresa, que quería dexar hordenado como se prosiguiesse, y todos supiesen su voluntad. Y assí se

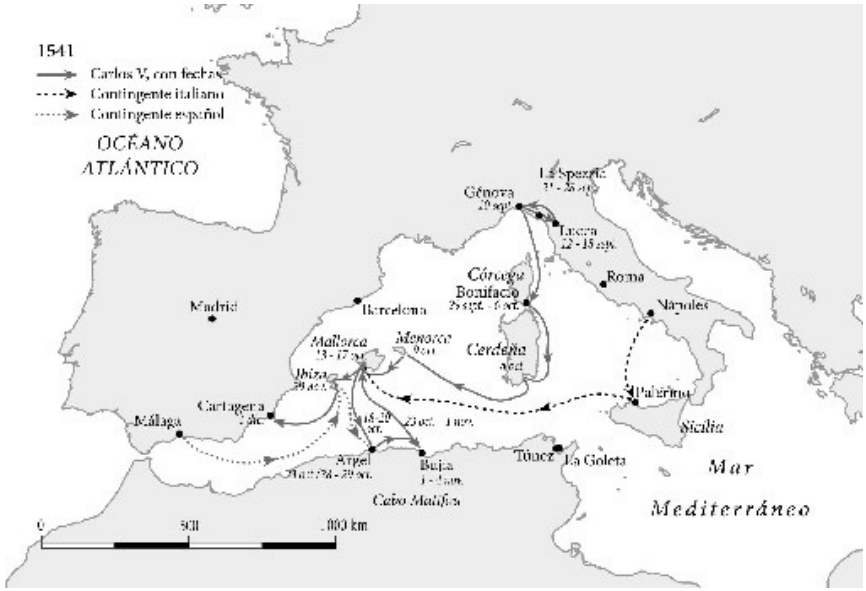
ordenaron dos instrucciones de un tenor, la una firmado «Carlos» [para el contingente de Italia], y esto mandó que tuviesse Ydiáquez, y la otra firmada «Yo, el Rey» y que la tubiesse yo [Vázquez de Molina, para el contingente de España].

Este llamativo ejemplo de planificación prospectiva no pudo compensar la tardía llegada de la fuerza expedicionaria procedente de España, comandada por el duque de Alba. Esta no abandonó la península hasta el 30 de septiembre y tardó dos semanas en llegar a Ibiza, a 130 kilómetros de Mallorca. Dado lo avanzado de la temporada de navegación, Carlos decidió entonces que cada flota partiera directamente hacia África y se unieran allí. Era una jugada arriesgada: «Plega a dios que su determinación se acierte», rogaba Vázquez de Molina.[69]

Mapa 4A



Mapa 4B



Mapa 4. Carolus Africanus. En sus campañas africanas de 1535 y 1541, Carlos planeó meticulosamente llevar a cabo una operación combinada de grandes contingentes procedentes tanto de España como de Italia. Dados los retrasos y obstáculos inherentes a este tipo de plan, especialmente en la era de la navegación a vela, la exitosa confluencia de diferentes fuerzas frente a las costas africanas representa un notable logro logístico.

Al principio, la fortuna pareció mostrarse a favor de Carlos. Avistó Argel el 19 de octubre de 1541, el día después de dejar Mallorca, y aunque el difícil estado de la mar impidió un desembarco inmediato, la flota procedente de España llegó el día 23. El desembarco comenzó ese mismo día. El emperador desplegó rápidamente su artillería de asedio en torno a Argel, con la intención de utilizarla, como en La Goleta, en combinación con los pesados cañones de crujía a bordo de las galeras (los cuales, como apuntó un observador italiano, pese a estar fuera del alcance de la artillería de la ciudad, tenían capacidad para derribar sus muros); pero la noche del día 24 se desencadenó una furiosa tormenta que arruinó su plan. Durante los tres días siguientes, la embravecida mar destruyó muchos de los navíos de Carlos y obligó a los restantes a buscar refugio, mientras los fuertes vientos, la lluvia heladora y el granizo

hundían la moral de sus tropas, «que habían desembarcado sin tiendas de campaña y sin abrigos ni capas que los protegieran de las desaforadas lluvias». «En un momento, todos los soldados quedaron tan empapados como si les hubieran arrojado al mar». La tormenta también privó a los invasores de su superioridad táctica: «Nuestras armas de fuego no funcionaban porque la lluvia había dañado la pólvora y las mechas», se quejaba uno de los participantes, y «no estábamos acostumbrados a hacer la guerra con arcos, ballestas, piedras y otras armas arrojadizas», todos los cuales sus adversarios emplearon con excelentes resultados. Incapaces de desembarcar las provisiones, las tropas solo lograron sobrevivir gracias a que el emperador ordenó matar a los caballos de su ejército: alrededor de unos 2.000. Cuando la tormenta remitió, el día 26, los invasores huyeron hacia los barcos que se habían salvado, pero nada más embarcar se desató otra tempestad, «tal que cada uno corrió a donde pudo y muchos fueron en dirección por completo opuesta a donde debían de ir». Carlos encontró resguardo en el puesto fortificado de Bugía, donde estuvo organizando procesiones y rezos para pedir que mejorara el tiempo hasta el 23 de noviembre, que condujo a su flota de vuelta a Mallorca. Desde allí, la mayoría de los soldados y barcos supervivientes regresaron a Italia, mientras el emperador y el resto de la expedición ponían rumbo a Cartagena donde, «medio muertos», llegaron tambaleándose a la orilla el 1 de diciembre.[70]

En busca de chivos expiatorios

Algunos participantes destacaron empáticamente la implicación y la valentía que el emperador había mostrado durante toda la campaña. «Estuvo en todo: salió a gobernar, esforzado a pelear, humano al mal ajeno», escribió Gómara, mientras que otros testigos presenciales alabaron su decisión de ordenar a sus tropas por «naciones, valiéndose de su autoridad para evitar las rivalidades que por lo general suelen despertarse

en estas situaciones». Mientras arengaba a sus hombres al pie de las murallas de Argel, «algunos de los que le escuchaban cayeron derribados de repente por la artillería enemiga», pero el emperador no mostró sorpresa por ello, ni interrumpió su discurso, ni cambió la expresión de su rostro, sino que continuó con la misma serenidad y autoridad que solía mostrar». Asimismo, cuando se inició la tormenta, «estando mojado, que le corría agua la camisa, y fatigado del mucho trabajo que había tenido desde que desembarcó», no obstante «no quiso ir a su tienda, rogando a todos los caballeros que no se fuesen a descansar hasta poner en recado los heridos». Carlos se comportó en todo momento como «excelentísimo capitán, a dicho de todos, así en esfuerzo como en prudencia», pero no fue suficiente. El embajador veneciano que iba en la expedición, enfadado y asustado cuando las tormentas azotaron su barco frente a la costa de Bugía, echaba toda la culpa de su situación al absurdo exceso de confianza de Carlos: «De la misma manera que Su Majestad Imperial planeó esta empresa en su cabeza, en contra del consejo de todos sus asesores y principales aliados, así ha planeado dirigirla también él solo, cometiendo un gran error», concretamente, el de comenzarla demasiado tarde.[71]

El propio Carlos dio dos razones para su fracaso: el rodeo que dio para reunirse con el Papa («Este abocamiento con Su Santidad causó alguna dilación en la embarcación de Su Magestad») y la voluntad de Dios.

> Aunque en ordenar y aparejar la dicha armada se pasó más tiempo de lo que convenía, y la estación estaba casi gastada, con todo, porque los gastos que estaban hechos no se podían emplear en otra cosa, y por otros respectos que, como se dijo, movieron a eso su Majestad, considerando que el tiempo estaba en manos de Dios, se embarcó.[72]

En otras palabras, dada la naturaleza sagrada de la causa, Carlos esperaba que el Señor le deparara una buena climatología. Los comentaristas musulmanes expresaban sentimientos similares: «El Dios Altísimo envió una feroz

tormenta» que «empujó a muchos barcos contra las rocas», escribió uno de ellos; un imán cuyas plegarias se decía habían desencadenado la tormenta se convirtió en objeto de veneración desde entonces.[73]

Ciertamente fue la tormenta la que decidió el resultado. Como Carlos había predicho, la ausencia de Barbarroja y sus galeras le otorgaban una importante ventaja y él quiso aprovecharla al máximo, en parte valiéndose de la sorpresa, y en parte haciendo ver que su intención seguía siendo atacar Constantinopla.[74] Aunque los defensores de Argel temían que ellos podían ser el verdadero objetivo del emperador, lo que les llevó a «poner a 400 esclavos cristianos a reparar las murallas, reconstruir sus ruinas y dotarlas de torres y cañones», así como «talar los árboles de los jardines de los alrededores de la ciudad para que el enemigo no pudiera utilizarlos para ocultarse en combate», no sabían cuándo podía sobrevenirles el golpe. Según un testigo presencial argelino, la mayor debilidad de la ciudad consistía en que «en caso de una expedición anfibia, el objetivo no se conoce hasta tres días después de su partida»: dado que la flota imperial viajó de Mallorca a Argel en solo dos días, inevitablemente el ataque cogió a los defensores por sorpresa. Por tanto, no pudieron evitar el ordenado desembarco de la fuerza invasora, compuesta por 40.000 soldados de infantería y 4.000 de caballería. Al atardecer del 24 de octubre de 1541, los invasores ya habían ocupado sus posiciones e instalado sus baterías y sus galeras junto a las murallas de la ciudad. Su éxito parecía asegurado.

La capacidad de Carlos para coordinar y dirigir un ataque por sorpresa de tal magnitud dejó claras las formidables fuerzas logísticas de su imperio. Un embajador que iba en la flota citaba con aprobación el veredicto del comandante del escuadrón genovés, Giannettino Doria, de que, «pese a todo, esta ha sido la

guerra mejor organizada que él ha visto desde que se unió a la causa imperial». Solo la virulenta tormenta iniciada la noche del 24 de octubre impidió un golpe definitivo.[75]

¿Debía Carlos haber adivinado este resultado? Al fin y al cabo, el medio natural del Magreb no favorecía las grandes operaciones militares, debido a que las escaramuzas casi constantes entre cristianos y musulmanes habían limitado drásticamente la producción de alimentos, haciendo que la mayoría de las ciudades portuarias dependieran siempre de las importaciones. El desembarco de 44.000 hombres y sus caballos consumiría inevitablemente una gran parte de los recursos locales, y aunque Carlos ya había previsto esto transportando abundantes existencias a bordo de su flota, las tormentas impidieron que estas se pudieran descargar, con lo que enseguida se generó una gran escasez de comida entre los que habían desembarcado. No obstante, como comentó un superviviente, «Nos libramos en cierta medida de la hambruna porque el emperador permitió el sacrificio de sus caballos». En cambio, «en ningún momento encontramos nada para defendernos de la lluvia».[76]

También en este aspecto el riesgo era completamente predecible. Los meses de octubre, noviembre y diciembre son en general los de mayores precipitaciones en Argel y alrededores, y gran parte de ellas se producen de forma torrencial. La lluvia y el granizo que comenzó a caer el 24 de octubre de 1541 duró 50 horas. Aunque los que soportaron aquella tormenta no tenían medios para medir el volumen de las precipitaciones con exactitud —Andrea Doria, que entonces contaba 74 años, se limitó a afirmar que «jamás se había visto una tormenta tan furiosa y terrible»—, los registros modernos muestran que en septiembre de 2012, en 50 horas, cayeron en Argel 227 mm de

lluvia y, en noviembre de 2001, 285 mm en 48 horas (la inundación más devastadora desde que se tienen registros exactos).[77]

Por tanto, invadir una zona con escasos recursos a finales de otoño multiplicaba en gran medida los riesgos inherentes a cualquier operación anfibia llevada a cabo en la era de la navegación a vela. Como comentó Paolo Giovio tras un encuentro con Carlos en Lucca, «Nunca pensé que la mente extremadamente fría del César pudiera convertirse en la de un chambelán, porque, a pesar de Doria y Vasto, por no decir de Neptuno y Eolo [los dioses del mar y del viento], quiere navegar a máxima velocidad a Argel» a primeros de octubre. No obstante, y sin duda animado por su éxito contra todo pronóstico en Túnez, Carlos persistió: «considerando que el tiempo estaba en manos de Dios, se embarcó».[78] Su decisión costó la vida a casi la mitad de su ejército. Algunos soldados murieron en acción, otros a causa del hambre y el frío, otros se ahogaron o les mataron mientras avanzaban tambaleándose hacia la orilla después de que su barco sucumbiera a la tormenta. La expedición perdió alrededor de 200 piezas de artillería, gran cantidad de equipamiento, casi todos los caballos y unos 200 barcos, 17 de ellos galeras. Muchos supervivientes perdieron todas sus posesiones: el embajador inglés, que se salvó del naufragio sin más posesión que su camisa, dejó constancia de que había perdido más de 7.000 ducados en bienes y efectivo, además de los caros utensilios de plata cedidos por su soberano. El propio Carlos perdió parte de su archivo y durante algún tiempo los guardas de Castilla tuvieron que viajar en mula «por los muchos caballos que se perdieron en Argel». Según un comentarista francés, «Las pérdidas materiales totales superaron los 4 millones en oro», por no hablar del inmenso daño causado al prestigio imperial. El mismo comentarista predijo que «el emperador recordará durante el resto de su vida la enorme

pérdida que ha sufrido», y ha «perdido tanto en esta empresa que no será capaz de volver a reunir un ejército durante mucho tiempo».[79] Por tanto, la oportunidad para romper la tregua de Niza y obligar a Carlos a firmar una paz desfavorable para él no podía ser mejor. Lo único que Francisco necesitaba era una excusa verosímil.

11. Ajustando cuentas, primera parte: Güeldres y Francia, 1541-1544

Un asesinato de lo más infame

El 2 de julio de 1541, mientras Carlos se encontraba aún en Ratisbona, Antonio Rincón y Cesare Fregoso embarcaron con un reducido séquito en dos barcos fluviales cerca de Turín, en el Piamonte bajo control francés, con la idea de navegar el Po hasta Venecia. Ambos hacían el viaje en calidad de enviados especiales de Francisco I, quien había ordenado a Fregoso representarle en Venecia, en tanto que Rincón debía continuar hasta Estambul para comunicar la aceptación por parte del rey de la oferta de alianza de Solimán. Advertido por unos amigos de que podía ser víctima de una emboscada, «para engañar a los espías, embarcaron todos sus bienes y criados en otra barcaza», que salió pocos días después, «y también mandó entre 10 y 12 hombres disfrazados, a caballo, para que pudiera pensar que se trataba de ellos mismos». La «dissimulación» no sirvió para nada. Apenas los dos embajadores entraron en el ducado de Lombardía, soldados españoles les interceptaron y capturaron. Enseguida se extendió el rumor de que los soldados actuaron por orden del marqués del Vasto, gobernador de Milán, con el conocimiento de Carlos, si bien ambos lo negaron rotundamente. Los supervivientes de la emboscada afirmaron que habían matado a los dos embajadores nada más capturarlos, también «por orden del marqués».[1]

Carlos había tratado de eliminar a Rincón anteriormente. Tres españoles fueron a Venecia a asesinarle a su regreso de Estambul a Francia en 1532; y, cuando fracasaron, Carlos puso precio a la cabeza de Rincón.[2] Aunque los espías imperiales mantuvieron a los diplomáticos franceses bajo vigilancia continua, para que «no pudieran dar ni un paso sin que se supiera», el 23 de junio de 1541 Carlos dio instrucciones claras

a Vasto para que dejara en paz a Rincón porque «La detención, aunque se pudiesse hacer, sería contra la tregua [de Niza] y en ninguna manera se deue hazer; y si se huuiesse hecho», el marqués debe «soltarle y ponerle luego en libertad, haciendo entender que se hauía hecho sin orden nuestra, como sería verdad, y que luego como lo entendimos lo mandamos soltar».[3]

Aunque Vasto recibió esta orden antes del asesinato, la desobedeció, escribiendo en su lugar una servil disculpa en la que decía que «antes querrya myl uezes morir que desta cosa se pudiera [re]crecer ningund enojo o deseruycyo de Vuestra Magestad», y añadía «que ninguna cosa me a movydo a azello [el asesinato] sino conocer que era su seruycyo». Para asegurarse de que Carlos entendía su aprieto, envió más detalles con un mensajero, suplicando a Carlos «se digne oyr» al mensajero «en parte que le pueda hablar syn ser oydo de otro que de Vuestra Magestad».[4]

La respuesta del emperador a la flagrante desobediencia de Vasto revestía una importancia crucial, ya que detener (y no digamos asesinar) a los embajadores de Francia hacía peligrar la tregua de Niza, firmada tres años antes. Los ministros de Carlos no se hacían ilusiones a este respecto. «Attento los contrastes pasados, y estando las cosas como están, y que no querría Vuestra Magestad en ninguna manera fundamento de romper», le aconsejaron. Por lo tanto, «Vuestra Magestad no puede aprobar lo hecho —esto es, el asesinato de Rincón y Fregoso—. Pero —continuaban— también no dexa tan bien de conoscer que aquél se ha muy bien guiado y es muy apropósito para impedir peores cosas, y alavar la dexterydad que ha usado en esto. Y para no dañar tan buena obra —esto es, el asesinato— es muy necessario que va el todo en el secreto, y assy se deve guardar muy bien esto por lo que toca a Su Magestad y al marqués». Así pues, «no sería mal que mirasse sy serían menester tomar de nuevo pleyto omenage de los que han entendido en el

negocio, para el secreto». El emperador puso freno a la sugerencia final escribiendo al lado: «Esto no»; pero no hizo ningún reproche ni desautorizó de ningún modo al autor de «tan buena obra». En menos de un año, el hecho de no hacerlo desencadenó una guerra con Francia y con el sultán.[5]

La aprobación del encubrimiento por parte de Carlos no deja de resultar sorprendente porque, como ocurre en la política moderna, hizo más daño a su causa que el error original. No cabe duda de que era capaz de decidir en contra del marqués porque, al año siguiente, cuando Vasto amenazó con desobedecer otra orden directa y retirar a sus fuerzas del Piamonte, alegando que carecía de fondos para mantenerlas, Carlos le reprendió con toda crudeza:

> No queremos en ninguna manera creer que ayáis pensado ni pensássedes hazer lo que dezís, sino que lo scriuiríades para encarecer más la necesidad de la prouisión de dinero; mas como quiera que sea, no quisiéramos oyrlo ny verlo, porque no conuiene a vuestra persona, no sólo no hazer ny pensar tal cosa, mas ny aún dezilla, siendo quien sóys y teniendo el cargo que de nos tenéis.[6]

¿Por qué no hizo Carlos un reproche similar a Vasto por planear el asesinato de los embajadores franceses? El rechazo de la idea del «pleyto omenage» apunta a que pensaba que mintiendo podía salir del apuro, y vaya si mintió. El 23 de julio, tres semanas después de los hechos, firmó una carta a su embajador de Francia en la que afirmaba que «sea lo que sea lo que les haya ocurrido a estas dos personas, nosotros no tenemos nada que ver con ello»; mandó un enviado especial a Francisco con el mismo mensaje apaciguador; y «a petición del rey de Francia», nombró un investigador especial para que fuera a Milán a «localizar y liberar» a Rincón y Fregoso.[7] Pocas semanas más tarde, cuando Vasto sugirió que debía permitir a los asesinos escapar de la prisión donde les tenía, y que uno de ellos debía mandarle una «carta» incluyendo una confesión de que habían actuado solos (el marqués envió amablemente una

minuta con lo que este documento debía contener), el emperador no solo lo aprobó, sino que recomendó que se añadiera lo siguiente:

> En caso que os resoluáis que absenten los susodichos [asesinos], y os scriuan alguno dellos la dicha carta, sería bien que donde se narra cómo passó el caso, y dize que por causa del secreto fue quemado la ropa que se les tomó, se añadiesse *«excepto çiertas escripturas que se les hallaron, por las quales consta las malas y peruersas pláticas que tractauan»* [a saber, un plan para capturar Génova].

También sugirió «que la persona que ha de screuir la carta sea de qualidad que parezca que pudo hazer cabeça en lo que se hizo, y tener con los otros autoridad para ello».[8]

La venganza de Rincón

La decisión de Carlos de mentir resultó desastrosa para él, en dos sentidos: logístico y político. Impaciente por unirse a la fuerza expedicionaria que había reunido contra Argel, recorrió los 650 kilómetros que separaban Ratisbona de Cremona en menos de tres semanas, pero luego volvió hacia el norte e hizo su entrada solemne en Milán donde, sin duda no por casualidad, demostró su inequívoco apoyo a Vasto. El marqués le acompañó a todas partes, y un día, junto con dos cardenales y «todos los duques, princesas y nobles de esta corte, su Majestad fue a la catedral para llevar al hijo del marqués a bautizar», convirtiéndose en padrino del niño. Después, Carlos se sumó al gobernador, su familia y la élite milanesa para «un gran banquete, y muchos bailes». No retomó su viaje a Génova hasta el 29 de agosto. Este retraso puso en riesgo el resultado de la siguiente campaña: muchos de sus contemporáneos creyeron que si hubiera llegado a la costa africana diez días antes, habría podido tomar Argel.[9]

Las maniobras de encubrimiento de Carlos también resultaron un desastre político. Como comentó el embajador francés en Venecia, una vez se supo la noticia de que los dos embajadores habían sido secuestrados, «no se habla de otra

cosa», y según predijo (correctamente), «será como la peste: mientras se propaga, nadie habla de otras enfermedades». El rey Francisco —que había pagado a Rincón unos 10.000 ducados justo antes de su malhadada partida— le pidió a Enrique VIII «consejo y asesoramiento sobre lo que debería hacer al respecto» y mandó también un mensajero especial «para contar al sultán la verdad sobre lo que les había ocurrido a los enviados». Su canciller exclamó furioso que «era un acto que no solo violaba tratados y promesas, sino la ley internacional, que garantiza la seguridad de los embajadores».[10]

Aunque tanto Vasto como Carlos continuaron reclamándose ignorantes de los asesinatos, elegían sus palabras con mucho cuidado. El marqués insistió en que nunca habría actuado de forma contraria a «la horden que tengo de Su Magestad dende la yda del dicho Rincón a Francia que no le diese empacho a el ny a otro» (algo irrelevante, dado que Rincón había venido *de* Francia); el emperador le dijo a diplomáticos extranjeros que «nunca había dado órdenes a sus ministros de capturar a Fregoso y a Rincón», y dio su «solemne palabra de que sus funcionarios no se habrían atrevido a dar un paso de tal importancia y trascendencia sin su conocimiento y permiso».[11] Aunque estas afirmaciones eran técnicamente ciertas, también eran deliberadamente confusas y Francisco pronto se dio cuenta. Por tanto, presionó a Carlos para que liberara a sus embajadores (o al menos revelara su paradero) mandando apresar al arzobispo Jorge de Austria, uno de los numerosos miembros de la progenie ilegítima del emperador Maximiliano y tío, por tanto, de Carlos, cuando atravesaba Francia, y secuestrando a algunos comerciantes españoles. Envió además un representante especial a tratar el asunto con el Papa, en Lucca, y aunque Carlos «se negó a dar audiencia al enviado, o permitir que se tratara del tema en su presencia», Pablo no mostró los mismos escrúpulos y «exigió para sí conocimiento, juicio y veredicto en el caso»

basándose en «tener jurisdicción sobre los tratados de paz y tregua entre príncipes cristianos, y particularmente sobre el de Niza», que él había negociado. El Papa insistió en que «me ocuparé inmediatamente de la devolución de Fregoso y Rincón, como si estuvieran en mi poder y pudiera yo entregarles». Antes de que el emperador dejara Lucca, y tras cometer perjurio al afirmar «por el alma de la emperatriz que no sabía nada del paradero de Rincón y Fregoso», aceptó renuentemente someter el incidente diplomático al arbitrio papal.[12]

El descubrimiento de los cuerpos mutilados de los embajadores en territorio milanés enfureció aún más a Francisco. En una audiencia celebrada el 30 de noviembre de 1541, le dijo a un enviado especial del Papa que, «aunque no emprendería ninguna acción contra el emperador hasta que [este último] regresara de su expedición a Argel, esperaba que entonces su Majestad Imperial le diera satisfacción por sus agravios». Según un enviado inglés que escuchó la conversación, el rey definió esta «satisfacción» con toda claridad: «Si el emperador le entregaba Milán, con sus pertenencias, "habrá paz en ese mismo momento"; pero si el emperador no lo hacía así, "no tiene sentido hablar de paz"». Cuando le recordaron que Carlos había ofrecido ceder los Países Bajos a Orleans a cambio, Francisco respondió que «no daría a su hijo menor los medios para luchar contra el reino de Francia»; y, en cualquier caso, «puedo tenerlos [los Países Bajos] cuando me plazca». Volvió a insistir en que «Milán, o nada». No obstante, incluso después de saber que Carlos había sobrevivido a su aventura africana y regresado a España, Francisco continuó siendo prudente ante la presión del nuncio. Admitió que, aunque sería fácil para él empezar una guerra, «ahora hay tantos fuegos que apagar que no es buen momento».[13]

El rey Jacobo V de Escocia era uno de esos fuegos. En 1537 se había casado con una de las hijas de Francisco en París, con fastuosos festejos, y tras la muerte de esta se había casado con María de Guisa, miembro destacado de la corte real, una alianza cuyo objetivo era mantener a Escocia dentro de la órbita francesa. Francisco utilizó una estrategia similar para convencer al duque Guillermo de Cléveris. Cuando el duque Carlos de Güeldres murió sin descendencia en 1538, Carlos V tenía argumentos bien fundados para sucederle, basados en el Tratado de Gorcum, pero los representantes del ducado reconocieron a su vecino Guillermo de Cléveris como su nuevo soberano. María instó a su hermano a darse prisa en volver a los Países Bajos, advirtiéndole de que «abandonarlos socavaría mucho su reputación». Carlos replicó que «la temporada de campaña estaba demasiado avanzada para librar una guerra en Güeldres, y que al año siguiente él estaría luchando contra los turcos»; pero María contraargumentó sin amilanarse que «luchar contra los turcos y dejar las cosas aquí como están» conduciría a que «un mayor número de vuestros leales súbditos de aquí pierdan el afecto por vuestra Majestad».[14] Carlos permaneció enrocado en su postura, pero, poco después de que volviera a los Países Bajos en 1540, llegó el duque Guillermo a asegurarse el reconocimiento de su nuevo título como duque de Güeldres. Al encontrarse con un rotundo rechazo, en julio continuó viaje hacia París, donde él y Francisco firmaron un tratado por el cual se garantizaba la ayuda mutua en caso de ataque y se le permitía a Francisco reclutar tropas en Cléveris en caso de necesidad. Además, Francisco prometió a Guillermo la mano de su sobrina Jeanne d'Albret, heredera del reino de Navarra, a quien el emperador esperaba poder casar con su hijo Felipe.

El invierno de 1541-1542 se caracterizó por una actividad diplomática frenética. Francisco acogió en su corte a refugiados de Gante y de otros lugares que habían desafiado a Carlos; firmó

una «liga defensiva y ofensiva, de amigos con amigos y enemigos con enemigos» con Dinamarca; mandó enviados a sellar alianzas con el elector Juan Federico de Sajonia, protector de Lutero, y con el rey de Suecia; firmó contratos con arreglo a los cuales varios líderes mercenarios alemanes acordaban mantener a sus tropas listas para servir a Francia; y autorizó a su embajador en Inglaterra para que propusiera un matrimonio entre el duque de Orleans y María Tudor.[15] Y, lo más grave de todo, Francisco llegó a ultimar con el sultán planes para una campaña coordinada. Solimán conduciría de nuevo a un ejército de 60.000 hombres hasta Hungría y mandaría a Barbarroja con 150 galeras al Mediterráneo occidental; Francisco prometió enviar un escuadrón de galeras a unirse a los navíos turcos, para permitir a su flota combinada pasar el invierno en un puerto francés, y atacar a los Habsburgo en España y en los Países Bajos.

Llegado julio de 1542, todos los fuegos parecían ya estar ardiendo. Francisco desplegó ataques en múltiples frentes y dio autorización a sus súbditos para que se armaran y atacaran al emperador y a sus «súbditos y aliados» dondequiera que los encontraran. Su «Cri de Guerre» tenía como principal justificación que el emperador:

> Ha cometido una injuria tan grande, execrable e impropia contra la humanidad, y especialmente contra quienes ostentan título y cualidades de príncipes, que no puede de ningún modo olvidarse, soportarse ni tolerarse: concretamente, que, por medio de algunos de sus ministros, nuestros embajadores, Cesare Fregoso, caballero de nuestra Orden, y Antonio Rincón, han sido traicionera e inhumanamente asesinados y muertos mientras se dirigían a Venecia por encargo nuestro… En esto el emperador ha actuado contra la tregua negociada entre él y yo, algo que repugna a toda ley divina y humana, y es contrario a la antigua y afianzada costumbre establecida y respetada entre reyes y príncipes, estados y repúblicas, desde la creación del mundo hasta ahora.[16]

Solimán utilizó el mismo argumento. En agosto de 1541 advirtió a Fernando que debía «conseguir la liberación del embajador que iba a llegar a nuestra Sublime Puerta

representando al emperador de Francia, a quien vuestro hermano Carlos ha capturado y arrestado… a menos que deseéis la ruina para vuestros territorios». El sultán arrestó además al embajador Habsburgo que tenía en su corte y amenazó con infligirle el mismo «daño que Carlos hubiera causado al embajador Antonio Rincón, que venía de camino a verme»; y más tarde calificó su campaña contra los Habsburgo como una venganza por la «gran ofensa e indignidad» del asesinato de Rincón. Gracias a la doblez del emperador, el excomunero consiguió llevar a efecto su venganza desde la tumba.[17]

Una nueva guerra entre Carlos y Francisco

La declaración de guerra francesa no sorprendió a Carlos. En noviembre de 1541 Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela, que se había quedado en Italia tras la cumbre de Lucca, redactó una perspicaz consulta sobre la situación internacional basada en el supuesto de que las hostilidades eran prácticamente inevitables, ya fuera con los franceses o con los turcos, y posiblemente con ambos. Vaticinaba que los principales golpes caerían sobre Navarra o Milán, precedidos tal vez por un ataque sobre los Países Bajos «bajo el patrocinio del duque de Cléveris». El principal obstáculo para organizar una respuesta eficaz, pensaba Granvela, era que «con tantas cosas que están ocurriendo a la vez en diferentes sitios», todos demandarían la presencia de Carlos; el emperador debía por tanto «tomar sus decisiones a la luz de todos estos problemas, y no ocuparse solo de uno dejando los otros a un lado». Por ejemplo, aunque la presencia imperial en Alemania «animaría a los alemanes a enfrentarse a los turcos, favorecería sus asuntos en Italia y los Países Bajos y refrenaría tanto al rey de Francia como a los luteranos», abandonar España irritaría a sus súbditos de allí, dado que apenas acababa de llegar; y «causaría desesperación en Nápoles y Sicilia si su Majestad se dirige a Alemania en lugar de ir en su ayuda». Yendo a lo práctico, Granvela recomendaba extender la tolerancia que

disfrutaban los luteranos de Alemania, hasta en veinte años si era necesario, a cambio del compromiso de luchar no solo contra los turcos, sino también contra los franceses. También abogaba por una alianza con Inglaterra. Enrique VIII podía ser un hereje, pero eso no impedía que Francisco y otros soberanos católicos trataran con él; es más (dejaba caer taimadamente), «Vuestra Majestad a menudo negocia con los luteranos alemanes, que no solo niegan la autoridad papal, sino que rechazan importantes dogmas de la doctrina católica». Finalmente pasaba a analizar si sería mejor esperar a que Francisco tomara la iniciativa o lanzar un ataque preventivo, concluyendo que «dado que vuestra Majestad está tan lejos de los Países Bajos y Milán», era preferible ser prudente, pero a la vez urgía a enviar fondos a los lugartenientes del emperador en ambas zonas con el fin de crear una reserva estratégica.[18]

Carlos presentó la consulta de Granvela ante sus ministros españoles y tras recibir sus comentarios positivos pasó a poner en práctica sus principales recomendaciones. El 29 de diciembre de 1541 advirtió a Fernando de que «dado el actual estado de cosas entre Francia y yo», si «los protestantes exigían garantías de continuar con la tolerancia a cambio de ayuda militar contra su enemigo», él podía concedérsela (si bien por el menor tiempo posible). Aquel mismo día, el emperador prometió a María que «recaudaría una gran suma de dinero y la distribuiría en Italia y Alemania, así como en los Países Bajos para que estemos siempre preparados en caso de emergencia, dondequiera que surja»; y predecía con clarividencia que las hostilidades podrían comenzar con un ataque combinado por parte de soldados franceses, daneses y de Güeldres sobre Luxemburgo.[19]

Pocos días más tarde, mientras visitaba a su madre en Tordesillas, Carlos comenzó a planear su contraataque. «Como vos sabéis —le confiaba a María en una larga carta ológrafa—, yo quiero evitar la guerra»; pero dada la aplastante evidencia de

que Francisco «tiene como intención atacar allí donde puede causarme mayor daño», esto es, en los Países Bajos y en Navarra, «Tengo que defenderme frustrando sus propósitos». El verano anterior había estado diseñando «planes para hacer todo lo que esté en mi poder para recuperar Güeldres y castigar al duque de Cléveris en el plazo de los dos próximos años», y «elegí ese marco de tiempo porque necesito poner mis otros asuntos en orden y conseguir fondos aquí en España de los que ahora carezco para la empresa. Pero si Francia me hace la guerra ahora, todos estos planes serán en vano». Por tanto, reflexionaba Carlos, ¿«podría ser el ataque la mejor defensa», tal vez atravesando Italia y Alemania para lanzar un ataque sorpresa sobre Güeldres? Sobre este asunto buscó con urgencia el consejo de María, dado que:

> No puedo decidirme sobre qué sería lo mejor que podría hacer, ya que, con el señor de Granvela ausente, no hay nadie aquí a quien pueda consultar. Si trato este tema con el consejo puedes estar segura de que nunca estarán de acuerdo en que abandone estos reinos y harán todo lo que puedan por impedírmelo.[20]

Para mayo ya se había decidido. Informó a Fernando de que tenía previsto ir a Barcelona «con la intención de embarcar allí» hacia Italia, pero «pensándolo bien, no creo que pueda llegar a Alemania hasta el fin de la temporada de campaña… Mi plan es llegar el próximo invierno y celebrar una Dieta en Espira —continuaba—, y luego tomar medidas para recuperar Güeldres por la fuerza, si es necesario».[21]

El emperador se ciñó estrictamente a este plan, pese a sufrir otra recaída en su salud. Sentía «tanto dolor en el cuerpo, el costado y el cuello, que no puedo creer que todo le ocurra a una sola persona. Muchas veces tengo que usar bastón. Así, vos veréis —bromeaba con María— si podré servíos como vuestro valeroso campeón» en la guerra que se avecina. «El tiempo me dirá lo que tengo que hacer —concluía filosóficamente—, y espero que Dios me guíe y me muestre de qué manera puedo ser

más útil».[22] Durante algún tiempo, Dios se mostró un tanto ambiguo. Las hostilidades comenzaron en junio de 1542, cuando los daneses se apoderaron de todos los barcos y bienes pertenecientes a los súbditos del emperador y mandaron tropas y subvenciones al duque de Cléveris y Güeldres que permitieron a este movilizar un ejército de 14.000 soldados de infantería, 2.000 de caballería y 18 piezas de artillería. Al mes siguiente, acompañada de muchos exiliados con ansias de venganza procedentes de Gante y de otros lugares, esta fuerza realizó un rápido avance hacia Amberes, instando a la ciudad a rendirse en nombre de los reyes de Dinamarca y Francia. Para entonces, una flota danesa navegaba por la costa de Holanda, un ejército francés encabezado por el duque de Orleans había conquistado la mayor parte de Luxemburgo, otro ejército capitaneado por el delfín esperaba preparado para invadir Artois, el propio Francisco se preparaba para el asedio de Perpiñán, y el rey de Navarra se movilizaba para recuperar sus territorios perdidos.

Esta coordinación cogió a Carlos y a sus ministros por sorpresa. María le advirtió que:

> Yo no creo que estos Países Bajos hayan corrido tanto peligro como ahora desde las guerras de nuestro abuelo, el difunto emperador [Maximiliano], porque estamos siendo atacados por tantos frentes que no sé de cuál debíamos ocuparnos primero. Lo peor es que nuestros enemigos están preparados y nosotros no: nos han pillado completamente por sorpresa y desarmados.

María se dio toda la prisa que pudo en arrestar, torturar y ejecutar a muchos ciudadanos bajo sospecha de simpatizar con los invasores, eliminando así a una potencial quinta columna, pero sostenía que solo la presencia de Carlos podía salvar sus tierras ancestrales. Su empeño fue vano: mientras las fuerzas francesas continuaran en suelo español, Carlos no se atrevía a dejar la península.[23]

Al final, Carlos salió de la crisis de 1542 relativamente indemne. El duque de Alba organizó una defensa eficaz de la frontera catalana y obligó a los invasores a retirarse, pero el peligro había rondado muy cerca. Como el embajador inglés en España comentó: «Aunque el emperador, como príncipe sabio y hombre de gran experiencia que es, poniéndose en lo peor, tomó grandes precauciones en todas partes, tanto el número como la diversidad» de los ataques casi le superaron. Carlos así lo admitió ante Fernando:

> El rey de Francia pensó que aquí me cogería por sorpresa con toda seguridad, atacando el Rosellón y Navarra. Dio por hecho que todo sería suyo, que yo no podría resistir, y que después de haber tomado Perpiñán por sorpresa podría seguir avanzando hasta Valladolid. Pues bien, a decir verdad, si su ejército se hubiera puesto en marcha cuando él tenía previsto, me habría visto en gran desventaja, porque nunca creí probable tal empresa… Pero Dios me dio tiempo para fortificar, reparar y aprovisionar Perpiñán.

La incompetencia francesa también salvó a los Países Bajos. Orleans abandonó Luxemburgo y condujo a su ejército hacia el sur en cuanto le llegó el rumor de que su padre planeaba librar una importante batalla con Carlos, lo cual permitió a María recuperarse de la mayoría de sus pérdidas. No obstante, al igual que en España, «Los ataques que el rey de Francia y sus aliados habían planeado contra los Países Bajos fueron tan grandes, tan cuidadosa y secretamente preparados, que debemos considerar un milagro que su ejecución no causara aquí más daños».[24]

Una vez pasada la crisis, Carlos visitó Cataluña y Valencia para convencer a las Cortes de que votaran a favor de los impuestos y reconocer a Felipe como su heredero, y luego regresó a Castilla para celebrar las navidades con sus tres hijos (en la que sería la última vez). Luego, el 15 de enero de 1543 ordenó al personal de su casa que se preparara para acompañarle a Italia, y seis semanas más tarde partió hacia Barcelona. «No puedo hacerlo todo y estar en todas partes», le recordó a Fernando, y por tanto «no debéis contar con mi ayuda, porque

ya tengo yo bastantes problemas, de hecho, me temo que demasiados». No obstante, añadía con claro sarcasmo, «Espero que pronto se avenga a razones nuestro querido hermano y amigo, el más cristiano rey» (el apelativo utilizado por Carlos en tiempos más felices para dirigirse a Francisco).[25]

El proceso implicaba algunos pasos diplomáticos importantes. Tras intensas negociaciones, los enviados de Carlos en Portugal llegaron a un acuerdo sobre las condiciones de un doble matrimonio: la infanta Juana fue prometida al heredero al trono portugués, y su hermana pequeña, María Manuela, se casaría con el príncipe Felipe. La necesidad de conseguir una dispensa papal por los numerosos «parentescos» entre los novios fue causa de cierto retraso *(véase lámina 29)*, pero el rey Juan III (marido de Catalina, hermana de Carlos) accedió a pagar la mitad de la dote de su hija por adelantado. Carlos utilizó este dinero para financiar su viaje a Italia.[26]

También recurrió a Enrique VIII, antes el paria de la cristiandad y con quien entonces querían congraciarse tanto Carlos como Francisco. El emperador gozaba de varias ventajas. Aunque Francisco no ocultaba su entusiasmo ante la idea de un matrimonio entre Orleans y María Tudor, albergaba serias dudas al respecto; y su estrecha alianza con Jacobo V de Escocia irritaba profundamente a Enrique. Por otra parte, el embajador imperial en Inglaterra, Eustache Chapuys, había convencido a un funcionario de la embajada francesa para copiar y compartir cantidades ingentes de la correspondencia de su señor, lo que permitió a Chapuys sabotear cada acción llevada a cabo por los franceses.[27] En enero de 1543, Carlos autorizó a Chapuys a colaborar directamente con María y Granvela a fin de «planear juntos los medios más adecuados para llevar a cabo nuestras intenciones», y al mes siguiente firmó un tratado que

solucionaba todos los agravios pendientes, y comprometía a ambos soberanos a invadir Francia para asegurarle Borgoña y Picardía a Carlos y Normandía y Guyena a Enrique.[28]

El emperador continuaba sin estar seguro de la estrategia que resultaría más eficaz para los aliados. La misma carta que facultaba a Chapuys para llegar a un acuerdo con Enrique le informaba también, sin ser de mucha ayuda, de que, aunque las galeras de Doria «nos transportarían personalmente a dondequiera que el peligro pueda ser mayor, a fin de ofrecer la mayor resistencia posible al enemigo, no podemos en este momento deciros a cuál de estos puntos nos dirigiremos al no saber con seguridad lo que planea el enemigo».[29] No obstante, en previsión de su viaje, el emperador reunió tropas, dinero, barcos y municiones en Barcelona, y les abrió los brazos a los nobles y otros voluntarios que desearan participar en su siguiente campaña. También firmó instrucciones para todos los que quedaban a cargo del gobierno de España en su ausencia hasta la Semana Santa, que pasó recluido en un monasterio de Bellpuig. Luego, el 1 mayo de 1543, «tras las exequias y la misa celebrada allí por la emperatriz» (en el cuarto aniversario de su muerte), Carlos embarcó en las galeras de Doria con destino a Génova.[30]

Cómo ser rey

Casi de inmediato, los vientos contrarios obligaron a la flota imperial a pasar diez días en el pequeño puerto catalán de Palamós, 130 kilómetros al norte de Barcelona. Algunos creyeron que Carlos se quedaba allí a esperar la llegada de los últimos en unirse a su flota, pero el embajador inglés Edmund Bonner sabía el verdadero motivo: «Fue tanto por librarse de los innumerables admiradores que fueron a importunarle mientras estaba en Barcelona, como por aprovechar esta tranquilidad para arreglar y poner en orden todos los asuntos de España antes de

su partida». Por encima de todo, Carlos aprovechó esta inusual «tranquilidad» para redactar algunos de los documentos más largos de su vida: dos escritos ológrafos de asesoramiento para Felipe, que con 16 años de edad quedaría entonces como su regente en España. En el primer documento, «aunque no siento en my sufiçientia para daros las reglas que conuyene, todavía confío en Dyos que él me trayrá la péndula de arte, que os diré lo necesario». Carlos facilitaba a continuación un listado de cómo debería comportarse un soberano responsable: honrar a Dios y gobernar con justicia, evitar hacer promesas que fueran difíciles de cumplir, etcétera.[31] El segundo tal vez fuera el documento de asesoramiento político más destacado escrito hasta ese momento por uno de los primeros gobernantes modernos. Aunque muchos reyes anteriores habían dejado documentos de consejo a sus herederos, Carlos no había recibido ninguno; y, en todo caso, el pasado no le servía de modelo para lo que él entonces quería transmitir, ya que, como enfatizaba, él había escrito para su hijo algo «que será para vos sólo y asý la ternáys secreta y debaxo de vuestra llave sin que vuestra mujer ny otra persona viua la vea».

El emperador comenzaba con una valoración pesimista de los riesgos inherentes a su viaje a la Europa del norte, «el qual es el más peligroso para my honrra y reputación, para my vida, y para my hazienda que puede ser», y expresaba «el pesar que tengo de aver puesto los reynos y señoryos que os tengo de dexar en tan estrema necessydad», de modo que, si moría, «lo de la hazienda quedará tal que pasaréys gran trabajo porque veréys quán corta y cargada queda por hagora». No obstante, afirmaba grandilocuentemente, si perdía su vida en la defensa de dichos reinos, «a my me quedará el contentamyento de averla perdydo por hazer lo que devýa y por remedyaros, y no soy obligado a más».

A continuación, exponía su gran estrategia, para que «sy fuesse preso o detenydo en este viaje», su hijo supiera «lo que ya tenga pensado de hazer»:

> Y es que en este my pasaje y viaje tengo fin, sy el rey de Francia me tiene anticipado y tomado la mano, de defenderme dél. Y porque no puedo mucho sostener el gasto, podrá ser que fuesse forçado a pelear con él y aventurarlo todo; o sy yo hallo que no me tiene offendydo, offender por las partes de Flandres o Alemaña; la qual offençión a de ser con presupuesto de pelear con él, sy él quiere y la necessydad le fuerça a ello. Y para dymynuyr sus fuerças pensava hazer entrar al duque de Alva por el Languedoc con los alemanes y españoles que ay en Perpiñán y con la gente de grandes y prelados y ciudades; y por la mar con las galeras trabajar la Provença; y, con la gente de guerra que tengo en Ytalya, el Delfinado y Piemonte.

El plan era excelente, pero como Carlos señalaba con pesar, «por hagora esto no se puede hazer asý por no aver las vituallas necessaryas como por falta de dyneros y poco aparejo y arta floxedad que avrýa en sacar esta gente del Reyno; y tanbién porque hasta saber qué hará el Turco no tengo mis galeras libres». También lamentaba que «voy a cosa tan incierta que no sé qué fruto ny efecto se siguyrá dél, porque el tienpo está muy adelante y el dynero poco y el enemigo avysado y aperçebydo». No obstante, si todos sus «vassallos y cryados» contribuían, «con lo de las Indyas, sy viene», el emperador esperaba que su osado plan «podrýa ser medyo con que metiéssemos tan baxo nuestros enemigos, que después nos diessen lugar a rehazernos y a quitarnos de los gastos en que cada dýa nos ponen».

Tras dejar claro una vez más que lo que iba a escribir «convyene que sea para vos solo y lo tengáys muy secreto», Carlos hacía un repaso a las fortalezas y debilidades de cada uno de los ministros que había preparado para la tarea de ayudarle a gobernar España, y en cuyas opiniones el príncipe tenía que confiar «durante esta my ausencia y principalmente sy Dyos dispusiesse de mý en este viaje». El emperador ya había advertido a su hijo de viva voz de «las paçiones y parçyalydades y casy vandos que se hazían o están hechos entre mis criados»,

pero en este momento, pese al riesgo de que sus recelos pudiesen un día ser de conocimiento público (como de hecho ocurrió), los repitió por escrito, «porque en público se harán myl regalos y amores, y en secreto lo contrario, es menester que séays muy sobre avyso de cómo lo hizieren». Carlos advertía que cada uno de sus veteranos ministros «a de trabajar de averos con hablas, y de necessytaros a serviros dellos». Felipe debía por tanto «tratad los negocios con muchos y no os atáys ny obligáys a uno solo, porque, aunque es más descansado no [o]s conviene».[32]

El emperador comenzó con una evaluación de Tavera, el cual «entrará con humildad y santidad. Honrralde, creelde en cosas de virtud, que él os aconsejara bien en ellas. Encargalde que os aconseja bien y sin paçión en los negocios que tratare con vos y en escojer buenas personas desapasionadas en los cargos»; pero «en lo demás no os pongáys en sus manos solas, ny hagora ny en ningún tiempo». En cuanto al duque de Alba, aunque «en lo del Estado y de la guerra» él es «el mejor que hagora tenemos en estos reynos», Carlos le había excluido del círculo más íntimo de consejeros del príncipe, tanto «por ser cosa de govyerno del reyno, donde no es bien que entren grandes», como porque «yo he conoçido en él, después que le he allegado a my, que él pretende grandes cosas y crecer todo lo que él pudyere, aunque entró santiguándose muy humilde y recogido. ¡Myrad hijo que hará cabo vos que soys más mozo!». A continuación, el emperador pasaba a Los Cobos. «No es tan gran trabajador como solýa», se lamentaba Carlos; además, aunque «hasta hagora a tenydo poca paçion, hagora paréçeme que no le falta». No obstante, «Él tiene esperiencia de todos mis negocios y es muy informado dellos. Bien sé que no hallaréys persona que de lo que a ellos toca os podáys mejor servyr que dél». Por tanto, «bien será que os sirváys dél como yo lo hago: no a solas ny dándole más autorydad que la que por las instruxiones está

contenido». Y concluía: «Favorecelde, pues me ha servido, y creo que artos querryan lo contraryo, lo qual no merece».[33] Carlos opinaba lo mismo sobre las críticas a don Juan de Zúñiga.

> Avéys de myrar que según todos los que avéys tenydo y ternéys cabo vos son blandos y os desean contentar, haze por ventura parecer a don Joan áspero; y sy él uvyese sydo como los otros todo uvyera ydo a vuestra voluntad, y no es esto lo que convyene a nady[e], ny aún a los viejos, ¿quanto más a los moços que no pueden tener el conocimiento ny freno que la esperiencya y edad da a los otros?

Pese a que Zúñiga «es algo apasionado», proseguía el emperador, «pienso que esta pación la viene principalmente de no aver avydo tantas mercedes como él quisiere, y pensar que Covos no le ha ayudado y se las ha çerçenado, y ver las que he hecho a Covos; y sobresto, pesar las desygualdades de linajes y medyr el tienpo de los servicios»; una referencia al hecho de que Zúñiga pertenecía a un prestigioso y noble linaje, y llevaba al servicio de Carlos desde 1506, mientras que Los Cobos era de origen humilde y no se había unido a Carlos hasta 1516. «No embargante estas paçiones —concluía el emperador—, no podéys de ningunas personas mejores y más a my contentamiento aconsejaros que dellos dos».

Volviendo a

> Los negocios de Estado y información de los tocantes a los reynos de la Corona, Ytalya, Flandres, Alemaña, para Francia y Inglatierra y otros reyes y potentados y govyernos dellos, yo estoy sierto que no ay persona que mejor los entiende ny más generalmente y particularmente los aya tratado que Granvela, y él me ha muy bien servydo y sirve en ellos… Él es fiel, y no pienso engañarme. Bien haréys, y creo que os es necessaryo, servyros dél.

Carlos también elogiaba a Antonio, hijo de Granvela, que había sido consagrado obispo de Arras en presencia de Felipe el año anterior. Aunque «es moço, tiene buenos principios. Creo que será para servir».[34]

Carlos fue mucho más crítico con otros tres veteranos ministros. Tenía poco bueno que decir del anterior preceptor del príncipe, Silíceo. «Conocéysle, y todos le conocemos por muy buen onbre, [pero] cierto que no ha sydo ny es el que más

os convyene para vuestro estudyo. Ha deseado contentaros demazyadamente». En ese momento, «él es vuestro capellán mayor. Vos os confessáys con él. No serýa bien que en lo de la conçiençia os deseasse tanto contentar como ha hecho en el estudyo». El emperador recomendaba por tanto que «tomássedes un buen frayle por confessor». A continuación, pasaba a García de Loaysa, antes confesor suyo y en aquel momento arzobispo de Sevilla y ministro a cargo de los asuntos de América. «Él solýa ser muy excelente para cosas de Estado y aún lo es en lo sustançial (aunque no tanto por sus dolencias). En lo particular, también me solýa aconsejar dél en eleçiones de personas y otras particularidades, en que en verdad él me aconsejava bien». Felipe «podréysle provar en lo que os pareçiere» pero «estad sobre avyso, porque a my parecer ya no anda syno tras otros. Quando él se quisiesse yr en su iglesia, con buenos medyos y sin desfavoreçerle, no haryades mal en endereçarle a ello». Por último, el emperador evaluaba a Fernando de Valdés, presidente del Consejo de Castilla.[35] Aunque «es buen onbre, no es (a lo que yo alcanço) tanta cosa como serýa menester para un tal consejo; más tampoco hallo ny sé otro que le hiziesse mucha ventaja». El príncipe debía hacer el mejor uso posible de los limitados talentos de Valdés.

De este modo, el emperador proporcionó a Felipe no solo una evaluación sincera de cada ministro, sino también consejo sobre cómo tratar con los que se habían mostrado interesados o ineficaces; y, en caso necesario, cómo quitarse de en medio a un alto funcionario si no le satisfacía «con buenos medyos y sin desfavoreçerle». La dificultad de redactar estas decisivas evaluaciones queda reflejada en los múltiples añadidos y eliminaciones realizados en estas páginas, más numerosos que en ninguna otra parte de sus Instrucciones *(véase lámina 9)*.

Tras más de tres décadas en el poder, el emperador sabía reconocer me jor que la mayoría de los hombres de estado los límites de lo posible. «Bien sé, hijo, que otras muchas cosas os podrýa y devrýa decir», pero:

> De las cosas que podría decir, no hazen por hagora al caso, porque las más sustanciales son las dichas; y cada dýa, según la neçessydad lo requyere, se dyrán. Las que devrýa, están tan oscuras y dudosas que no sé cómo dezyrlas ny qué os devo de aconsejar sobre ellas, porque están llenas de confusiones y contradiçiones, o por los negoçios o por la conçiençia.

«En estas dudas —concluía el emperador— sienpre os atened a lo más seguro, que es a Dyos, y no curéys de lo otro». En concreto, «sy yo acabo» en la campaña,

> Tomad buen consejo para que con Él os sepáys bien resolver, porque yo estoy tan inresoluto y confuso en lo que tengo de hazer, que quien de tal arte se halla, mal puede dezir a otro en el mismo caso lo que le convyene. Y pues la necessydad en que estoy es la que me pone en esta confusion, no tengo mejor remedyo que, trabajando de hazer lo que devo, ponerme en las manos de Dyos para que Él lo ordena todo como más su serviçio fuere y con lo que Él hiziere y ordenare me contentaré.

Tras rellenar 48 folios, Carlos leyó y repasó detenidamente ambas cartas de instrucciones antes de firmar cada una con «Yo el rey» y enviárselas en secreto a su hijo.

Como reconoció el eminente archivero e historiador belga Luis Prosper Gachard, constituyen «monumentos de sabiduría y visión de futuro, fruto de una larga experiencia en el arte de gobernar, y de un profundo conocimiento del hombre y sus asuntos. Esto por sí solo bastaría para situar a Carlos en la primera fila de los hombres de estado de su época». Había dado una clase magistral de *Cómo ser rey*. Como el embajador Bonner comentó, «aunque al emperador no le gustaría tardar mucho» en volver a España, dado que necesitaría «pasar bastante tiempo en Flandes y Alemania», había «dejado las cosas en orden en todos sus reinos» mientras se encontrara ausente por su «pasaje y viaje» de alto riesgo.[36]

La destrucción de Güeldres

Carlos y su flota de 140 naves llegaron a Génova el 25 de mayo de 1543, impaciente por iniciar su viaje a Alemania; pero primero se desvió para reunirse de nuevo con Pablo III con el fin de intentar solucionar sus diferencias. Como fray García de Loaysa le recordó, «Tenemos por experiencia el poco fruto y reputación que dellas se ha sacado; todavya soy de voto que Vuestra Magestad zufra y disimule, sacando de la sede apostólica lo que pudiere». Y durante los cuatro días que duró la cumbre, Carlos estuvo instando infructuosamente al Papa a que declarara la guerra a Francisco, a la vista de su alianza abierta con los turcos. El Papa declinó basándose en que, si lo hacía, el rey seguiría el ejemplo de Enrique VIII y «se apartaría… de la obediencia de la iglesia». El emperador tuvo más éxito a la hora de convencer a Pablo de no cambiar la sede acordada para el concilio general, dado que Trento seguía siendo el único lugar aceptable para sus súbditos alemanes, y de reclutar y pagar a 4.000 soldados para luchar contra los turcos en Hungría. A continuación, para sorpresa de Carlos, Pablo ofreció pagar un millón de ducados si el emperador concedía Parma y Piacenza, antes parte del ducado de Milán, a su hijo Pedro Luis Farnesio, lo que según él traería la paz a Italia. Carlos, «teniendo siempre respecto a no obligarnos a nada ni quitar la sperança al papa y los suyos», le prometió pensarlo.[37]

Cuando se preparaba para marchar, el emperador se encontró con Paolo Giovio, el historiador más célebre de su época. «Con una sonrisa en el rostro, me dijo sin darle mayor importancia: "Tienes que empuñar la pluma otra vez, Giovio, y darte prisa en escribir en tu *Historia* todo lo que ha pasado hasta ahora, porque la guerra que está a punto de empezar os va suponer una nueva e ingente tarea"». Con algo más de modestia, el emperador aseguró también a sus súbditos neerlandeses que

«hemos decidido ir a rescataros en persona» para, «con vuestra ayuda y la de nuestro Creador, conseguir que nuestros enemigos, quieran o no, os dejen en paz en el futuro».[38]

Como había previsto, en un principio Carlos se encontró rodeado de enemigos. Solimán condujo un enorme ejército a Hungría donde capturó Estrigonia (Gran) y Alba-Real (Székesfehérvár); Barbarroja condujo a la flota turca hacia el Mediterráneo occidental, uniendo sus fuerzas a las de los franceses para sitiar Niza; y las fuerzas francesas invadieron también Hainaut. El emperador decidió ignorar todas estas amenazas y en su lugar condujo a sus tropas españolas e italianas a Espira, tal y como lo había planeado. Allí se unió a varios regimientos de veteranos alemanes, un tren de asedio de 120 piezas de artillería y una flotilla de barcos y barcazas «para trasladar a todo su ejército río [Rin] abajo». Esto le daba a Carlos la iniciativa, porque de este modo podía elegir mejor si «empezar por el duque de Cléveris»; o entrar por «el Mosela y llegar a Francia a través de Luxemburgo», o dirigirse directamente a los Países Bajos. Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, el embajador florentino que viajaba con Carlos, descartó la primera opción porque «hacer la guerra a uno de sus propios vasallos le reportaría escasa gloria y, por otro lado, dado el incierto resultado de las guerras, podría ser que la perdiera», pero Ricasoli se equivocaba: el emperador y su ejército partieron rápidamente río abajo hasta llegar a Bonn.[39]

Tras pasar revista personalmente a su ejército, Carlos atacó Düren, una de las ciudades de Guillermo de Cléveris mejor defendidas, instándola de inmediato a rendirse. Como la ciudad se negó, dio la orden de «castigar su desovediencia y rebelión en personas y bienes, para egemplo de otros». Sus soldados de élite españoles e italianos llevaron a cabo con éxito un arriesgado asalto en el que masacraron a unos 700 defensores, y (según se jactaba Carlos) «todos los demás se prendieron, y se castigaron

dellos los que se hallaren más culpados, especialmente de aquellos que, siendo vasallos de nuestros señoríos de las tierras bajas, de los quales hay muchos que estaban al sueldo del duque de Cleves». Los vencedores entonces saquearon la ciudad «por su rebelión y obstinación, y exemplo» para animar a otras ciudades a rendirse y de este modo evitar un destino similar.[40]

Como en sus anteriores campañas, Carlos lo dirigió todo desde el frente. Justo antes del asalto final, se mezcló entre la tropa «vestido con su armadura y jubón de hilo de oro, para lucir bien e infundir ánimo en sus soldados, y a la vez mostrar su odio hacia el lugar y la venganza que deseaba infligirle». Ricasoli se burlaba de que

> Hace de general, coronel, sargento mayor, de todo. El esfuerzo que pone en ir a todas partes vestido con la armadura completa, trabajar sin descanso y querer verlo y ocuparse de hasta la más mínima cosa es verdaderamente asombroso. Es tan diligente en este sentido que no tardarán en culparle de que su deseo de saberlo todo causará retraso a la campaña.[41]

Una vez más, Ricasoli se equivocaba. Temerosas de acabar sufriendo el mismo destino que Düren, una ciudad tras otra fue abriendo sus puertas, y el 7 de septiembre de 1543 Guillermo de Cléveris, protegido por un salvoconducto, se arrodilló ante Carlos y firmó un ignominioso acuerdo en virtud del cual le cedía la totalidad de Güeldres. Poco después, los Estados de su nuevo ducado juraron lealtad al emperador, a cambio de lo cual él les prometió respetar sus tradicionales privilegios.[42]

> A Nicholas Wotton, un diplomático inglés que viajaba con Carlos, esto le pareció una de las cosas más extrañas que se han visto en muchos años, ya que nunca hubiera creído que, por una ciudad perdida cobardemente por asalto, un país tan grande y poderoso pudiera perderse entero, sin ningún tipo de lucha, de modo que el César bien podría escribir a sus amigos las mismas palabras que el César escribió a los suyos: *Veni, vidi, vici*.

Aunque el nuevo César no utilizó esta presuntuosa frase, no hay duda que estaba exultante. «Bien creeréis —le dijo al duque de Alba— que no me he holgado poco de la victoria que dyos me dio en lo de Güeldres, bendyto sea Él por tan gran merced

quanto en ello me hizo, y en quitarme tal sobre hueso y pesadumbre que sabéys que de çufrir lo tenýa. Aunque lo de presente no es del mismo jaes, çufriré mejor con lo pasado».[43] No le faltaban razones para estar satisfecho: había conseguido asegurar la frontera oeste de los Países Bajos, un logro que se les había resistido tanto a su padre como a su abuelo; y «su reputación había mejorado en todas partes, especialmente entre los príncipes de Alemania, todos los cuales están en este momento temblando porque en unos pocos días él había conseguido lo que ellos habían pensado y esperado que tardaría en conseguir muchos meses». Francisco, en cambio, había perdido «todo su crédito en Alemania, donde todos ahora le menosprecian, le culpan y reprochan» haber abandonado a su aliado. Para Wotton, «Parecía que Dios hubiera cegado y pretendido castigar al rey francés, que en otro caso habría ido en ayuda del duque de Cléveris, porque mediante él habría causado más daño al emperador con una pequeña fuerza, del que él mismo será capaz de causar con cuatro veces más». Ahora, en cambio, Francisco «se va encontrar con la guerra entera en casa y su propio país destruido».[44]

No obstante, la victoriosa campaña le pasó factura a Carlos. La gota y otras dolencias le hicieron perder tanto peso que cuando se puso la armadura encontró que le quedaba «mucho más ancha, pese a haberse hecho un gran jubón relleno de algodón». A pesar de ello, afirmaba que se uniría a su ejército en el asedio de Landrecies, con la esperanza de forzar a Francisco a exponerse a una batalla sin cuartel. Granvela, horrorizado, hizo todo lo que pudo por disuadirle. Aquello era, le dijo a su señor, «la cosa más peligrosa a la que os he visto dispuesto nunca, y preferiría morir cien veces que aprobar esta decisión». Era una imprudencia hacer campaña «en un lugar tan cenagoso que hasta los que están sanos a menudo mueren», y la decisión de Carlos de arriesgar su vida en campaña «era tentar a Dios, y

ningún confesor ni teólogo la aprobaría. Ya no sois un joven príncipe que pueda embarcarse en empresas más apropiadas a la juventud», concluía Granvela con toda crudeza. «No deberíais poner en peligro vuestra persona más allá de lo que vuestra salud os permita. Si ocurriera alguna desgracia (Dios no lo quiera), peligrarán o se perderán todas las cosas buenas que podríais haber conseguido, sin que ninguna excusa pueda justificarlo ante Dios ni ante el mundo».[45] Tras escuchar impasible a su principal consejero, Carlos confesó, comulgó y partió hacia Landrecies.

Al principio, el emperador se concentró en su artillería de asedio, entre la que se incluían algunos morteros capaces de lanzar sus proyectiles sobre la ciudad (claramente una innovación). Al menos uno de sus comandantes más veteranos calificó esto como «una pérdida de tiempo» porque «la fortaleza no podía tomarse por la fuerza; pero el emperador estaba obsesionado con el fuego de artillería»; entonces llegó la noticia de que Francisco y su ejército de campaña se acercaban.[46] En aquel momento, cada monarca tenía a su mando unos 35.000 hombres, y tras consultar con su Consejo de Guerra, el 3 de noviembre de 1543 Carlos desplegó sus fuerzas en orden de batalla a la vista de los franceses «para ver si nuestros enemigos se arman de algo de valor y recuerdan todas las bravatas que habían hecho por todas partes de querer venir a encontrarse conmigo y enfrentarse en batalla». De haber tenido lugar, escribió el embajador veneciano Bernardo Navagero, «será lo más grande que se haya visto en nuestros tiempos», pero no ocurrió nada. Tal vez acordándose de Pavía, Francisco se amilanó y se batió en retirada al amparo de la noche. Las huestes imperiales «se lanzaron a perseguirles en cuanto se dieron cuenta, con el propio emperador cabalgando entre ellos», pero

solo capturaron a unos pocos soldados enemigos, «de los cuales el emperador mandó matar a todos como si fueran súbditos del imperio».[47]

Carlos volvió a convocar a su Consejo de Guerra y señaló que «está el año muy avanzado y se avecina el mal tiempo». Además, «el campo está muy devastado y es difícil encontrar allí vituallas, por lo que este año no podrían conseguirse grandes logros». Francisco había desmovilizado a su ejército, «gran parte del cual había sido conferido a las guarniciones», y Carlos proponía que él debía «hacer lo mismo, previa solicitud de todas nuestras opiniones, si no creyéramos conveniente hacerlo así». Todos estuvieron de acuerdo, pero antes de que sus tropas se dispersaran el emperador entró en la ciudad de Cambrai, teóricamente un feudo imperial, cuyo arzobispo había tomado partido por Francia durante la última campaña, y ordenó la construcción de una ciudadela. «Sin ella —informó a Fernando — el Sacro Imperio Romano perderá Cambrai y sus alrededores», mientras que con «la ciudadela que se está construyendo su autoridad quedará salvaguardada». Era verdad que el rey de Francia había tomado Landrecies, según Carlos comentó con suficiencia con Navagero, «pero yo le obligué a huir».[48]

Preparación

Ambos soberanos empezaron entonces a prepararse para la siguiente campaña, iniciando una búsqueda desesperada de aliados. Francisco ya había evacuado a todos sus súbditos desde el puerto de Toulon a fin de dar alojamiento a las tripulaciones de la flota de Barbarroja, formada por 115 galeras y 43 barcos, que pasaron allí el invierno a costa de los franceses, dispuestas a sumarse a un asalto francés de Génova, Nápoles y Cerdeña en primavera; pero, en marzo de 1544, Barbarroja se dio cuenta de que sus huestes carecían de los recursos necesarios para organizar

una campaña mediterránea, y dos meses más tarde condujo a su flota de regreso a Estambul. La escandalosa alianza de Francisco con los otomanos le había granjeado la enemistad de todos los demás gobernantes cristianos, tanto protestantes como católicos, sin reportarle nada a cambio.[49] Carlos, en cambio, había acordado una estrategia común con Enrique VIII para la siguiente campaña. En enero de 1544, las partes

> Acordaron que el emperador con su ejército invadiría el reino de Francia a través de la Champaña y de allí marcharía hacia París; y su Majestad el Rey realizaría dicha invasión entrando por el río Somme en el momento en que el paso fuera más factible y fácil, y de allí marcharía hacía París cuando fuera más conveniente.

Ambos monarcas llevarían a cabo la invasión en persona antes del 20 de junio de 1544 y cada uno de ellos conduciría un ejército de 42.000 hombres hasta París.[50]

Ignorante de todo esto, Francisco desvió a sus tropas de élite en otro esfuerzo por reconquistar Milán, y el 14 de abril de 1544, en Ceresola, obtuvieron una espectacular victoria sobre Vasto. Según Martin du Bellay, quien como gobernador militar del Piamonte veía sus sueños a punto de hacerse realidad: «Si el emperador hubiera visto el ducado de Milán desolado y en peligro de perderse, especialmente dadas las poderosas facciones [francófilas] presentes en el reino de Nápoles, se habría visto forzado a volver a desplegar sus fuerzas para defender lo que ya tenía en lugar de ir a conquistar territorios ajenos, a riesgo de no ganar nada». Pero la visión de la guerra de Du Bellay estaba anticuada. Al enterarse de la derrota, el embajador inglés en la corte imperial comentó: «Parece que los franceses han obtenido más gloria que beneficio» de Ceresole, «porque no veo que desde entonces hayan tomado ninguna ciudad o castillo, ni que se haya producido ninguna novedad en Lombardía por ello». Carlos se mostró de acuerdo, manifestándole al embajador

veneciano que «solo me duele por los pobres soldados que han muerto a mi servicio», porque «he dejado la región fuertemente defendida y bien aprovisionada».[51]

El emperador se refería a un nuevo desarrollo en el arte de la guerra occidental conocido más tarde como «la revolución militar», consistente en transformar la guerra de posiciones de manera que la defensa fuera más importante que el ataque, haciendo innecesarias las batallas. El arquitecto Gian Maria Olgiati ya había construido una serie de fortalezas de artillería en torno a Génova antes de mudarse a Milán para rediseñar obras ya existentes y añadir un conjunto de fuertes de artillería en forma de estrella para defender el ducado. En total, diseñaría o construiría este nuevo tipo de defensas en casi setenta lugares. Su circuito en torno a Milán, con el inmenso castillo Sforza como centro, mantuvo bien defendida la ciudad hasta la década 1790, e incluso hoy domina el flujo de tráfico de entrada a ella. Los Habsburgo también encargaron la construcción de fuertes de artillería al norte de los Alpes. En Hungría, ingenieros italianos añadieron bastiones a las principales fortalezas fronterizas, y en los Países Bajos dotaron a la frontera francesa de numerosas defensas al nuevo estilo, con poderosos fuertes de reserva. La ciudadela de Gante, construida tras la revuelta de 1540, contaba con murallas de 385 metros de largo y más de 7 metros de grosor; el cinturón defensivo en torno a Amberes, empezado a construir en 1542, se extendía casi cinco kilómetros e incluía nueve bastiones. Al otro lado de la frontera, para 1544 había más de 100 ingenieros italianos trabajando bajo la dirección de Girolamo Marini para mejorar las defensas de las fortalezas situadas a lo largo de la frontera norte y unos cuantos puestos de avanzada de Italia, dejando bastante de lado la frontera este del reino. De modo que, al igual que en la década

de 1930 la Línea Maginot no continuó hacia Bélgica, las fortalezas en forma de estrella de Francisco no llegaron hasta la Lorena. En ambos casos resultó un error fatídico.

Carlos detectó enseguida esta debilidad de su rival y trató de aprovecharla. En primer lugar, reunió de nuevo a la Dieta Imperial en Espira y buscó apoyo militar. En un principio parece que consideraba esta misión imposible, y así informó al nuncio de que «cuando se paraba a pensar en los infortunios y las cargas que me vienen encima casi a cada hora, me quiero morir»; pero continuó hasta el 10 de junio de 1544 cuando, a cambio de prometer que la tolerancia religiosa permanecería inalterable hasta que se celebrara «un Consejo cristiano libre y general de la nación alemana» para resolver todas las diferencias, la Dieta declararía que «se debe considerar al rey de Francia tan enemigo de la cristiandad como al sultán, y utilizar la fuerza contra él, al igual que contra los turcos». Los príncipes alemanes autorizaron a Carlos a reclutar «veinticuatro mil soldados de infantería y cuatro mil de caballería que en parte se emplearían para ir contra el turco y en parte contra el rey francés, según creyera mejor» él.[52]

Carlos pasó tres semanas en Metz esperando la llegada de su artillería de asedio y algunos refuerzos, incluida la caballería reunida por el duque Mauricio de Sajonia y Alberto Alcibíades de Brandeburgo-Külmbach, dos destacados líderes luteranos alemanes. Dados los riesgos inherentes a la guerra, añadió otro codicilo a su testamento en el que revocaba explícitamente los varios compromisos matrimoniales adquiridos tras la reunión con Francisco en Aigues-Mortes: en su lugar, la infanta María debía casarse con su sobrino (y primo) Maximiliano. Caso de que Felipe muriera antes que él, «la experiencia nos lo ha siempre continuamente mostrada» que la misma persona no podía «satisfazer a los dos goviernos de los dichos reynos y señoríos de las coronas de Castilla y Aragon» y los Países Bajos,

debido a la necesidad de «yr de los unos a los otros a proveer en las necessidades dellos, como nos muchas vezes havemos sido forçado hazerlo con muy grandes peligros, trabajos y gastos increíbles». Así pues, María y Maximiliano gobernarían España y la infanta Juana se casaría con el hermano menor de Maximiliano, «no obstante lo que tenemos capitulado con el rey de Portugal sobre el casamiento del príncipe su hijo y della», y juntos gobernarían los Países Bajos. Tal vez debido al descarado incumplimiento de contratos anteriores, Carlos envió una copia sellada de este codicilo a Los Cobos con órdenes de guardarlo sin abrir junto con su testamento; y aunque también envió «una relación de la substancia dello para que gela mostreys» al príncipe, mandaba a Los Cobos «le leereys para que él solo lo sepa y vos, y no otro ninguno».[53]

Pese a que su confianza en los mapas durante la campaña de la Provenza, ocho años atrás, le había dejado expuesto a cierto ridículo, Carlos encargó un enorme mapa panorámico de campaña con Dijon, la capital de la Borgoña, en el extremo izquierdo y París en el extremo derecho. En primer plano, el río Marne traza una curva desde Langres hacia París; en el centro, el Sena discurre de Troyes hasta Montereau y de allí a París; y en la parte superior el río Yonne atraviesa Auxerre hasta Montereau, donde se une al Sena. En el mismo mapa también figuran claramente todos los puentes importantes que pueden ser útiles a un ejército. Al final, Carlos no cruzó nunca ninguno de estos ríos, pese a lo cual él y su ejército se quedaron a tan solo 70 kilómetros de la capital francesa *(véase lámina 24)*.[54]

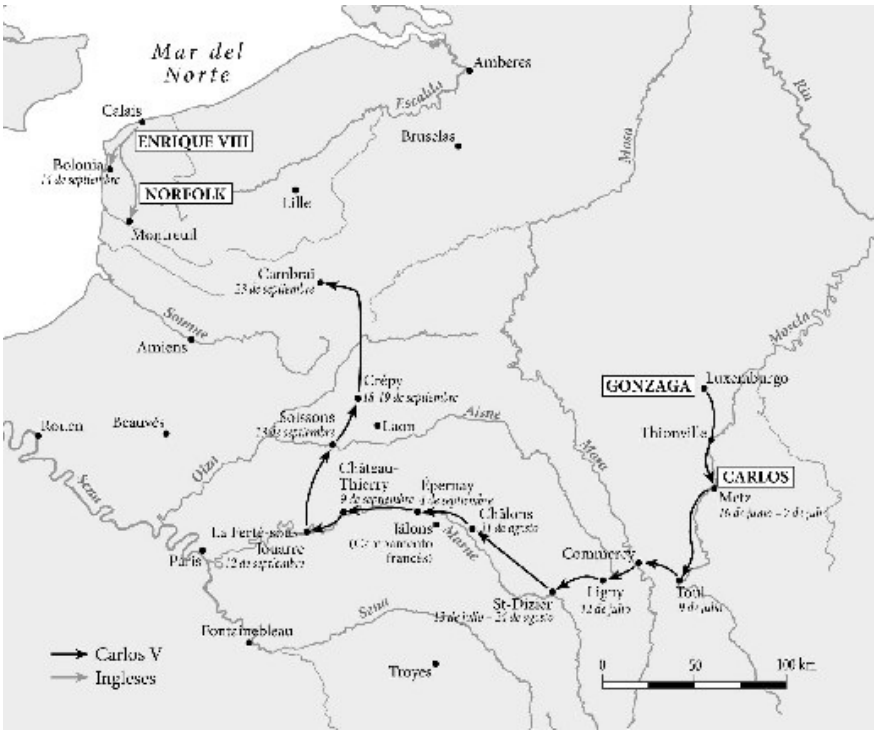
«Hacer entrar en razón a nuestro querido hermano y amigo, el más cristiano rey»

La campaña comenzó en mayo de 1544 con un ataque por sorpresa que sirvió para reconquistar todas las plazas de Luxemburgo tomadas por los franceses el año anterior. Su

ejército puso a continuación rumbo al sur, hacia Champaña, e invadió Francia, siguiendo no solo el plan estratégico recientemente acordado con Enrique, sino también la ruta hacia París por la que Carlos el Temerario de Borgoña había pasado dos generaciones antes (como constaba en uno de los libros preferidos del emperador: las *Mémoires* de Philippe de Commynes, un testigo presencial). Las fuerzas del emperador, como las de su tocayo entonces, avanzaron rápidamente al principio. Commercy, que Francisco esperaba resistiera tres semanas, se rindió tras un feroz bombardeo de tres días, lo que permitió al ejército imperial cruzar el río Mosa, y el 4 de julio los invasores llegaron al Marne a la altura de St. Dizier, aunque allí se encontraron por primera vez con una fortaleza de artillería diseñada y defendida por el propio Marini *(véase mapa 5)*.

El emperador comenzó su nueva campaña con los ánimos muy altos —algunos decían que «no le habían visto con un aspecto tan saludable, apuesto y feliz en los últimos diez años», aunque otros se mostraban preocupados por los riesgos implicados. «Contando con todos los soldados que tiene en todos sus dominios, el coste de esta guerra para su Majestad no podrá estar muy por debajo de los 500.000 ducados», comentó el embajador de Ferrara; y, sin duda recordando el reciente fiasco de Argel, añadió: «Un retraso de 12 o 20 días, o un acontecimiento imprevisto, puede tener tremendas consecuencias». Su colega veneciano estaba de acuerdo: cada día de retraso «se considera que va en perjuicio del emperador y en beneficio del rey de Francia… No es frecuente que las cosas salgan conforme a lo previsto, y hasta los planes mejor diseñados se topan siempre con algún obstáculo inesperado».[55] El primero surgió inmediatamente después de que Carlos llegara a St. Dizier. Preocupado porque tanto la comida como las municiones empezaban a escasear, lanzó un asalto por sorpresa con tropas españolas e italianas, al igual que había hecho en

Düren, pero esta vez los defensores resistieron, con grandes pérdidas. A cuatrocientos kilómetros de distancia, por su parte, Enrique VIII había desembarcado en Calais y se había unido a las tropas inglesas y neerlandesas que tenían sitiadas Montreuil y Boulogne, obligando a Francisco a retirar a sus tropas de Italia e impidiéndole liberar St. Dizier. Una vez más, el emperador llevaba la iniciativa.



Mapa 5. La campaña de 1544. En agosto y septiembre de 1544, Carlos dirigió a un ejército de 40.000 hombres y un tren de artillería a lo largo de la orilla norte del río Marne desde St. Dizier a La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, a 70 kilómetros de París, sin encontrar prácticamente oposición. Luego puso rumbo al norte, hacia Soissons, y en Crépy-en-Laonnais firmó una paz ventajosa.

Tras debatir con su Consejo de Guerra «qué hacer durante el resto del año», el 20 de julio Carlos le explicó su estrategia a María. En primer lugar, utilizaría la artillería y las minas para reducir a St. Dizier, porque «de otro modo el enemigo podría hostigar a mi ejército e interrumpir su suministro de vituallas»;

luego, «como siempre habíamos tenido planeado, marcharemos sobre Châlons», continuando el avance por el Marne. La participación de Enrique le había llevado a «dejar a un lado mis intereses personales en esta empresa, que son entrar en el ducado de Borgoña, donde podría haber conquistado algunas plazas y alcanzado algunos logros importantes»; pero en ese momento «no podríamos encontrar mejor objetivo que Châlons», porque «esto causará mayor sorpresa y daño al rey de Francia y a sus súbditos que el ataque a ningún otro lugar; y el propósito de este ejército ha sido siempre penetrar en el corazón de este reino y hacer entrar en razón a nuestros enemigos». Carlos también tenía en mente la logística, y en concreto «cuánto tiempo podré seguir pagando a este ejército; y considerando y calculándolo todo, creo que podría continuar hasta el 25 de septiembre, pero no más». Aunque reconocía que «en la guerra todo es incierto», concluía piadosamente que «no se me ocurre otra cosa que más agradara a Dios; y, por tanto, haremos todo lo que podamos para obligar a Francia a arrodillarse».[56]

Gracias al dominio de la arquitectura militar por parte de Marini, St. Dizier no capituló hasta el 17 de agosto, después de lo cual los vencedores tuvieron que pasar casi dos semanas reparando los daños que habían causado para que la ciudad pudiera servir de base de almacenamiento de alimento y municiones para el ejército que seguía avanzando. Este inesperado retraso obligó a Carlos a cambiar su estrategia: su plan entonces fue «hacer un reconocimiento de Châlons como si fuéramos a sitiarla, aunque mi intención, con la ayuda de Dios, es avanzar hacia París». El descubrimiento de que Francisco había congregado a unos 45.000 hombres en un campamento fortificado en Jâlons, en el lado sur del Marne, llevó a Carlos a modificar también este plan. Levantó el campamento en mitad de la noche y bajo la luna condujo a su ejército y a su artillería a marchas forzadas hacia Épernay, donde esperaba cruzar el

Marne y atacar Jâlons desde un ángulo inesperado; pero llegó justo después de que los franceses hubieran asegurado la ciudad y fortificado el único puente practicable sobre el Marne. Seis años después, cuando escribía sus *Comentarios*, el emperador se permitió realizar una especulación sobre lo que podría haber ocurrido en otro caso:

> Si es lícito hacer juicios de las cosas que podían suceder, bien se puede creer que si Su Majestad hubiera podido llegar en aquel día a Épernay, que estaba a menos de una pequeña legua francesa (lo que no pudo ser), de modo que hubiera pasado al día siguiente el ejército por un puente de piedra que había en aquel lugar y por puentes de barcas que se hicieron sobre el mismo río, […] hubiese podido acometer el campo francés en las cuestas, en cuya parte no estaba entonces fortificado, y Dios había dado la victoria a quien fuera servido.[57]

El emperador volvió entonces a su plan original, retomando la marcha a lo largo del Marne hacia París. Los diplomáticos que viajaban con él se asombraron ante la ausencia de resistencia por parte de los franceses: ni siquiera se produjeron escaramuzas que trataran de hostigar a las tropas de Carlos mientras se desplegaban en busca de comida y dispuestas para el saqueo; ningún contingente de soldados trató de proteger a las comunidades por las que Carlos iba pasando. En palabras de Navagero: «¿Quién habría pensado que los franceses iban a dejar el paso franco a su propia ruina?». El embajador de Mantua, Camillo Capilupo, que tenía una considerable experiencia militar, señaló que «entre ellos, amigos y enemigos, quemaron ambos lados del río, hasta que todo el campo pareció estar en llamas. Era una imagen terrible, que conmovía hasta el corazón más recio». Mientras el ejército imperial continuaba su avance, Carlos iba a la vanguardia. Como comentó Wotton, dado que «el emperador había conseguido engañar al rey francés, hasta el punto de que no podía ni imaginar que los españoles invadieran ese año» y que «hace el mejor tiempo que podríamos desear y encontramos abundantes cosas por el camino», el ejército avanzaba a tal velocidad que ni siquiera a ciudades como

ChâteauThierry les dio tiempo a tener preparadas las defensas necesarias, y se rindieron sin ofrecer resistencia. Desde Roma, Giovio informó de que «aquí todos están en vilo, con el sudor cayéndoles de la frente, con los partidarios de cada uno de los monarcas debatiéndose entre la esperanza y el miedo» mientras esperaban noticias del desenlace.[58]

El 12 de septiembre, con algunas de sus tropas en La Ferté-sousJouarre, a solo 70 kilómetros de París, Carlos de repente giró hacia el norte y obligó a Soissons a rendirse, consiguiendo de este modo una cabeza de puente al otro lado del río Aisne, el único obstáculo de importancia entre él y Enrique, cuyo ejército logró que Boulogne se rindiera dos días más tarde. Los aliados podían por fin unir sus fuerzas y tomar París.

Francisco se encontró entonces bajo una intensa presión para hacer las paces. Llevaba intentando que el emperador entablara negociaciones desde casi el principio de la campaña, pero (como Carlos comentaba con satisfacción en sus *Memorias*), «mucho más y con mayor instancia lo hicieron» las propuestas de paz «cuando vieron a Su Majestad pasar a Châlons con su ejército». El emperador, que aún seguía esperando su momento, recordó a Francisco que no podía sellar una paz por su cuenta, sin Enrique, añadiendo con cierto engreimiento que «por andar tan metido en Francia, no tenía nuevas de lo que dicho rey [de Inglaterra] hacía, ni tampoco tenía modo de poderle mandar las suyas». Así pues, el 7 de septiembre Carlos obtuvo un salvoconducto para Antonio Perrenot a fin de que viajara a Boulogne e informara a Enrique de las condiciones de paz que se estaban negociando y averiguara «si desea continuar la guerra y por cuánto tiempo. ¿Quiere poner su ejército en marcha inmediatamente? Y en tal caso, ¿qué ruta tomará?». Perrenot también llevaba con él un ultimátum: a menos que Enrique

«estuviera preparado para llevar a cabo la invasión de inmediato, me veré obligado a retirar mi ejército y aceptar los términos ofrecidos por los franceses».[59]

Esta bravata ocultaba un importante dilema. ¿Debía Carlos firmar por su cuenta una paz con Francisco que le garantizaba la mayoría de sus objetivos, aun cuando significara abandonar a su aliado inglés, o debía tratar de coordinar con Enrique un avance sobre París que obligaría a Francisco a realizar todavía más concesiones? Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela apoyaba firmemente la primera alternativa. Continuar la campaña, sostenía, significaría causar aún más devastación en el territorio francés, «lo cual no conseguiría más que aumentar y perpetuar la enemistad del rey de Francia y sus súbditos». Además, obligaría a Carlos a pagar y abastecer las guarniciones de las ciudades que había conquistado, pero de nada serviría para unificar la cristiandad como paso previo de cara a una nueva cruzada contra los turcos. Granvela concluía su consejo al emperador con lo que en épocas posteriores se denominaría una dosis de *Realpolitik*: «Existe, señor, una máxima en asuntos de Estado: que debe prestarse más atención a la realidad de las cuestiones en discusión, para determinar qué es posible y alcanzable conforme a Dios y a la razón, que aventurarse más allá y asumir riesgos mayores debido a recelos infundados, como aquí parece ser el caso». Según Granvela, Enrique nunca cumpliría su promesa de marchar sobre París: en lugar de ello, una vez hubo reforzado las defensas de Boulogne, regresaría a casa. Carlos debía por tanto alcanzar una paz por su cuenta antes de que ello ocurriera.[60]

Dos consideraciones prácticas respaldaban aún más este razonamiento. Aunque el tiempo había sido en general favorable desde la rendición de St. Dizier, en cualquier momento las lluvias otoñales podían impedir la continuación del avance; y, sin dinero, los soldados empezaban a mostrarse nerviosos; de

hecho, en cierta ocasión, los soldados alemanes «llegaron a soliviantarse tanto que el emperador mandó ahogar a veinte de ellos en el río Marne y a otros cuantos les golpeó él mismo con su propia mano».[61] Carlos había calculado desde el principio que podría costear los gastos de la campaña solo hasta el 25 de septiembre, y la fecha se iba aproximando rápidamente. Desde España, Los Cobos le advirtió que «no hay en todos estos reynos donde poder sacar un ducado en este año y en el que viene, y aún podrían dezir en el terzero»; Loaysa le instó a llegar a un acuerdo lo antes posible «aunque sea perdiendo algo de su buen derecho»; y tras recalcar «la poca o ninguna forma que hay de hauerse dineros», el príncipe Felipe señaló que «agora ganará tanta honrra con todo el mundo en ver que quando está en su mano destruyr a su enemigo, haze un tan gran beneficio a la Cristiandad de conçederle una paz». En cuanto a los Países Bajos, el emperador se quejaba de que, aunque tenía allí «el dinero necesario para pagar» a su ejército, «con todo no había modo de traerlo».[62]

Su situación parecía insostenible hasta que Francisco recibió la noticia de la caída de Boulogne y, preso de la desesperación, accedió a conceder prácticamente todo lo que Carlos le pedía a cambio de una paz independiente. Poco después, Perrenot llegó a la sede imperial portando el renuente consentimiento de Enrique para llegar a un acuerdo separado, y el 18 de septiembre, en Crépy, cerca de Laon, los ministros que actuaban en nombre no solo de Francisco, sino también de sus dos hijos prometieron renunciar a todas sus reivindicaciones sobre Nápoles y los Países Bajos; poner fin a la alianza con los turcos y en su lugar aportar tropas para una nueva cruzada que sería encabezada por Carlos; devolver todas las conquistas hechas desde la tregua de Niza (incluida Landrecies); y ofrecer rehenes en garantía de cumplimiento. A cambio, el emperador accedía a devolver todas las conquistas realizadas dentro de Francia y

renunciar para siempre a sus derechos sobre el ducado de Borgoña. Repetía además su propuesta de que Orleans pudiera casarse con su hija mayor, María, cuya dote serían los Países Bajos (si bien Carlos seguiría siendo su soberano hasta su muerte), o bien con la hija de Fernando, Ana, cuya dote sería Milán (y sería efectiva un año después de firmarse el tratado). El emperador prometía decidir entre ambas alternativas dentro de un plazo de cuatro meses, y Francisco juraba evacuar Saboya-Piamonte en cuanto la transacción tuviera lugar, además de dotar a Orleans con un gran infantazgo de territorios en el corazón de Francia.[63]

Al día siguiente, Francisco firmó un tratado secreto por el que prometía prestar a Carlos y a Fernando «toda nuestra ayuda y favorecer la reducción y pacificación del conflicto religioso en Alemania cuando se requiera», declararse «enemigo de los que pretendan impedir dicha pacificación», y permitir «que la asistencia de la infantería y la caballería que hemos prometido contra los turcos sea utilizada en caso necesario contra dichos herejes». Además, Francia enviaría una delegación a un concilio general a celebrar en Trento «o donde el emperador desee» para reformar los abusos de la Iglesia y acabar con el cisma religioso, además de convencer a los cantones suizos para que devolvieran todos los territorios que habían sido antes propiedad del duque de Saboya, incluida Ginebra. Por último, en caso de que Enrique declarara alguna vez la guerra a Carlos, Francisco prometía que «nos proclamaremos explícitamente enemigos del dicho rey de Inglaterra».[64]

Carlos había conseguido una aplastante victoria. Durante diez semanas había marchado a través de Francia a la cabeza de unos 40.000 hombres y un gran tren de artillería, cubriendo una distancia de casi 300 kilómetros, y durante su ruta había capturado y guarnecido, o saqueado y quemado, importantes ciudades. Su archienemigo había demostrado ser incapaz de

pararle y finalmente había cedido a todas sus exigencias. El emperador no solo había recuperado la «reputación» perdida en Argel, sino que también había logrado la ambiciosa meta que le había marcado a su hijo dieciocho meses antes: «que metiéssemos tan baxo nuestros enemigos, que después nos diessen lugar a rehazernos y a quitarnos de los gastos en que cada dýa nos ponen».[65]

Paolo Giovio pensaba lo mismo. Al enterarse de las condiciones hechas públicas tras la paz de Crépy, le confesó a un amigo: «No sé si reír o llorar por esta paz», la cual pondría fin a las hostilidades, y de este modo evitaría la muerte de civiles inocentes, dando además lugar a un frente cristiano unido contra los turcos. Le resultaba difícil creer que Francisco «hubiera pasado casi 23 años seguidos luchando por el ducado de Milán para mantener su reputación, a costa de tanto dinero, esfuerzo y daño, para acabar sacrificándolo de un plumazo». La promesa de entregar rehenes, sin recibir ninguno a cambio, resultaba especialmente vergonzosa. «La única jugada que le faltaba a Carlos para acabar de humillarlos era seducir a sus mujeres», se mofaba Giovio[66]. Dado que no conocía las cláusulas secretas del tratado, Giovio se equivocaba: la siguiente jugada del emperador no iría dirigida a las mujeres francesas, sino a los protestantes alemanes.

12. Ajustando cuentas, segunda parte: Alemania e Italia, 1545-1548

«La alternativa»

Tras ganar su tercera guerra contra Francia, Carlos tenía que conseguir la paz. No era fácil, porque una vez hubo partido el ejército imperial, evitando el peligro inmediato, la mayoría de los franceses se mostraron en contra del Tratado de Crépy, encabezados por el delfín, que presentó una protesta oficial respecto a renunciar a sus derechos sobre Nápoles, Flandes y el resto de los lugares, como exigía el tratado de paz. También se sentía molesto por lo estipulado a favor de su hermano Orleans, que en virtud de aquel recibiría extensos territorios en Francia, así como en los Países Bajos o Milán, ya que estos podían acabar convirtiéndose en un peligroso contrapeso frente a la autoridad del rey.

Carlos, por su parte, lamentaba la necesidad de renunciar a parte de su imperio, pero en un principio sobrellevó su pena de la manera habitual: con pasatiempos y rezos. El 2 de noviembre, acompañado por su hermana Leonor y Orleans, asistió en la Grand' Place de Bruselas al espectáculo de «60 hombres de armas, bien ataviados a la manera de los Moriscos, participando en el Juego de Cañas». Luego se retiró a un monasterio «para confesar y comulgar con tranquilidad», ya que no lo había podido hacer en la festividad de Todos los Santos. A continuación, fue de caza y se hizo daño en la rodilla, lo que le obligó a despachar sus asuntos «sentado en una silla muy baja, con las piernas tapadas con un paño negro y puestas en alto».[1]

El Tratado de Crépy le otorgaba a Carlos cuatro meses para decidir entre «la alternativa» de ceder o bien Milán o los Países Bajos, y pasó este tiempo consultando con sus hermanos, sus ministros y sus aliados. Enrique VIII, el primero en ofrecer su consejo «[movido] por nuestra cordial relación de amistad y

afecto», se oponía firmemente a la cesión de los Países Bajos, «considerando las grandes cargas y gastos que el emperador ha tenido que acarrear con motivo de estas guerras, y el daño y los problemas que han causado a sus súbditos», y teniendo en cuenta también que la infanta María sería «la heredera de todas las posesiones del emperador» en caso de que el príncipe Felipe muriera. Por tanto, aconsejaba a Carlos que permitiera que Orleans se casara con una de las hijas de Fernando. Señalaba además que, como feudo imperial, Milán podría, «tras la muerte del emperador, verse envuelto en controversias sobre quién lo heredaría, y al mismo tiempo mantenerlo es enormemente costoso»; en otras palabras, era un cáliz envenenado.[2]

El 1 de noviembre de 1544 Alonso de Idiáquez, «el principal hombre del emperador en lo tocante a los asuntos de España», llegó a Valladolid, donde «declaró y satisfizo todo lo que convenía para entender enteramente la intenção de Vuestra Magestad» al príncipe respecto a «la alternativa». Mientras Felipe iba a averiguar cuál era la preferencia de su hermana María, sus principales ministros se reunieron «quatro o cinco vezes» durante su ausencia para debatir sobre las opciones.[3] El príncipe ordenó a un secretario que hiciera constar el parecer de cada consejero en estas reuniones, documento que (salpicado de comentarios quejándose de que más de uno «haze un largo discurso» y otros «alargándose en ello tanto que no ay para que repetirlo») dejaba nítidamente al descubierto «las paçiones y parçyalydades y casy vandos que se hazían o están hechos entre mis criados», que dos años antes Carlos había descrito en su carta secreta de consejo a su hijo. García de Loaysa, el primero en hablar, apuntó que Carlos había ofrecido recientemente ceder los Países Bajos a los franceses, pero «ellos no lo quisieren aceptar», por lo que no parecía que tuviera mucho sentido repetir la oferta. Por otra parte, dado que la preferencia de Francisco había sido «siempre por este estado de Milán, tiene

por cierto que, aunque se le de Flandes, no sería medio bastante para que durase mucho la paz, porque no es lo que ha pretendido y pretende». Tavera, que fue el siguiente en hablar, mantenía una postura similar, aunque por razones distintas. Poco tiempo después de que Carlos dejara la península en 1529, el cardenal le había instado a «emplear sus grandes pensamientos y la magnanimidad de su coraçón real en conquistar eso de África», que, «al cabo», era «lo que a de durar y quedar a sus sucesores», mientras que «lo de allá [Italia] es gloria transitoria y de ayre». Así pues, volvió a reiterar su idea de «que no conviene al rey d'España tener a Milán por los muchos y continuos gastos que con él se recrescen y por las invidias». En cambio, «lo que importa a la autoridad de Su Magestad, y a conservarse en la preeminencia que está con el Imperio y Alemania, [es] tener en su poder el estado de Flandes». El duque de Alba discrepaba. Milán, afirmó, «es la puerta para yr y venir a Alemaña y Flandes y proveer en la conservaçión de aquellos stados y sostener la auctoridad y obediençia del Imperio… sin el qual, paresçe que no se podría administrar aquel, y todos los reynos y estados de Vuestra Magestad quedarían apartados y divididos unos de otros». El duque apoyó su argumentación en una teoría del dominó: «Vista la sed y ambición de los franceses, estava de suyo que teniendo el pie en el estado de Milán aspirarían a los reynos de Nápoles y Sicilia, a los quales tampoco Su Magestad podría dar socorro ninguno» porque quien se quedara con Milán controlaría Génova y luego «desde España no poder yr el socorro ninguno, por no haver puerto desde Colibre a Gaeta donde poderse recogerse la armada». Dado que «el estado de Flandes es un lago muerto de donde no se puede pretender más adelante», Carlos debía dejar marchar a los Países Bajos y retener Milán.[4]

Tras presidir una reunión definitiva de sus ministros principales, el príncipe Felipe resumió sus divergentes opiniones sobre «la alternativa» en una carta a su padre. Cinco consejeros estaban de parte de Loaysa y Tavera: Carlos debía mantener los Países Bajos y casar al duque de Orleans con la hija de Fernando, entregando Milán como dote. Otros cinco coincidían con Alba: España no podía defender eficazmente los Países Bajos frente a una agresión francesa —de hecho, apuntaban, los intentos anteriores de hacerlo habían mermado peligrosamente los recursos disponibles para defender España y la Italia española —, mientras que Milán constituía el centro y corazón de todo el imperio. El propio príncipe estaba del lado del segundo grupo: aconsejaba a su padre permitir que Orleans se casase con su hermana María, con los Países Bajos como dote.[5]

Los ministros de Carlos en los Países Bajos se oponían rotundamente. María y su Consejo elaboraron un dosier sobre «Temas a considerar en relación a la declaración que ha de hacerse sobre la Alternativa contenida en el Tratado de Crépy». Estaba hecho en forma de preguntas y respuestas, entre ellas:

- «¿Con cuál de los nobles de los Países Bajos debería consultar el emperador sobre el tema, y debería hacerse individual o colectivamente?». (Respuesta: debía hacerse individualmente, porque de este modo sería más fácil mantener en secreto la consulta).

- «¿Sería posible encontrar algún modo de ganar tiempo y aplazar la declaración?». (Respuesta: no sin despertar las sospechas de los franceses de que el emperador podría incumplir lo prometido).

- «Si Su Majestad decide permitir el matrimonio de su hija» con Orleans, con los Países Bajos como dote, «¿cómo conseguirá el consentimiento de sus súbditos aquí?». (Respuesta: «todo el mundo aquí preferiría seguir siendo

súbdito de su Majestad Imperial y sus descendientes, y en su defecto de los hijos del rey de romanos [Fernando], que de ningún otro»).

El Consejo también recordaba a Carlos que «él es nacido en este país, conoce la gran lealtad que sus súbditos de aquí le tienen, las inmensas aportaciones, pérdidas y daños que han soportado, su precaria situación, al estar rodeados de enemigos, y el peligro de la confusión religiosa», y le suplicaba (según Carlos) «que no los dexásemos ni apartesémos de nuestra mano y señorío, entre tanto que Dios nos diere vida».[6]

Los súbditos de Carlos en Milán formularon súplicas similares. Una delegación diplomática llegó en noviembre de 1544 «para pedir al emperador que no entregue el estado de Milán al duque de Orleans», en parte porque la transición del reinado Habsburgo al de la casa de Valois obligaría a todos los que habían apoyado al emperador a exiliarse y devolvería al poder a sus vengativos enemigos. Carlos había intentado viajar a Alemania para tratar sobre este dilema personalmente con Fernando, pero «mi indispusición no ha dado lugar que nos pusiéssemos juntar como era nuestra intención». Así pues, sondeó a su hermano «por cartas y algunos de sus confidentes criados», confirmando que Fernando también era partidario de la cesión de Milán.[7]

Según el embajador veneciano, Bernardo Navagero, los amargos debates mantenidos en su corte sobre este dilema dejaron «al emperador muy preocupado, porque no quiere renegar de su fe ni de su palabra, y sin embargo cada día es más consciente de hasta qué punto cumplir lo que ha prometido puede perjudicarle a él y a sus descendientes». El embajador opinaba que la preocupación dañó la salud del emperador, que sufrió otro ataque de gota, el cual (según Carlos le contó a su hermano) «comenzó en su hombro izquierdo, extendiéndose el

dolor a todo su brazo y luego a mi mano», y a «uno de mis pies, por lo que tengo que estar tumbado en la cama». Pero no podía seguir aplazando su decisión indefinidamente, y en febrero de 1545 anunció que «nos hemos resuelto en dar el estado de Milan al duque de Orliens», el cual se casaría con la hija de Fernando.[8]

Preparándose para expulsar a los luteranos

Según sus *Memorias*, la facilidad con la que Carlos derrotó a Güeldres en 1543 «le abrió los ojos y le alumbró el entendimiento de suerte que de allí en adelante no sólo no le pareció imposible poder por vía de fuerza dominar tan grande soberbia [la de los Luteranos], sino que lo tuvo por muy fácil, emprendiéndolo en tiempo y modo conveniente». Por tanto, «se había propuesto y asentado dentro de sí el quedar emperador de Alemania, vivo o muerto».[9] Una serie de acontecimientos inconexos que entonces tuvieron lugar tanto dentro como fuera de Alemania sirvieron para eliminar en poco tiempo los obstáculos que habían protegido a los luteranos, permitiendo así que el emperador convirtiera su propuesta en realidad.

Las divisiones tanto en cuanto a política como a doctrina venían existiendo dentro del movimiento protestante casi desde el principio, pero la creación en 1531 de la Liga de Esmalcalda formada por príncipes luteranos y ciudades-estado servía de protección. Los abogados de la Liga bloquearon todos los intentos por parte de los tribunales imperiales por restringir la libertad de acción espiritual y secular (incluida la secularización de propiedades de la Iglesia), y sus tropas proporcionaron una defensa —y en ocasiones ataque— eficaz. En 1534, a la cabeza del ejército de la Liga, el landgrave Felipe de Hesse obligó a los Habsburgo a evacuar Wurtemberg y restaurar tanto a su anterior gobernante como el culto luterano; y en 1542, junto con el elector Juan Federico de Sajonia, atacó y ocupó los

territorios del duque católico Enrique de Brunswick, con la excusa de que este había amenazado a dos ciudades luteranas. En esta ocasión, los príncipes no consultaron con los demás miembros de la Liga antes de actuar, y cuando más tarde pidieron fondos para mantener a sus tropas, las ciudades protestantes (cuya aportación representaba más de la mitad del presupuesto de la Liga) se negaron a dárselos, afirmando que la ocupación «hasta ahora no les había reportado ningún beneficio. Por el contrario, hemos sufrido daños e inconvenientes por culpa de este asunto y tampoco tenemos ningún motivo para esperar que nos reporte ninguna ventaja en el futuro».[10] Carlos ofreció poner a Brunswick «en manos de terceros» mientras los protagonistas arreglaban sus diferencias, pero estos se negaron. En lugar de ello, en septiembre de 1545 el duque Enrique recuperó muchos de sus territorios, pero el landgrave contraatacó con tal ferocidad que Enrique se rindió a cambio de la promesa «de que sería tratado como merecía». El landgrave mandó encarcelar de inmediato a su enemigo, impidiéndole cualquier contacto con el mundo exterior y le presionó para que se convirtiera al luteranismo. La guerra de Brunswick provocó un distanciamiento entre el landgrave y su yerno, el duque Mauricio de Sajonia, que había asegurado personalmente a Enrique de Brunswick que obtendría mejores condiciones si se entregaba.[11]

Entre Mauricio y el elector Juan Federico ya existía un distanciamiento desde antes. Los territorios de Sajonia eran los más extensos del imperio después de los de los Habsburgo, pero, medio siglo antes, habían sido repartidos entre dos hermanos: Juan Federico (sobrino y sucesor de Federico el Sabio) gobernaba el segmento más extenso, que incluía Wittenberg, donde vivía y predicaba Lutero, y mantenía el título de elector, dejando a Mauricio un segmento más pequeño. La partición llevó consigo una rivalidad permanente que culminó en 1542

cuando Juan Federico ocupó algunas tierras que habían sido administradas conjuntamente con Mauricio, expulsando a los funcionarios de este. Incapaz de soportar más a su poderoso primo, Mauricio decidió congraciarse con los Habsburgo: en 1542 luchó con Fernando contra los turcos en Hungría; en 1543 y 1544 junto a Carlos, contra Cleves y Francia, y dejó entrever que estaría dispuesto a prestar aún más ayuda a la causa imperial a cambio de su apoyo contra Juan Federico.[12]

Posiblemente Carlos no se habría atrevido a aprovechar estas divisiones entre los protestantes alemanes si no hubieran mediado importantes acontecimientos internacionales. En 1545, Francisco lanzó un ataque anfibio sobre Inglaterra, ocupando parte de la Isla de Wight, y al año siguiente, el sultán Solimán envió a su ejército contra Persia y su armada contra los portugueses en el océano Índico. De este modo, la Liga de Esmalcalda perdió a la vez a sus más poderosos aliados extranjeros, propiciando (como Carlos reconoció) una oportunidad única, ya que «así por la tregua que se ha asentado con el Turco, como porque estando los Franceses como están ocupado con los Ingleses y necesitados, y nuestros negocios y los suyos en el estado en que os habemos avisado es de creer que no intentaran en Alemania lo que adelante podrían hacer». No obstante, Carlos ordenó la convocatoria de una nueva Dieta en Worms, en otro esfuerzo por reconciliar a sus súbditos protestantes y católicos. Aunque el registro de los debates mantenidos entre marzo y julio de 1545 ocupa casi 200 páginas impresas, todos ellos acabaron siendo infructuosos debido a la llegada de una inesperada oferta de ayuda de Roma: si el emperador declaraba la guerra a los protestantes en ese momento, el Papa prometía aportar 200.000 ducados en efectivo, y otros 100.000 más adelante, aparte de costear una fuerza expedicionaria de 12.000 soldados de infantería y 500 de

caballería. Pablo autorizaría, además, la venta de 500.000 ducados de tierras monásticas en España para ayudar a financiar la guerra.[13]

Carlos ordenó a sus ministros que elaboraran un plan detallado de ataque, pero al poco se dio cuenta de que «el tiempo estaua muy adelante para hazer la empresa este verano». Concretamente,

> No se podría juntarse el exército antes de mediado septiembre, y después por las aguas y fríos con difficultad se puede hacer la guerra, señaladamente en esta tierra. Y començar la cosa para no acabarla sería para quedar gastados sin efecto, y para que los enemigos se proveyesen más, y perdiessen el miedo y se hiziessen más obstinados, y el negocio se hiziesse irremediable y se siguiessen otros inconvenientes.

No obstante, «quando no se pudiesse agora por ympossibilidad, terna la misma voluntad para hazerla el año venidero».[14]

El emperador regresó entonces a Bruselas, dispuesto a investir a Orleans como duque de Milán; pero el 9 de septiembre de 1545 el joven murió. Cinco años después, Carlos se jactaba en sus *Memorias* de que la noticia de su muerte le llegó «nueve días antes del plazo dado en la paz de Crépy» para la investidura, y por tanto «vino a tiempo que, siendo natural, pudo parecer que fue ordenado por Dios por sus secretos juicios». Obviamente, en aquel momento no alardeó de ello abiertamente, sino que le aseguró a Francisco que estaba «determinado de complir su palabra sin faltar una iota». Sugirió que el príncipe Felipe, cuya esposa María Manuela acababa de fallecer, podía casarse con una princesa francesa y que Milán pasara a su primer hijo; pero, aunque Francisco sí parecía dispuesto a esto, rechazó la exigencia de Carlos de que evacuara las tierras del duque de Saboya sin llegar previamente a un acuerdo sobre los demás temas. El emperador no insistió más en el asunto, porque mientras la guerra anglofrancesa continuara, poco podía hacer

Francisco. En lugar de ello, alentó el rumor de que estaba reuniendo dinero y hombres para una tercera cruzada en África.[15]

Pablo III aprovechó su entendimiento con Carlos para llevar a cabo dos iniciativas clave. En septiembre de 1545 otorgó a su hijo Pedro Luis Farnesio, duque de Castro, los feudos imperiales de Parma y Piacenza, como le había pedido a Carlos que hiciera dos años atrás. Aunque el emperador se negó a reconocer esta transferencia, tampoco la desautorizó por miedo a perder el apoyo de Pablo. El Papa ordenó también que el concilio general de la Iglesia, por tanto tiempo aplazado, se reuniera en la ciudad de Trento, en la frontera entre Italia y Alemania. Tras un intenso debate, los presentes aceptaron la exigencia del Papa de que debían redefinir la doctrina antes de entrar a reformar cualquier posible abuso, exactamente lo contrario de lo que quería Carlos; pero este de nuevo aceptó para no hacer peligrar la promesa del Papa de apoyarle en Alemania.

Mientras el emperador diseñaba sus planes para una guerra religiosa en Alemania, sus principales asesores le recomendaban cautela. Desde España, el príncipe Felipe veía conveniente «acordar a Vuestra Magestad que myre mucho… lo que en esto emprenderá para que sea con seguridad y fuerças que para su buena salida son menester», entre otras cosas, porque pese a «la voluntad y ayuda que agora offresçe Su Santidad, estas cosas a vezes suelen faltar, y después el peso y trauajo de todo podría quedar sólo a Vuestra Magestad». Los Cobos añadió una nota personal de preocupación sobre «la solución a aplicar a Alemania y a los protestantes: dado que son tan numerosos y obstinados, habrá graves problemas». Desde Bruselas, María lamentaba que «la maldita secta se ha expandido tanto que es difícil saber quiénes son los buenos católicos», y recordaba a su hermano que, un siglo antes, el emperador Segismundo había «tratado de reducir a los bohemios [husitas] por la fuerza y a tal

fin había enviado varios ejércitos contra ellos, ayudado por todos los príncipes de Alemania, pese a lo cual nunca lograron triunfar, y al final tuvieron que dejarles». Por otra parte, comentaba, «los hunos y los vándalos procedían exactamente de las mismas regiones que los luteranos de hoy, y destrozaron Francia, España e Italia antes de cruzar a África». Por tanto, lo mejor era dejar a los luteranos en paz.[16]

Aunque tanto Felipe como Los Cobos y María demostraron ser excelentes profetas, Carlos ignoró su consejo, si bien no lo hizo tan a la ligera. En su reentrada en Alemania en febrero de 1546 para reunirse con otra Dieta Imperial en Ratisbona, escoltado por solo 500 hombres a caballo, reconoció que «se halló más perplejo y irresoluto en tomar esta determinación de lo que estuvo para resolverse a pasar por Francia en el año 1539», especialmente dado que las filtraciones que llegaban desde Roma apuntaban a que todos «tienen gran temor que luego no moviésemos la guerra». No obstante, a todos los que se encontraba en el camino les aseguraba que «ellos mismos podían ver y ser testigos de que no llevaba consigo mayor compañía de la que siempre acostumbraba a llevar, y que más deseaba dar remedio a las cosas de Germania por medio de paz y concordia que por fuerza y discordia».[17]

Este elaborado engaño le permitió salir ileso de su viaje por Alemania e incluso reunirse con varios príncipes luteranos, incluido Felipe de Hesse. En sus *Memorias*, Carlos aseguraba que «en las propuestas y pláticas que el dicho landgrave tuvo con Su Majestad en Spira mostró tan gran insolencia que Su Majestad, con pocas palabras, le dispidió». Pero mentía: sin saberlo Su Majestad, el landgrave guardó un registro detallado de su conversación. Felipe manifestó no albergar ninguna esperanza de que un concilio general pudiera salvar la división religiosa, pero declaró que «Creo que cabría esperar más de una reunión nacional», solo para Alemania. La conversación giró

luego hacia el arzobispo de Colonia, que parecía mostrarse favorable a algunas reformas litúrgicas. El emperador preguntó a Felipe:

> «¿Cómo puede este hombre introducir reformas? ¡No sabe latín, y me dicen que no ha celebrado misa más de tres veces en su vida, ni siquiera se sabe el *Confiteor* [una de las oraciones principales de la misa]!». A lo que yo repliqué: «Que sepa su Majestad que ha leído muchos libros en alemán y tiene una comprensión excelente de la religión». A lo que el emperador respondió: «La reforma no significa introducir una nueva fe».

¡No parece que esto pueda calificarse de «gran insolencia»! Además, tras conversar durante «más de tres horas», el emperador y el landgrave salieron juntos de caza. «A juzgar por las evidencias externas —informaba el emperador florentino—, parecen todos contentos».[18]

Carlos llegó a Ratisbona en abril y allí se quedó cuatro meses. Encontró tiempo para cazar («por recrearme, fui a un lugar del duque de Babiera, donde me detuve siete o ocho días en la caza») y para seducir a Bárbara Blomberg, la hija adolescente de un artesano de la ciudad; pero no todo le fue tan bien.[19] Pese al fallecimiento de Lutero en febrero de 1546, su credo se ganó importantes conversos, siendo uno de los más destacados Federico, otrora candidato a la mano de la hermana mayor de Carlos y en ese momento elector palatino y marido de la sobrina del emperador, Dorotea de Dinamarca. Pocas semanas después de haber tenido de visita a Carlos en Heidelberg, Federico y Dorotea expulsaron al clero católico de sus tierras, invitando a entrar en ellas a los luteranos. Esto aumentó el número de electores protestantes a tres, ninguno de los cuales asistió a la Dieta. Fernando también se mantuvo al margen de la Dieta, alegando estar demasiado ocupado con sus propios problemas. Carlos, furioso, exigió a su hermano que se reuniera con él en un plazo máximo de tres semanas, porque «la importancia del tema que quiero abordar hace más que necesario que hablemos los dos en persona… No puede tratarse mediante intermediarios

ni por escrito». Le prometía que «podréis volver a ocuparos de vuestros asuntos después de que hayamos hablado durante cuatro o cinco días» (una interesante visión de la importancia que el emperador daba a la diplomacia ejecutiva); y le ofrecía una pista sobre el tema que quería tratar, al ordenar a Fernando «inspeccionar y poner a punto vuestra artillería, reunir toda la munición posible» y mantener en espera a los tercios españoles estacionados en Hungría. El emperador concluía con una característica muestra de su táctica pasivo-agresiva: «Como veréis, el tema es de gran importancia para nosotros y estamos perdiendo un tiempo que nunca podremos recuperar. Os ruego por tanto que os deis prisa y estéis aquí lo antes posible, porque esto os afecta más que a nadie».[20] Fernando dejó obedientemente todo lo que estaba haciendo y cabalgó hacia Ratisbona, donde llegó el 28 de mayo de 1546.

Pocos días después, los hermanos convencieron al duque de Baviera para que les permitiera usar sus territorios como base de operaciones y contribuyera a sufragar la campaña, a cambio de la promesa de que si lo hacía su hijo podría casarse con una princesa Habsburgo; y persuadieron a Mauricio de Sajonia para que permaneciera neutral en caso de que estallara una guerra con la Liga de Esmalcalda.[21] Carlos firmó también una capitulación con los representantes del Papa, desencadenando de este modo el envío de las tropas y el dinero prometidos desde Italia, y autorizó la movilización de sus partidarios alemanes. El 9 de junio ordenó al conde de Buren reclutar a 10.000 soldados de infantería y 3.000 de caballería en los Países Bajos para el servicio del imperio, porque «no existe otra forma de tratar el problema que por la fuerza de las armas»; e informó a María de que:

> He decidido comenzar la guerra contra el elector de Sajonia y el landgrave de Hesse por atentar contra la paz común y las leyes, como consecuencia de su detención del duque de Brunswick, su hijo y sus tierras. Aunque este pretexto encubierto para la guerra no logre impedir que los protestantes piensen que esta es

> una guerra religiosa, puede servir de todas formas para dividirles y retrasar su movilización… Como ocurrió en la última guerra [por causa de Brunswick], esto puede también disuadir [a las ciudades protestantes] de proporcionar dinero a Sajonia y Hesse.

Carlos también firmó una serie de cartas a los principales príncipes y ciudades, afirmando que «Esta guerra es para el resarcimiento del duque de Brunskwick, y no por causa de la religión… y reprimir a los rebeldes». Una semana después, firmó patentes e instrucciones para los altos oficiales de un nuevo ejército imperial, creado para conseguir que Alemania volviera a ser católica.[22]

¿Había tenido Carlos planeado ir a la guerra todo ese tiempo, pese a las reiteradas veces que había aseverado ante los protestantes desear la paz? Sir John Mason, que había trabajado como diplomático mucho tiempo en la corte imperial, no creía al emperador capaz de mentir así, y, como le dijo a Federico del Palatinado:

> Me resulta muy difícil creer que él, que tantas veces ha declarado, tanto de viva voz como por escrito, no desear otra cosa que la paz y el bien y la tranquilidad de la Cristiandad, quisiera ahora, estando todo en orden y en un buen momento en el resto del mundo, remover las cosas, y menos contra sí mismo. Porque yo considero a Alemania parte de él mismo, y todo lo que haga contra esa nación, es como si lo hiciera contra sus propias entrañas.

El elector, que conocía a Carlos desde que nació, sabía más que él. Cuando Mason le preguntó a quién atacaría el nuevo ejército imperial, respondió: «Los protestantes, ¿a quién si no?».[23]

Cuatro siglos después, Karl Brandi llegaba a la misma conclusión. Cuando Carlos tranquilizó a sus súbditos alemanes diciéndoles que «nada deseaba más que la paz y el orden, o que no recurriría a las armas a menos que se viera obligado a hacerlo, en cierto modo estaba diciendo la verdad —admitía Brandi, añadiendo al mismo tiempo—, pero no toda la verdad». Manuel Fernández Álvarez consideró este juicio demasiado severo:

> Juzgo que aquí existe un matiz que conviene considerar: Carlos V pensaba en la guerra porque suponía que los príncipes protestantes no se avendrían a negociaciones, y, con una elemental prudencia política, no dejó traslucir sus pensamientos; lo que no quiere decir que si en Ratisbona hubiera visto mayor sumisión en los confederados de Schmalkalda siguiese pensando en la guerra.[24]

Fernández Álvarez pasaba por alto tanto el alcance como el coste de los preparativos militares de Carlos. Podemos no tener en cuenta, como sesgo retrospectivo, que el emperador afirmara en sus *Memorias* que había decidido librar una guerra contra los protestantes alemanes inmediatamente después de derrotar a Güeldres; pero en febrero de 1545, en la misma carta donde informaba a su hijo de su decisión sobre «la alternativa», con el objetivo de cementar la paz con Francia, anunciaba que no volvería a España pronto, porque «pensamos no podernos desenvaraçar de lo mucho que queda por hazer, hasta en fin de tres años» debido a «cosas forçosas y muy importantes» en el norte de Europa, especialmente «lo de Alemaña».[25] Un año después, Carlos reveló a su hijo la estrategia con la que pretendía aplastar a sus súbditos protestantes alemanes: la misma que tan bien le había funcionado en Güeldres. Si podía «tomar alguna tierra y hazer algún castigo ejemplar, como lo merecen, todas vernían a reducirse»; y luego, de la victoria sobre los protestantes «se seguiría tan gran servicio a Dios Nuestro Señor y a nos tanta reputación por haber dado fin a cosa de tanta importancia y calidad y seguridad de nuestros señoríos y estados, mayormente de estos de Flandes». Cabría argüir, como hace Fernández Álvarez, que la «gran soberbia y obstinación» de los líderes protestantes hacía vano el intento de mantener más negociaciones, pero el absoluto fracaso de Carlos a la hora de aprovechar la favorable situación internacional, y el uso de sus apenas disimulados preparativos militares, indica que las conversaciones ya no le interesaban.[26]

La guerra de Esmalcalda

No obstante, Carlos erraba en sus cálculos. En junio de 1546, Juan Federico, el landgrave, el duque de Wurtemberg y algunas ciudades de la Liga ordenaron a sus procuradores abandonar la Dieta y enviaron representantes a Francia e Inglaterra para solicitar ayuda financiera. Poco después comenzaron a movilizarse, y para mediados de julio, unos 70.000 infantes, 9.000 soldados a caballo y 100 piezas de artillería se habían reunido ya en Donauwörth, a solo 130 kilómetros de Ratisbona. Como opinaba un diplomático inglés: «Por aquí todos dicen que el emperador ha comenzado una guerra peligrosa, una guerra que pone en gran peligro sus posesiones, una guerra de gran trascendencia». Su colega veneciano pensaba lo mismo: «Considerando el momento, el lugar y la situación en la que el emperador se encontraba entonces, la decisión de acometer esta empresa fue la más osada —o tal vez sería más acertado decir, la más arriesgada y peligrosa— que había tomado nunca».[27]

Según el relato semioficial de campaña de don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario de la Guerra de Alemaña hecha de Carlo V Máximo*, si en ese momento las tropas protestantes «vinieran, ellos sacaran de Ratisbona a Su Magestad, y sacándole della, le sacauan de Alemaña»; pero la división que existía en la estructura de mando del ejército de la Liga hacía imposible aprovechar esta ventaja.[28] Alarmados por la acción unilateral del elector y del landgrave al atacar a Brunswick, el resto de los miembros de la Liga insistieron en que, en el futuro, todas las decisiones militares debía tomarlas un Consejo de Guerra, con 10 miembros nominados por las ciudades así como por los príncipes. La decisión resultó desastrosa: el Consejo ni siquiera fue capaz de ponerse de acuerdo sobre quién debía ocupar el puesto de comandante en jefe —Juan Federico y Felipe de Hesse competían por la primacía contra Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach, jefe de los contingentes urbanos y veterano de amplia experiencia— o sobre una estrategia de campaña. El

elector, temiendo un ataque sobre su base de operaciones, se opuso a la propuesta de Schertlin de ocupar los pasos alpinos y de este modo evitar la llegada de refuerzos imperiales desde Italia; y aunque Schertlin se impuso en un principio, el Consejo ordenó la retirada de sus tropas antes de que hubieran conseguido su objetivo.[29]

La delicada situación de Carlos explica su desmesurada reacción al enterarse de que el Papa había aplazado el envío de los 200.000 ducados prometidos. Convocó entonces a sus nuncios, que le encontraron «de un humor pésimo», porque «enteramente habemos confiado que Su Santidad proveería la dicha suma luego, de la qual nos hallamos escandalizado como de cosa en que va el todo desta empresa». Con acritud, les dijo que sin esos fondos «se vería obligado a ir a besar los pies del landgrave».[30] Aunque a punto estuvo de hacerlo, pocos días después se dirigió hacia el sur, a Landshut, una ciudad fortificada de Baviera, donde escribió una carta de claro chantaje a su hijo, instándole a encontrar y enviar fondos de inmediato, porque

> Si no pudiésemos sostener el campo por lo menos hasta el fin de octubre, no solo se aventuraría lo de la religión, pero nuestro honor, reputación y aún nuestros estados de Flandes y lo de Italia. No sabríamos en lo que podría parar, ni lo que sería de nuestra persona y los que acá están en nuestro servicio; y que por falta de 300.000 o 400.000 ducados no se debría aventurar todo, como en efecto se haría.

Carlos también trató de involucrar a Los Cobos, valiéndose de la adulación más que de la vergüenza. Admitió haberse expresado en la carta a Felipe como si temiera que «dios me llevare» y mostrarle «lo que él ha perdido» debido a los últimos acontecimientos. En cambio, manifestaba una fe absoluta en que su leal ministro sabría, dada su experiencia, qué hacer: aunque la cuantía de las nuevas demandas de dinero «os sacará algunas lágrimas, no os espantará, pues en otras muchas cosas destas me avéis servido, y visto que dellas me ha sacado como

confío que también lo hará desta y con mucha honrra», porque él defendía la causa de Dios, quien «me he puesto en ello por su fee y por servirle». Esperaba que Los Cobos hiciera lo mismo.[31]

Nada más firmar estas cartas, las cosas comenzaron a volverse en su favor. Las tropas de Schertlin no solo se retiraron de los Alpes, sino que regresaron a Donauwörth el 5 de agosto y, agotadas tras su larga e infructuosa marcha, pidieron cuatro días de descanso. El Consejo de Guerra de la Liga aprovechó esta pausa para redactar un acta oficial de desafío renunciando a su alianza con Carlos debido a que este había roto su promesa de tolerancia con los que firmaron la Confesión de Augsburgo. El elector propuso que la renuncia ni siquiera debía ser dirigida a Carlos como «emperador», sino como «Carlos de Gante»; y aunque su propuesta fue denegada, el desafío llegó «puesta en vna vara, cómo es costumbre denunciarse la guerra en Alemaña, quando un señor la quiere mouer a otro».[32]

El heraldo portador del desafío llegó al campamento del emperador el día después de que desde Italia arribaran los refuerzos pontificios (en flagrante violación del Acuerdo de Elección de Carlos de no traer nunca tropas extranjeras a Alemania). El emperador se negó a recibir el desafío y ordenó al duque de Alba, su principal comandante de campo, que le dijera al heraldo y al paje que le acompañaba «que la respuesta de aquello a que venían auía de ser ahorcallos; mas que su magestad les hazía merced de las vidas, porque no quería castigar sino a los que tenían la culpa de todo». Estos regresaron con una copia de un «vando» imperial en virtud del cual el elector y el landgrave eran declarados traidores, rebeldes y perturbadores de la paz pública, amenazando a todos los que les apoyaran con quitarles la vida y sus propiedades.[33]

El emperador, al mando en ese momento de 10.000 italianos y 8.000 españoles, así como 16.000 alemanes, les condujo, en clara provocación, hasta Ingolstadt, una ciudad bávara a menos de 60 kilómetros de Donauwörth. Carlos llevó personalmente a cabo las tareas de reconocimiento para la ubicación de su campamento, y como había hecho en la Provenza una década antes, dio inicio a un «simulacro» para ver con qué rapidez podían llegar sus tropas a la posición designada. El conde Stroppiana, el embajador de Saboya, informó de que:

> La vista era espléndida e inspiradora. También era un disfrute ver a su Majestad, completamente armado y con su casco puesto desplazándose por el campamento, visitando cada unidad y supervisando las trincheras, la artillería y los lugares donde el enemigo podía organizar un ataque, como si no supiera que se trataba de un simulacro.

Carlos fortificó su campamento con bastiones y terraplenes hechos de «barriles llenos de tierra», reclutando para ello no solo a soldados, sino a «mujeres y niños, los cuales abundan en este campamento».[34]

Estos preparativos se pusieron a prueba el 31 de agosto, cuando un ejército luterano de 50.000 infantes, 8.000 hombres a caballo y más de 100 piezas de artillería tomaron sus posiciones a pocos cientos de metros de distancia y, según Ávila, comenzaron «con todas las bandas de su artillería a batirnos tan a priesa y con tanta furia que verdaderamente parescía que llovía pelotas». Casi 1.500 balas de cañón, algunas «más grandes que la cabeza de un hombre», aterrizaron sobre el campamento imperial. Stroppiana comentó que el bombardeo «multiplicó por tres los latidos de mi corazón, pero el emperador mostró un espíritu valeroso. Más de 27 balas cayeron a los pies de su caballo o le pasaron cerca de la cabeza antes de caer: un poco más y le hubieran dado». Sin embargo, el emperador «veía las balas venir hacia él sin moverse del sitio mientras, quieto como una roca, sonreía». Al rato, «Su Majestad estaba en las trincheras para ver si el enemigo se encontraba a punto de disparar sus

cañones, y aunque gritaba a los que le rodeaban que se agacharan, él se quedaba de pie». Como había hecho en campañas anteriores, Carlos también iba recorriendo el campamento para animar a sus hombres y, según un piquero español, «como si fuera nuestro ygual, nos dio allí razón». Según la reflexión de Stroppiana, «sin la protección expresa y todopoderosa que Dios otorga en ciertas ocasiones, creo que el emperador no seguiría vivo» *(véase lámina 25)*.[35]

El emperador no daba importancia a su valentía. «Aquí estamos, intercambiando fuego de artillería con nuest ros vecinos y buenos amigos», informó a Fernando con evidente sarcasmo, y «lo que más nos gustaría es que pudieran venir a plantar un beso en nuestras defensas, porque sabe Dios que les costaría caro». Fernando no se dejó impresionar y reprendió a su hermano por poner en riesgo su vida, de la cual dependía el éxito de toda la empresa, además de instarle a desistir; pero Carlos replicó: «La verdad es que mientras estuvimos bajo el ataque no contábamos con hombres suficientes. No era el momento para dar mal ejemplo a los demás y esta es la razón por la que asumí esos riesgos».[36] Carlos prometió ser más cauto en el futuro, y el 4 de septiembre la Liga se lo puso más fácil emprendiendo la retirada.

Algunos supusieron que los sitiadores se retiraron por faltarles el agua, otros que «querían tentar al emperador a perseguirles»; pero, fuera cual fuera la razón, los generales de la Liga habían perdido su oportunidad más clara de alzarse con la victoria, y lo sabían. Schertlin dejó constancia en su autobiografía de que «Si se hubiera seguido mi consejo de lanzar un ataque sobre el campamento imperial, habría significado el final de la Casa de Austria. En toda su vida, el emperador no ha padecido nunca tanta ansiedad y angustia». El landgrave estaba de acuerdo: «Si mi consejo se hubiera seguido —escribió en una carta

confidencial—, habríamos arrastrado al emperador a la batalla, pero demasiados consejeros, demasiadas cabezas y demasiados cocineros arruinaron el puchero». Y continuaba:

> El Señor nos dio una maravillosa oportunidad en Ingolstadt, si hubiéramos sabido aprovecharla, como tantas veces le dije al elector y al Consejo de Guerra. Si hubiera dependido de mí, habría ordenado el asalto, pero les asustaban las murallas y terraplenes. Creo sinceramente que habríamos sufrido menos bajas atacando al enemigo que las que las enfermedades nos causaron después.[37]

A medida que la Liga se iba retirando, el landgrave iba cayendo en la desesperación cada vez más. Primero desafió a sus adversarios a un duelo —«Si su Majestad Imperial y el duque de Alba trajeran 1.000 soldados de caballería, el landgrave traería también a otros 1.000 para luchar contra ellos»— y a continuación recurría a los insultos. Cuando un diplomático italiano «mencionó una propuesta de "Su Majestad Imperial", el landgrave se opuso y dijo "¿Qué Majestad Imperial? Es Carlos de Gante, como yo soy Felipe de Hesse, y si Alemania pudo elegirle emperador también puede deponerle"».[38] Por el momento, el emperador ignoró estos insultos. La llegada de 12.000 soldados de refresco desde los Países Bajos le proporcionó paridad numérica con sus adversarios, y (como de costumbre) encargó «pinturas y cartas, que traya muchas asi generales de toda Alemaña como particulares de toda la provincia, por donde sabía en universal el sitio y posición de los lugares, las dimensiones y distancias entre si, los ríos y montes». No obstante, él continuó con la estrategia de aversión al riesgo propuesta por Alba: evitar una batalla campal y en lugar de ello ir llevando al ejército de la Liga hacia el norte mediante constantes escaramuzas, conquistando las ciudades hostiles que fueran encontrando por el camino hasta que (en palabras del propio Carlos): «uno de los dos ejércitos fuese obligado a deshacerse por la fuerza, por el mal tiempo, por hambre, o por cualquier otra necesidad».[39]

El ejército protestante se desintegró primero. Cuando al campamento de la Liga llegó la noticia de que Mauricio y Fernando habían firmado una alianza de defensa y de ataque, y se preparaban para invadir Sajonia, Juan Federico decidió regresar a la cabeza de sus fuerzas a defender su país natal, dejando a sus aliados que se las arreglaran solos, y el 16 de noviembre, el Consejo de Guerra de la Liga resolvió de mala gana que debían dispersarse en sus distintos cuarteles de invierno.[40] Jacob Sturm, representante de la ciudad de Estrasburgo, se quejó ante el landgrave de que esto permitiría «no solo a su Majestad Imperial sino también al Anticristo de Roma» someter a todas y cada una de las ciudades y estados protestantes del sur de Alemania, «lo que nos despojaría a los alemanes de nuestra reputación ante el resto de las naciones y pondría en peligro la fe protestante». ¿Acaso no podían los miembros de la Liga o sus aliados franceses e ingleses, inquiría Sturm, proporcionar dinero suficiente para mantener vivo al ejército protestante un poco más? En su respuesta desde «nuestro campamento», el landgrave amonestó a Sturm por no entender la situación militar. «Ahora tenemos 2.000 soldados de caballería y 8.000 de infantería menos —se lamentó—, y los que quedan también van disminuyendo en número cada día a causa del desánimo, la enfermedad y las deserciones», en tanto que el emperador «recibe refuerzos y ahora nos supera en número». En cuanto al dinero, «una tercera parte de los fondos prometidos no se ha pagado… y todavía no hemos visto ni un penique de Inglaterra y Francia». El landgrave concluía diciendo: «No podemos quedarnos más aquí, y no lo haremos, con un ejército que hasta el momento se ha mantenido unido solo a base de plegarias y promesas». Debió de firmar la carta mientras aún iba a caballo, porque algo más tarde aquel mismo

día disolvió «nuestro campamento» y dispersó a su ejército, abandonando Wurtemberg, todas las ciudades al sur del Danubio e incluso a sus soldados heridos a su suerte.[41]

El emperador aprovechó su ventaja pese a sus graves problemas de salud. Algunos días, viajaba «en la litera, por estar malo de su gota»; otros, conseguía subirse a su montura, pero «por tener la pierna derecha muy mala de su gota, lleuaba por estriuo una toca de camino; y desta manera anduuo todo el día», para más seguridad. «Hacía el reconocimiento de las posiciones enemigas con sus propios ojos, para evitar tomar una decisión equivocada basada en informes de otros»; y cada vez que el combate parecía posible, «se ponía su armadura y no paraba de ir de un contingente a otro, hablando con los soldados de cada nación y animándoles a luchar con valentía». Sus soldados, «al ver a su Majestad mezclarse entre ellos con tanta llaneza, como si fuera su igual y su camarada, levantaban los brazos y alzaban sus voces al grito de "Emperador: ¡a la batalla!, Emperador: ¡a la batalla!"».[42]

Sin embargo, en 1546 no tuvo lugar ninguna batalla, ya que, sin el ejército de la Liga, los estados protestantes del sur de Alemania fueron haciendo las paces con Carlos uno a uno, tal y como había predicho Sturm. Algunos se rindieron cuando iba aproximándose su ejército, otros declararon su obediencia en una humillante ceremonia pública durante la cual «se arrodillaron» *(Fussfall)* ante el emperador, que les otorgó su perdón a cambio de una importante indemnización, y de este modo (según las palabras de un participante español) «diminuyendo las fuerças a nuestros enemigos sin perder nada de las nuestras».[43] Federico, el elector palatino, que se había apresurado en enviar apoyo militar al duque de Wurtemberg, fue el primero en someterse. El 17 de diciembre «entró en la cámara donde su majestad estaua sentado en vna silla por la indisposición de sus pies» para suplicar perdón. Según un testigo

presencial, tras escucharle imperturbable, Carlos «sacó de su bolsillo una carta del elector que había sido interceptada y se limitó a decirle secamente: "Leed esto"». Federico entonces rompió a llorar y suplicó perdón, a lo que el emperador replicó:

> Primo, a mí me ha pesado en extremo que en vuestros postrimeros días, siendo yo vuestra sangre y auiéndoos criado en mi casa, ayáis hecho contra mí la demostración que auéys hecho, embiando gente contra mí en fauor de mis enemigos, y sosteniéndola muchos días en su campo; mas teniendo yo respecto a la crianza que tuuimos juntos tanto tiempo, y a vuestro arrepentimiento, esperando que de aquí adelante me seruiréys como deuéys… tengo por bien perdonaros y oluidar lo que auéys hecho contra mí. Y assí espero, que con nueuos méritos meresceréys bien el amor con que agora os recibo en mi amistad.

Para Ávila, «ver vn señor de casa tan antigua, primo del emperador, y tan honrrado y principal, aquellas canas descubiertas, las lágrimas a los ojos» en público, despertaba «gran compasión a quien lo veía». No obstante, Carlos continuó receloso: «Sus acciones tendrán que avalar sus buenas intenciones», le confió a María.[44]

El siguiente en presentarse a pedir públicamente perdón fue Ulrico de Wurtemberg. Carlos le perdonó, también, a cambio de una multa de 300.000 florines («a la vista del gran coste que esta guerra le ha supuesto a su Majestad Imperial»), la entrega de toda la artillería y municiones, y la admisión de tropas imperiales en tres de las ciudades fortificadas del ducado, «como garantía de que el tratado se cumplirá». Ulrico dudó antes de aceptar estas humillantes condiciones, pero finalmente «cogió la pluma y, levantando la mirada al cielo, dijo: "Si Dios ha tenido a bien concederle al emperador dos cosechas en Alemania en el mismo año, ¿por qué no iba yo a hacer lo que su Majestad quiere?". Y a continuación firmó». El embajador veneciano, que describió esta escena, comentó que Granvela, por lo general imperturbable, no podía ocultar su alborozo ante este ejemplo

más de la Suerte del César: «Es verdaderamente llamativo que cuando más adversas parecen estar las cosas para Su Majestad, de repente todo cambia y vuelve a triunfar».[45]

Carlos le aseguró a Fernando, quien había albergado esperanzas de recuperar el ducado perdido una década antes, que había «pensado mucho» sobre si perdonar o no a Ulrico, pero que lo había hecho «considerando el actual estado de las cosas», con el elector de Sajonia y el landgrave todavía alzados en armas y el «inasumible coste que la conquista de Wurtemberg implicaría», así como la necesidad de evitar dar la impresión «de que estamos poniendo por delante nuestros propios intereses, dada la extendida envidia que existe hacia la Casa de Austria». Así pues, meditaba Carlos, en este momento «no puedo decidir cuál es la mejor manera de aprovechar la ventaja que Dios ha querido darme». Sus objetivos a largo plazo seguían siendo los mismos —«mejorar la situación religiosa en Alemania»; «restaurar nuestra autoridad en el Imperio»; y «generar paz y unidad» para que Alemania pudiera defenderse mejor ante ataques extranjeros—, pero ¿cuál era la mejor manera de alcanzarlos? El emperador pidió consejo a su hermano sobre si debía o no convocar de inmediato a la Dieta y formar una liga con aquellos que asistieran contra los que siguieran levantados en armas, o «eliminar y derrotar a los que seguían en armas, ganarse la autoridad y reputación para convocar a la Dieta y luego resolver los temas pendientes, especialmente el problema religioso».[46]

Carlos era partidario de la segunda alternativa: «es necesario eliminar» a Juan Federico y al landgrave, le dijo a Fernando, «o de otro modo no será posible reducir y pacificar Alemania para el servicio de Dios, vuestra autoridad y la mía».[47] Fernando obedeció e invadió la Sajonia electoral conjuntamente con Mauricio, pero entonces llegó la noticia de que Francisco I había finalmente ofrecido su apoyo a los líderes protestantes

todavía levantados en armas y estaba reclutando tropas en su favor. De cara al público, Carlos restó importancia a este asunto, recordándole a un embajador francés «que podría entrar en su reino en dos semanas, que sé mejor que nadie por dónde se entra, y si es necesario también sé cómo quedarme allí»; pero en privado temía que, como había ocurrido en 1542, Francisco organizara un ataque por sorpresa. «No sé qué hacer», le dijo a Fernando, mencionando su habitual dilema: «dado el deseo que tengo que ir presto en vuestra ayuda en persona, y la necesidad para mí de estar presente en otra parte».[48]

Al final, Juan Federico forzó la decisión al tender asedio a Leipzig, baluarte principal de Mauricio, e instar a los súbditos bohemios de Fernando a rebelarse. Carlos entonces condujo a sus tropas hacia el este, y aunque la enfermedad le tenía confinado a una litera, llegó a Bohemia a tiempo de pasar la Semana Santa con su hermano, y el 14 de abril de 1547 las fuerzas combinadas de Fernando, Mauricio y Carlos se pusieron en marcha contra Juan Federico. Los aliados avistaron al ejército protestante situado al otro lado del Elba la noche del 23 de abril, justo mientras acampaba en la villa de Mühlberg, en la margen oriental. Creyéndose a salvo, los luteranos enviaron su artillería río abajo hacia Wittenberg y se retiraron a pasar la noche, pero Carlos se levantó a medianoche y se preparó para una acción inmediata. Mientras su ejército cruzaba el río al amparo de una espesa niebla matutina, el emperador se encaminó a la batalla a lomos de «un cauallo español castaño oscuro» y «lleuaua un caparaçón de terciopelo carmesí con franjas de oro, y vnas armas blancas y doradas, y no lleuaua sobre ellas otra cosa sino la vanda muy ancha de tafetán carmesí listada de oro, y un morrión Tudesco, y una media asta, casi benablo, en las manos», exactamente como aparece en el famoso retrato de Tiziano *(véase lámina 26)*.[49]

La idea del «benablo» resultaba apropiada, porque Mühlberg se pareció más a una cacería que a una batalla. Las huestes protestantes estaban esparcidas a lo largo de varios kilómetros, de modo que ofrecieron escasa resistencia. A pesar de lo cual, el emperador «pasó 21 horas sobre su montura, armado de arriba a abajo, sin tomarse ni un descanso» y (según un testimonio veneciano), «cuando volvió a su campamento, bajó de su caballo y comentó jovialmente: "que me preparen la cena, que me he pasado todo el día de caza y me he cobrado un jabalí, y bien gordo"».[50] En efecto, así era. Juan Federico fue fácilmente identificado por los vencedores debido a su enorme barriga, y los soldados de Carlos le rodearon cuando trataba de huir a caballo. Para su sorpresa, el elector sacó una pistola y mató a uno de los hombres, derribando a otro con su espada; pero luego alguien le asestó «un fuerte golpe con la espada en el lado izquierdo de su cara», lo que hizo que no pudiera luchar ni tampoco huir. De modo que se rindió y fue llevado ante el emperador, con la sangre todavía brotándole de la herida. «Por tres veces intentó desmontar, pero al carecer de la acostumbrada y necesaria ayuda, debido a su gran tamaño, tuvo que seguir sobre su montura», diciendo solo: «Mi muy respetable emperador y señor, mi destino me ha traído aquí como prisionero de su Majestad. Os pido por tanto me tratéis con arreglo a lo que mi rango y nombre merecen». El emperador respondió secamente: «"Ahora me llamáis emperador: diferente nombre es este del que me solíades llamar". Y esto dixo, porque cuando el duque de Sassonia y Lantgraue trayan el campo de la liga en sus escriptos llamavan al Emperador "Carlos de Gante, y el que piensa que es Emperador"». Carlos finalizó abruptamente el encuentro con la misma amenazadora frase que el landgrave había utilizado con el duque Enrique de Brunswick: «Yo os trataré como vos merecéis».[51]

Pese al precedente de Brunswick —el duque Enrique seguía consumiéndose en prisión—, Juan Federico dio por hecho que la declaración del emperador significaba que recibiría un buen trato, pero, según Antonio Perrenot (que gozaba de la absoluta confianza de Carlos), «por lo que yo sé, su Majestad ahora quiere cortar la cabeza de Juan Federico» y, en efecto, el 10 de mayo el emperador firmó una orden por la que sentenciaba al elector a muerte, y confiscaba todas sus tierras, cargos y bienes, como castigo a su rebelión armada.[52] Solo accedería a perdonarle la vida si todos sus súbditos sajones se rendían. Cuando estos así lo hicieron nueve días después, pese a que Carlos cumplió su promesa respecto a la vida de Juan Federico, siguió insistiendo en que su prisionero debía renunciar a su dignidad electoral, entregar la mayor parte de sus tierras a Mauricio y jurar solemnemente «que ande en la Corte de Su Magestad o en la del señor príncipe su hijo en España, a elecçion de su dicha Magestad y por el tiempo que le plazera y hasta que ordene otra cosa, obligando por esto su fe, y será debaxo de guardia no obstante la qual no podrá él alegar ser menos obligado de su fe si estoviera enteramente sin guarda».[53]

Estas duras condiciones eran reflejo de la espectacular mejora en la situación general de Carlos, tanto fuera como en casa. La muerte de Enrique VIII en enero de 1547 y la de Francisco I dos meses más tarde le garantizaban que al menos durante un tiempo no tenía nada que temer ni de Inglaterra ni de Francia. Los bohemios que en marzo habían iniciado conversaciones con Juan Federico se apresuraron a prometerle lealtad a Fernando al poco de enterarse de lo de Mühlberg. La noticia de la victoria imperial aceleró también la firma de una tregua de cinco años con Solimán, efectuada el 19 de junio. El sultán volcó entonces sus recursos contra Irán, dejando a Carlos a salvo de un ataque otomano.[54]

Estos acontecimientos dejaron a Felipe de Hesse peligrosamente aislado. Al principio no dio mucha importancia a su apurada situación. Tras saber de lo acaecido en Mühlberg, afirmó en tono grave que a menos que las condiciones que le ofreciera Carlos fueran razonables, «Con la ayuda de Dios nos defenderemos de tal forma que lograremos resistir otro año más»; y un mes después ordenó a sus súbditos prepararse para una nueva campaña.[55] A principios de junio, sin embargo, autorizó a Mauricio y al elector de Brandeburgo, a la sazón pariente suyo, para que se reunieran con Antonio Perrenot y el vicecanciller imperial Georg Seld para negociar su rendición. En muchos aspectos, sus negociaciones permitieron alcanzar unas condiciones mucho mejores que las que había obtenido Juan Federico: el landgrave no tuvo que renunciar a ninguno de sus territorios; le perdonaron la vida; y tendría que pagar una indemnización de 150.000 florines, entregar toda su artillería y municiones, y demoler todas las fortificaciones de sus dominios excepto una (que debía elegir Carlos). También tendría que abandonar a todos sus aliados, tanto de dentro como de fuera de Alemania, y liberar a todos los prisioneros que había hecho durante la guerra. A cambio, los electores prometieron en nombre del emperador que el landgrave no pasaría el resto de su vida en prisión. También le instaron a presentar su *Fussfall* ante el emperador en estos términos y garantizarle que le proporcionarían el salvoconducto para su viaje.[56]

Leer siempre la letra pequeña

Aunque a regañadientes, el landgrave admitió que era poco probable conseguir condiciones mejores que estas, y el 19 de junio de 1547, una vez ratificados los términos acordados por Perrenot, Seld y los electores, entró en la cámara donde el emperador se hallaba sentado, rodeado por «un número incontable de personas que habían acudido como espectadores». Antes de arrodillarse, no obstante, el landgrave «se detuvo un

momento junto a los electores, hablando y riéndose con ellos. Esto irritó sumamente al emperador», que se negó a tender su mano tras el *Fussfall*, como había hecho con otros adversarios. En lugar de ello (según Bartholomew Sastrow, también testigo presencial), Carlos «le señaló con el dedo enfadado y dijo: "Ya os enseñaré yo a reír"».[57] No parece que el landgrave se tomara esta amenaza muy en serio, porque aceptó una invitación para ir a cenar con el duque de Alba, quien de inmediato le arrestó y le puso bajo la vigilancia de un guardia español.

Esto dejó horrorizados a los dos electores, que no solo habían convencido a Felipe de que aceptara las condiciones del emperador, sino que también habían emitido su salvoconducto personal. Cuando se enteraron del arresto, más tarde aquella misma noche, los electores se enzarzaron en un enconado debate con Alba y Perrenot que duró hasta las dos de la madrugada, en el que gritaron indignados que el encarcelamiento de Felipe constituía una ofensa a su propio honor. Los ministros imperiales replicaron que la capitulación, que todas las partes habían leído y aprobado, solo establecía que no se le aplicaría la cadena perpetua: no decía nada de una pena de prisión por un periodo determinado. Cuando Carlos supo de este debate al día siguiente, se puso del lado de sus ministros. Además, negó tener conocimiento alguno de un salvoconducto. Esto indignó aún más a los electores, de modo que enviaron una embajada a Fernando (que acababa de estar en campaña junto a Mauricio) quejándose de que si habían emitido su salvoconducto era porque creían que Carlos había garantizado que el landgrave «no sufriría ni pena de muerte ni prisión ninguna».[58]

Es importante establecer la implicación personal de Carlos en este asunto porque, como en el caso de Rincón y Fregoso cinco años antes, su tratamiento al landgrave se convertiría en *casus belli*. Algunos contemporáneos y muchos historiadores argumentaron que el emperador eligió deliberadamente las

palabras *«einiger Gefencknus»* (prisión ninguna) en el borrador del acuerdo, para que más adelante pudiera cambiarse de un solo plumazo, sin que nadie se diera cuenta, a *«ewiger Gefencknus»* (prisión permanente). La acusación es ingeniosa, pero no plausible. Aunque Carlos podía conversar en alemán, no lo hacía con la fluidez suficiente para elaborar este tipo de juego de palabras. Seld ofrecería más adelante una explicación más verosímil durante una cena con amigos. En ella recordó que él y Perrenot (ambos eminentes abogados y con un buen dominio del alemán) habían atiborrado de bebida a los dos electores para luego negociar con ellos mientras sus asesores legales se encontraban ausentes. De este modo los electores no se dieron cuenta de que la frase propuesta por Perrenot, «*nit in ewiger Gefencknus halten* [ni ponerle bajo prisión permanente]», seguía permitiendo a Carlos encarcelar al landgrave, con la única condición de que la sentencia no fuera permanente.[59]

Incluso aunque no fuera Carlos el que inventó la fórmula, lo cierto es que la recibió encantado y supo aprovechar su ambigüedad. El 15 de junio, cuatro días después del *Fussfall* del landgrave, Carlos informaba con alegría a su hermano de que «a menos que repudie lo que los electores negociaron en su nombre, él ha aceptado expresamente, entre otras cosas, su rendición incondicional». Y continuaba:

> Es cierto que los dos electores exigieron la promesa de que yo no infligiría castigo sobre su persona ni sobre su patrimonio, salvo por lo especificado en el tratado, o mediante prisión permanente; y dado que utilizaron la palabra «perpetua» yo acepté por la razón que vos ya sabéis: tenerle en mis manos al menos durante un tiempo. Por tanto, mi plan es detenerle y hacerle prisionero cuando venga a presentar su rendición. Los electores no pueden objetar nada a esto, porque yo no estaré incumpliendo la garantía que les di, que hablaba de «prisión» añadiendo la palabra «perpetua».

El emperador procedió a pedir consejo a su hermano sobre la naturaleza y el alcance de la detención después de que el landgrave hubiera cumplido todos los términos de la

capitulación, dado el riesgo de que tras su puesta en libertad «si me encuentro ausente de Alemania, pueda hacer lo peor». Fernando, demostrando una gran clarividencia, aconsejó al emperador que liberara a su prisionero una vez hubiera hecho todos los sacrificios acordados y proporcionado garantías suficientes de su buena conducta, a fin de evitar ofender a los electores «que se hallaban implicados y también para que el landgrave no llegara al punto de la desesperación».[60] Carlos no estuvo de acuerdo. En una carta a su hermano escrita inmediatamente después del *Fussfall*, argumentaba que si el landgrave no permanecía en prisión «no tengo otra garantía de que cumplirá lo que consta en el tratado. En este momento está tratando de ganar tiempo hasta que haya desmovilizado a mis fuerzas». Por otra parte, el emperador sentía que su honor estaba en juego. «El asunto ha llegado demasiado lejos para que yo dé marcha atrás: si me retracto de mi decisión de encarcelarle, el mundo pensará que me equivoqué al hacerlo y que me he visto obligado a cambiar de opinión». Además, los electores habían «puesto en entredicho mi honor al cuestionar si iba o no a mantener mi palabra». Esto enfurecía al emperador porque (según afirmaba) «Siempre he puesto especial cuidado en cumplir mi palabra, incluso cuando esto me ha supuesto perder excelentes oportunidades que habrían ido en mi beneficio personal». Por tanto, informaba a su hermano de su intención de «ver si el landgrave se apresta a actuar de buena fe», para a partir de ahí decidir el tiempo que debía pasar en prisión.[61]

Una vez más, Fernando instaba a la cautela: aunque el landgrave debía permanecer en prisión hasta que hubiera cumplido todas sus obligaciones respecto al tratado, aconsejaba que, a partir de entonces, «en lugar de enemistarse con los dos electores, siempre que pueda hacerse sin gran perjuicio para vuestros asuntos, creo que su Majestad podría acceder a liberarle», tomando tal vez a uno de los hijos del landgrave

como fianza.[62] Dada la experiencia del emperador con los príncipes franceses dos décadas antes, Carlos volvió una vez más a rechazar la sugerencia de su hermano y en su lugar ordenó a sus tropas españolas que mantuvieran a Felipe bajo estrecha y constante vigilancia. Como Sastrow comentó en tono grave, «las palabras del emperador "ya os enseñaré yo a reír" no habían sido una amenaza vana».

Cinco años más tarde, Carlos lamentaría haber rechazado el consejo de Fernando, pero en un principio su triunfo pareció total. El único consuelo del landgrave llegó pocos días después. Mientras lo llevaban en un carro rodeado de soldados españoles, Carlos salió a regodearse «vestido con un sombrero de terciopelo y una capa negra ribeteada de terciopelo», pero entonces empezó a caer de repente una intensa lluvia que obligó al emperador «a darle la vuelta a la capa que llevaba y tapar con ella el sombrero, dejando que la lluvia le cayera sobre la cabeza descubierta. ¡Pobre hombre! —se burlaba Sastrow—: Con tanto oro que ha gastado en la guerra, y prefiere llevar la cabeza al descubierto bajo la lluvia que dejar que esta le estropee su sombrerito y su capa de terciopelo».[63]

Sastrow tenía razón en cuanto al enorme coste de la guerra alemana. Carlos obtuvo préstamos para pagar en España por valor de casi 3 millones de ducados en 1546, y más de 700.000 al año siguiente, en tanto que su hermana María pidió prestados otros 750.000 en los Países Bajos. Para compensarlos, el emperador solo contaba con las subvenciones Pontificias (200.000 ducados), las multas impuestas a los que le habían desafiado (en torno a unos 800.000 ducados en total) y el valor de la artillería pesada confiscada a las diversas ciudades y príncipes luteranos, que redistribuyó ostentosamente por sus dominios como símbolo de su victoria.[64] No fue el único símbolo. Aunque desmovilizó a gran parte de su ejército antes de viajar a Augsburgo, donde había decidido convocar una

nueva Dieta, Carlos mantuvo a 3.000 de sus soldados «para guardar todas las puertas y plazas de la ciudad», y 20.000 de infantería y 4.000 de caballería acuartelados en Ulm, Wurtemberg y demás lugares «aledaños». Según varias fuentes, inmediatamente después de su victoria en Mühlberg, Carlos se jactó de que «Yo vine, vy, y Dios venció»: ahora su objetivo consistía en aprovechar su aplastante superioridad militar para poner fin de una vez por todas a la oposición religiosa y política que había encontrado en Alemania.[65]

La Dieta Armada

Antonio Perrenot afirmó que Carlos fue a la Dieta «esperando terminar rápidamente su tarea allí», pero añadió: «la verdad es que creo que cuando empecemos a acelerar las negociaciones para poner todo en orden nos encontraremos más dificultades de lo que esperábamos».[66] Perrenot estaba en lo cierto: la Dieta duraría diez meses enteros, del 1 de septiembre de 1547 al 30 de junio de 1548, y generó documentos que ocupan 2.760 páginas impresas. Los funcionarios del imperio propusieron una serie de iniciativas destinadas a reafirmar la autoridad del emperador dentro de Alemania: medidas para estandarizar la aplicación de la ley y la acuñación de moneda; reforzar y mejorar la Corte de la Cámara Imperial; reconocer los diversos territorios del emperador en los Países Bajos como una unidad diferenciada (*Kreis*, 'círculo') del imperio; crear una nueva Liga *(Reichsbund)* que uniera a los súbditos imperiales con la dinastía Habsburgo (más que con el imperio); recaudar dinero para la defensa de Hungría contra un posible ataque turco; y una reserva para financiar la movilización de un ejército de 27.000 hombres «en caso de que en un futuro alguien quiera rebelarse contra los edictos y órdenes del emperador y el imperio». Y lo más controvertido de todo era la propuesta de un nuevo marco para la unidad religiosa del imperio.[67]

Al final, la Dieta aprobaría todas estas medidas, o bien permitiría al emperador crear comisiones especiales para tratar con el resto (el *Reichsabschied*), pero es difícil establecer exactamente el papel que desempeñó Carlos en los debates y decisiones. En el detallado «Diario de Viaje» llevado por su ayuda de cámara, Jean Vandenesse, solo consta la presencia del emperador en un reducido número de acontecimientos públicos a lo largo de aquel invierno: el 20 de noviembre de 1547 asistió a un banquete de los caballeros del Toisón de Oro; en la Epifanía de 1548 asistió a misa y «presentó como ofrenda tres copas que contenían oro, incienso y mirra», como los tres Reyes Magos; el 30 de enero mandó llamar a los electores a su presencia para debatir sobre el reconocimiento de los Países Bajos como un *Kreis* aparte; y el 24 de febrero, día de su cumpleaños, «vestido con sus túnicas imperiales y sentado en su trono imperial», invistió a Mauricio como nuevo elector de Sajonia. Según Vandenesse, el emperador no estuvo en otras ocasiones solemnes —por ejemplo, cuando se propuso la nueva legislación y el vicecanciller Seld, Fernando o el hijo mayor de Fernando, Maximiliano, le reemplazaron (1 de septiembre de 1547, 14 de enero y 19 de marzo de 1548)—, pero esto ocultaba el hecho de que los miembros de la Dieta iban regularmente a la casa de Antón Fugger, donde Carlos residía, para discutir los asuntos cara a cara.[68]

Carlos a menudo no podía aparecer en público porque estaba enfermo. Según Vandenesse, comenzó a tomar guayacán (palo de Indias o *lignum vitae*), un remedio para la gota recientemente importado del Caribe, pero que (según algunos diplomáticos extranjeros presentes en su corte) le produjo ictericia, una infección del tracto urinario, y fiebres altas, que tenían al emperador «débil e inquieto, saliendo y entrando constantemente de la cama». A veces, daba audiencias «sentado, sujetándose el cuello con un brazo y los pies puestos en alto

sobre una banqueta con cojines»; y durante el invierno buscaba alivio a su dolor metiéndose dentro de una enorme estufa de metal «o, más exactamente un horno, en el que la mayoría de la gente solo se quedaría un cuarto de hora o una hora, pero él permanece el día entero».[69]

Es posible que el dolor ayude a explicar algunas de las destempladas salidas de tono de Carlos. En febrero de 1547, le dijo a un diplomático papal que Pablo III tenía sífilis, añadiendo «no dexavamos de acordarnos de lo que se dezía en Italia: que a moços se exusava que tomassen el mal francés [sífilis], pero a viejos no». Cuando el diplomático replicó que él no tenía conocimiento de ello, por lo que debía ser «nueva», el emperador, maliciosamente, «proseguimos nuestro propósito, diziendo que con todo no devía sino ser mal viejo, y de naturaleza inclinada allí desde moço». Y cuando el enviado trató una vez más de objetar, «lo dexamos con dezirle que ya era tiempo de oyr la misa». Al mes siguiente, durante una audiencia con el nuncio, Carlos subrayó que la causa católica prosperaba en Alemania, añadiendo (con un magnífico alarde pasivoagresivo) que era consciente de que esta noticia «pesava al papa, y no lo tomava de buena gana; pero que assí impedido como nos veya, con un braço gotoso y el otro sangrado, esperavamos de yr a acabar lo que quedaba». Dado que la campaña iba a reanudarse pronto, invitó al nuncio a que viniera «a la primera hilera, por que diesse exemplo a los otros y se viesse el effecto que haría con sus bendiciones».[70]

Incluso sin dolores, Carlos tenía dos razones para estar enfadado con el Papa a principios de 1547. Pablo no solo había ordenado a su fuerza expedicionaria retirarse de Alemania (basándose en que Carlos no había obligado inmediatamente a las ciudades derrotadas a restablecer el culto católico), sino que también mandó al concilio general de la Iglesia trasladarse de Trento a Bolonia, dentro de los Estados Pontificios, un lugar

absolutamente inaceptable para todos los protestantes (que no se sentían seguros en una ciudad que estaba bajo el directo control papal) y, por tanto, para Carlos. «No havemos de consentir jamás en la dicha translación», bramó a su comisionado en el Consejo. Los prelados no debían marcharse de Trento «por lo que toca al servicio de Dios y nuestro» (una arrogante equiparación que el emperador por entonces solía utilizar cada vez más para justificar sus preferencias).[71] Así pues, resucitó la idea de encontrar una fórmula religiosa aceptable para todos los alemanes, algo que el propio Lutero había defendido en su última publicación importante: «Dejemos que nuestro querido emperador haga que el Papa celebre un concilio cristiano general, libre, en algún lugar de Alemania, o bien un concilio nacional». Como de costumbre, Granvela se puso a la cabeza de esta iniciativa, emitiendo un ultimátum al Papa en agosto de 1547: «o que el concilio buelva a Trento, o se haga la suspensión… hasta ver el camino que tomara esta dieta».[72]

En febrero de 1548, un grupo de delegados elegidos por Carlos, por Fernando, por cada elector y por los príncipes, los prelados y las ciudades representadas en la Dieta se reunieron para redactar un texto religioso que fuera aceptable tanto para luteranos como para católicos. Los gobernantes católicos pronto dejaron claro que no reconocían los poderes eclesiásticos reivindicados por Carlos, y dado que este carecía de medios para coaccionarles, permitió a todos los estados católicos mantener sus prácticas religiosas. Los protestantes, en cambio, debían cumplir con las prácticas establecidas en el nuevo texto, conocidas como el *Interim*, dado que solo estaba previsto que duraran hasta que el próximo concilio general tomara decisiones permanentes. Esta condición de temporalidad explica muchas de las contradicciones presentes en el *Interim*. Por ejemplo, declaraba que el matrimonio de los clérigos y la comunión bajo las dos especies, dos de los símbolos más visibles de la liturgia

protestante, eran «errores» que serían tolerados solo por el momento a fin de preservar la paz; y aunque establecía que para la salvación se requerían la fe y el estado de gracia, pero no necesariamente las buenas obras, el documento permitía prácticas rituales condenadas por los protestantes (como la veneración de los santos y las misas en memoria de los difuntos, lo que implicaba la creencia en el purgartorio). El *Interim* contenía tantas «similitudes y ecos» de la Confesión de Augsburgo de 1530 que «no podían ser accidentales. En su redacción y elección de las metáforas, los autores del *Interim* estaban conscientemente haciendo referencia a expresiones acuñadas del pensamiento luterano, que ningún lector informado podría haber dejado de notar». Estos mismos autores también hicieron una hábil separación entre la teología de la salvación y la ejecución del ritual, que dejaban para los gobernantes seglares, quienes de este modo podían controlar la vida litúrgica de sus súbditos en interés de preservar el orden público (al menos hasta que el concilio general decidiera otra cosa).[73]

Pese a su larga preparación, Carlos decidió mantener el contenido del documento en secreto hasta el último momento, incluso para el nuncio. «A la hora de comer», el 15 de mayo de 1548, «Su Majestad informó a todos los príncipes de que debían reunirse con él a las cuatro de la tarde, porque tenía la intención de publicar el Interim. Poco antes de las cuatro de la tarde» Antonio Perrenot visitó al nuncio «y me dijo, por orden de su Majestad, cuál sería el contenido del Interim, asegurándome que su Majestad había esperado lo más posible, pero que ya no podía retrasarlo más tiempo». En una carta a María, Perrenot era más franco: «Dado que el Papa no había hecho lo que debía, nosotros perseveramos». A la hora fijada, en presencia del emperador y de toda la Dieta, el vicecanciller Seld explicó el documento, en ese momento disponible en latín y en alemán.[74]

A partir de entonces empezaba la parte más difícil: conseguir el cumplimiento por parte de los gobernantes luteranos. Según Sastrow, protestante acérrimo, el elector de Brandeburgo solo cumpliría a cambio del pago de sus deudas; y el duque de Wurtemberg y el landgrave respaldaron el documento con la esperanza de mejorar las condiciones de su rendición. El elector Mauricio ya había prometido a Carlos que aceptaría el *Interim*, y presionó a los teólogos de Wittenberg (en ese momento sus súbditos) para que cooperaran; pero el exelector Juan Federico se negó, incluso cuando Granvela y su hijo le insistieron, primero sugiriendo que su conformidad podría valerle su libertad, y cuando se negó, confinándole a su aposento, sacando de él sus libros y secuestrando a su capellán.[75]

Tal vez gracias a una climatología más favorable, Carlos comenzó a aparecer de nuevo en persona. Presidió la clausura solemne de la Dieta el 30 de junio de 1548, y cinco semanas más tarde mandó cerrar todas las puertas de la ciudad de Augsburgo, desplegó a sus soldados por todos los puntos estratégicos y convocó a todos los funcionarios públicos a reunirse en su presencia. Seld les ordenó llevar a cabo un *Fussfall* (Augsburgo había enviado tropas al ejército de la Liga) y jurarle lealtad, tras lo cual anunció la revocación de los fueros de la ciudad, la destitución de todos sus cargos y la abolición de todos sus gremios (que previamente habían elegido al Consejo). Seld nombró entonces una nueva lista de cargos para gobernar la ciudad, casi todos ellos miembros de su élite. Antón Fugger y Bartolomé Welser, los banqueros del emperador, ocuparon dos de los siete puestos del nuevo Consejo Secreto. Pocos días más tarde, Carlos ordenó a sus tropas españolas avanzar contra Constanza, otra ciudad protestante que había enviado tropas y dinero al ejército de la Liga, lo que llevó a sus aterrorizados magistrados a entregarse a Fernando, que suprimió sus fueros, restauró el culto católico y luego anexionó la ciudad a sus

propios dominios. Entretanto Carlos se trasladó a Ulm, otra ciudad que había apoyado a la Liga, y presidió otra ceremonia de *Fussfall* tras la cual Seld revocó los fueros de la ciudad, destituyó a sus funcionarios, abolió sus gremios e impuso un nuevo gobierno dirigido por aristócratas. El emperador también ordenó a los seis predicadores luteranos de la ciudad que aceptaran el *Interim* (algo que no había hecho en Augsburgo) y arrestó y se llevó con él a los cuatro que se negaron, obligando a los dos que sí lo hicieron a abandonar a sus esposas e hijos. Los predicadores protestantes de Espira, Worms y otras ciudades en la ruta del emperador huyeron para evitar ser tratados de modo similar.[76]

Algunos en aquel momento, y muchos algo más tarde, afirmaron que Carlos había actuado así por motivos confesionales —«La reforma de las constituciones municipales fue un presagio de la Contrarreforma —escribió Ludwig Fürstenwerth en 1893—: El objetivo final era la preservación o restauración de la religión católica en las ciudades»—, pero esto no explica por qué el emperador tomó medidas para reforzar su control sobre las ciudades tanto católicas como protestantes. Por ejemplo, en junio de 1548 el arzobispo-elector de Colonia pidió permiso al Consejo de la ciudad para hacer una entrada ceremonial, pero se lo negaron. Entonces recurrió al emperador, que le dio su apoyo, pero el Consejo siguió negándose, y cuando el propio Carlos hizo su entrada en septiembre, algunos ciudadanos «lanzaron piedras desde sus viñedos a los soldados españoles» que le acompañaban. Los magistrados arrestaron a los participantes en estas protestas, pero continuaron negándose a la petición del arzobispo; de modo que Carlos siguió presionándoles hasta que, pasado poco más de un año, consiguió imponerse. De modo similar, en 1551-1552, un cargo imperial revocó los fueros, abolió los gremios e instaló un nuevo Consejo de aristócratas en 25 ciudades del sur de Alemania,

algunos firmemente católicos y que habían sido incondicionalmente leales al emperador durante la reciente guerra civil.[77]

Estas contradicciones generaron confusión en el eminente historiador alemán Wolfgang Reinhard, que examinó los documentos supervivientes de Carlos y Fernando en busca de algún «tipo de declaración programática»; pero no encontró ninguna. Su conclusión fue que «no es que hasta ahora hayan escapado a la atención de la investigación, sino que nunca han existido»; más bien, el emperador se esforzó sistemáticamente en restringir la independencia de las ciudades en general y el poder de los gremios en particular. La teatral humillación de Augsburgo, Ulm y otras ciudades alemanas fue en gran medida parecida al trato que Carlos dio a Gante en 1540. Llegó incluso a contemplar construir una ciudadela en Constanza, como había hecho en Gante, Utrecht y Cambrai, pero desistió porque temió que esto pudiera provocar desasosiego en el imperio.[78] En 1552 Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, un exiliado sienés, encontró una pauta general: «Los ministros del emperador siempre han perseguido la misma política. Siempre han tratado de provocar la discordia civil y luego actuado contra la libertad y el bien común a través de un gobierno oligárquico y tiránico». Con ello se refería no solo al reciente tratamiento dado por Carlos a las ciudades de los Países Bajos y de Alemania, sino también de Italia.[79]

Ajustando cuentas en Italia

El éxito inicial del ejército de la Liga de Esmalcalda alentó a algunos de los opositores de Carlos en Italia a desafiarle. En Lucca, un pequeño feudo imperial en casi constante rivalidad con Florencia, el aristócrata Francesco Burlamacchi y un grupo de exiliados conspiraron para derrocar al gobierno Médici y unir Lucca, Siena y Florencia en una república toscana. En agosto de 1546 le delataron y fue condenado a cadena perpetua en

Milán.[80] Entonces, «la medianoche del 3 de enero de 1547, la ciudad de Génova experimentó casi una revolución». El destacado y popular noble, conde Gian Luigi Fieschi, introdujo en el puerto una galera de guerra dentro de la que iban ocultos 200 seguidores e invitó a Andrea Doria y a su heredero Giannettino a un banquete, con la intención de asesinarles a ambos y hacerse con el control de la ciudad. Aunque Andrea aceptó la invitación, al final se sintió enfermo y no asistió; pero Fieschi decidió seguir adelante con su plan de todas formas. La mitad de sus seguidores tomaron las puertas de la ciudad mientras que la otra mitad capturaron las galeras de Doria que estaban en el Arsenal, liberando a los remeros. Sus gritos de júbilo llamaron la atención de Giannettino, que recibió un disparo mortal cuando intentó recuperar el control. Andrea Doria huyó de la ciudad que había tenido bajo su dominio desde 1528 y multitud de personas se lanzó a las calles gritando «¡Libertad! ¡Libertad!». El golpe fracasó solo debido a que Fieschi, vestido con su armadura completa, cayó al agua en el puerto y se ahogó. Como Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, el veterano embajador español en Génova, reconoció: «La muerte del conde ha sido permisión diuina, porque si viuía no parará en esto sino que todo fuera perdido».[81]

Cinco meses más tarde, Nápoles también estuvo a punto de vivir otra revolución. El virrey don Pedro de Toledo provocó graves desórdenes cuando, a petición suya, en febrero de 1547 el Papa nombró un inquisidor especial para erradicar la herejía del reino. La élite local protestó de inmediato, pero el virrey les ignoró. Más adelante, en mayo, tres hombres de la localidad que habían tratado de salvar a un colega suyo arrestado por los inquisidores fueron ejecutados, lo que generó importantes manifestaciones de protesta. El virrey utilizó a sus tropas españolas para dispersar a la multitud e hizo que la artillería apuntara contra los barrios populares de la ciudad «como si

Nápoles fuera una ciudad francesa o turca, en lugar de pertenecer al emperador», anotó un cronista.[82] Los exiliados tras la victoria imperial de 1528 empezaron a regresar, y la autoridad imperial estuvo pendiente de un hilo hasta la llegada en agosto de un escuadrón de galeras enviado por Doria desde Génova con 3.000 soldados españoles a bordo. Una vez restauraron el orden, Carlos creyó prudente perdonarlos a todos excepto a un puñado de rebeldes.

Este aluvión de problemas para la hegemonía Habsburgo se debió tanto a una profunda nostalgia por el regreso de una Italia «donde ningún príncipe pudiera imponer su voluntad sobre los demás» como a una sorprendente autocomplacencia por parte de Carlos y sus ministros.[83] Los rumores de que uno de los parientes de Fieschi estaba en París tratando de ganarse el apoyo francés para un posible golpe llegaron a Génova en mayo de 1545, pero ni Doria ni Figueroa se los tomaron en serio a pesar de que la familia Fieschi «por lo passado siempre han tirado a la parte francesa, y han tenido pension de los reyes de Francia». Ni siquiera levantó sospechas la noticia de que Fieschi había comprado cuatro galeras a Pedro Luis Farnesio, el hijo del Papa. Figueroa le aseguró a su señor, «Yo creo que [las galeras] están mejor en su poder [de Fieschi] que de otro, por lo que toca al servicio de Vuestra Magestad». Este grado de indiferencia podría fácilmente haber resultado fatal, dado que la relación de Carlos con Génova dependía del vínculo personal *(condotta)* establecido con Andrea Doria dos décadas atrás. Ferrante Gonzaga, investido como gobernador de Milán en 1546, advirtió a Carlos del riesgo «de que un lugar tan importante como esta ciudad para los asuntos de vuestra Majestad, tanto en España como en Italia, dependiera de la vida de un hombre de 80 años, sin ningún plan sobre lo que debería pasar después de su muerte, que puede producirse cualquier día». Así pues, pedía

instrucciones «sobre qué queréis que hagamos en caso de la muerte de Doria». Un día después, Fieschi y sus partidarios pusieron en marcha su revolución.[84]

Esta escapatoria de última hora tuvo como efecto una política imperial más agresiva. De forma inmediata, Gonzaga condujo a 1.000 veteranos hacia la frontera de la república genovesa, dispuesto a intervenir si era necesario; propuso la confiscación de todas las propiedades de Fieschi en el ducado de Milán, para dejar claro lo que pasaba con los que se oponían al emperador; y envió un mensajero «para conocer, dentro del más absoluto secreto [*con ogni dissimulatione*] lo que vuestra Majestad piensa». En un principio, el emperador no supo qué decir —«Por agora, hasta entender más particularmente el fundamento de esta nouedad, y lo que más aurá sucedido, no sabríamos que más decir»—, pero pocos días más tarde, tras haber reflexionado «Sobre las cosas del gouierno dessa ciudad»,

> Y quanto nos conuernía y estaría bien ympatronizarnos y ser señor della y de sus fuerças, no ay dubda sino que esto sería lo más a propósito para su seguridad y pacificaçión y para que nos estuuiésemos descansado por lo que de cada día, como agora se ha visto, podrá yntentar quien quisiere, tanto más viniendo a morir el príncipe [Doria].

Por tanto, ordenó a Figueroa enviar sugerencias sobre «cómo nos pudiésemos empatronizar» Génova, por ejemplo, construyendo una ciudadela.[85]

Al mismo tiempo, Carlos concedió la petición de Gonzaga de apoderarse de todos los feudos de Fieschi, no solo para dar ejemplo, sino porque «son estas tierras muy a proposito para la seguridad de las cosas de Milan y la Toscana, allende que será muy gran freno para las de Genova, estando tan a las puertas». También autorizó medidas contra Pedro Luis Farnesio, el nuevo duque de Parma y Piacenza, porque al enviar galeras a Fieschi «no anda en las cosas de nuestro seruicio tan derecho como conuernia». Por tanto, «con toda simulación y secreto»,

Gonzaga debe «mirar de entretener y persuadir algunos gentiles hombres de sus tierras y feudatarios» para derrocarle. Y añadió: «siendo el estado de Parma y Plasençia de la importancia que es verdaderamente del Imperio, sería grand cosa que se pudiesse encaminar la plática… de empatronizarnos destas». Carlos especificó incluso un marco temporal: la «plática» debía continuar en tanto que Gonzaga fuera «ganando siempre gente» en las dos ciudades, para que «viniendo alguna buena coyuntura, o de sede vacante o otra de que os podremos auisar, la cosa si fuere posible esté a puncto para executarse».[86]

La idea de esperar a que hubiera una sede vacante, el periodo de tiempo entre la muerte de un papa y la elección de su sucesor en el que los Estados Pontificios degeneraban en un caos, tenía sentido —Pablo III (como Andrea Doria) tenía casi 80 años, y su muerte eliminaría al principal aliado de su hijo—, pero Pedro Luis había hecho los mismos cálculos: las confesiones de los conspiradores capturados enseguida arrojaron pruebas de que el Papa y su hijo habían dado apoyo a los enemigos de Carlos. Aparte de la sospechosa venta de las galeras, al parecer Pedro Luis había prometido enviar 1.000 soldados a Génova desde Piacenza «primero que otra gente pudiesse venir en su disfauor». También había mantenido «ynclinación y aún yntelligencia» con Francia, y estaba tratando de llegar a una alianza con Venecia. Según el embajador español en Roma, «cresce cada día más la sospecha de que lo sucedido en Genoua aya sido con interuención del papa». Carlos, furioso, repitió que «nos paresçe muy bien, y se deue tener fin a lo principal de recuperar Parma y Plasençia», pero dudaba si dar o no carta blanca a Gonzaga:

> Considerando que al tiempo que viniésedes a executar la dicha occasión podría ser por uentura que las cosas o destas partes [Alemania], o de França, estuiessen en términos que no conueniesse entonces declararnos contra Su Santidad ny cosa suya, y guardarlo para mejor oportunidad, nos paresçe que no será sino bien que antes de executar la dicha ocasion, en caso que se os ofrezca, pues no haurá

> inconueniente en la dilación, de consultarnos… para que conforme al estado en que estarán los negocios, os podamos screuir y ordenar sobrello lo que más conuenga.[87]

Carlos no abandonó esta actitud cautelosa hasta que le llegó la noticia de que Pedro Luis había prometido apoyar otra conspiración para derrocar el gobierno de Doria en Génova, encabezada por uno de los hermanos de Fieschi y por Giulio Cibo Malaspina, marqués de Massa. Gonzaga arrestó de inmediato a Massa y el 13 de junio de 1547 informó a Carlos de que su cuadro de conspiradores en Piacenza estaba listo para hacerse con el control y entregar la ciudad a las tropas Habsburgo. Expuso dos argumentos por los cuales el emperador debía en este momento dar su aprobación: la nueva ciudadela estaría terminada en octubre, haciendo Piacenza inexpugnable; y, dado que los conspiradores debían actuar antes de esa fecha, si Carlos no les prometía de inmediato su ayuda y protección, acudirían a los franceses. «Si perdemos esta oportunidad de recuperar la ciudad» para el ducado de Milán, añadía Gonzaga, «puede que no surja otra en mucho tiempo»; y, «por tanto, le envío con urgencia un mensajero para rogar humildemente a vuestra Majestad que tome una decisión con la rapidez que requiere la importancia de este asunto». Dos semanas después, con sus principales enemigos en Alemania ya reconciliados o puestos bajo custodia, el emperador dio su consentimiento, pero con dos condiciones: que «en la persona» de Pedro Luis «no conviene que por ninguna manera se toque, sino que le echen fuera», y que «no se pueda dezir en ninguno modo que fue hecho por nuestro orden ny mandado».[88]

Estas restricciones ponían a Gonzaga ante un complicado dilema. Por un lado, temía que si Farnesio permanecía en libertad buscara vengarse de la peor manera tanto de él como de los conspiradores; y por otro no estaba seguro de asumir él la responsabilidad «de la decisión, para evitar que se repita lo

sucedido en el caso de Fregoso y Rincón». Así pues, ideó un ingenioso subterfugio para dar a entender que ni él ni su señor habían estado implicados: en cuanto los conspiradores se hicieran con el control de Piacenza, se la ofrecerían a Carlos a condición de que tomara posesión de ella en un plazo de 24 horas —condición que él obviamente no cumpliría—, tras lo cual ellos serían libres de ofrecérsela a los franceses. Lo único que tenía que hacer Gonzaga era trasladarse cerca de Piacenza, con 400 hombres a caballo, justo antes de que los conspiradores llevaran a cabo su plan. Esta estratagema, señalaba al emperador, «exigiría que yo actuara sin consultar a vuestra Majestad, a la vez que justificaría mi acción como fruto de la necesidad y no de mi elección». Carlos dio su visto bueno al plan y el 10 de septiembre de 1547 los conspiradores se hicieron con el control de Piacenza, asesinando para ello a Pedro Luis Farnesio y ofreciéndole de inmediato la ciudad al emperador.[89] Al día siguiente, llegó la caballería que Gonzaga había apostado secretamente al otro lado de la frontera y el día 12 este tomó posesión de la ciudad en nombre del emperador. Aunque su plan de tomar Parma por sorpresa fracasó, al mes siguiente las tropas imperiales entraron en Siena.[90]

Estos éxitos sellaron el destino de los demás enemigos de Carlos en Italia. Por orden de Gonzaga, Francesco Burlamacchi de Lucca fue decapitado en Milán en febrero de 1548 y Giulio Cibo Malaspina de Massa le siguió en el camino al patíbulo en mayo. Gonzaga también eliminó a dos de los enemigos florentinos de Carlos. Capturó a Piero Strozzi, un prominente exiliado, y le hizo asesinar en la residencia de Gonzaga, actualmente conocida como Villa Simonetta; y contrató a dos asesinos que mataron a puñaladas a Lorenzino de Médici, el asesino del duque Alessandro de Florencia (exyerno de Carlos), en un puente de Venecia. Posteriormente ambos escaparon a la casa del embajador español, donde permanecieron escondidos

hasta que pasó el peligro de volver a Florencia, lo que llevó a todo el mundo a sospechar del duque Cosme como organizador del golpe.[91]

Aunque a juzgar por las apariencias todo parecía estar yendo bien para Carlos, estas acabaron resultando engañosas. El 2 de septiembre de 1548, en Espira, Carlos firmó una singular carta para Felipe en la que presumía de su éxito en «mudando los consejos» en varias ciudades alemanas «y poniendo otros de nueuo que fuesen a propósito y quitando los predicadores protestantes»; pero a continuación hacía una declaración sorprendente. Ahora que la Dieta había hecho lo que él había pedido, tenía que desmovilizar a su ejército porque «en ninguna manera podíamos entretener el numero de gentes que hasta aquí, por ser excessivo el gasto»; pero esto le obligaba a volver a los Países Bajos, porque sin esas tropas «no conviene hallarse nuestra persona en estas partes por la poca seguridad que se podía tener y porque en nuestra presencia no sucediesse algo que no se pudiesse remediar y fuesse causa de diminuyr la reputación que a Dios gracias se ha ganado en lo pasado». A fin de economizar, proponía retirar las tropas alemanas en ese momento acuarteladas en Wurtemberg y sustituirlas por 2.000 españoles cuya paga correría a cuenta de la población local. Un mes más tarde, Fernando advirtió a su hermano de otras dos amenazas. Algunos estados protestantes del norte seguían aún «negándose a admitir a vuestra Majestad» y, pese a su ascenso al cargo de elector, Mauricio de Sajonia seguía resentido tanto por el *Interim* como por el encarcelamiento del landgrave. «Con lo caliente que tiene la cabeza ahora mismo —continuaba Fernando—, no era prudente sacarle de quicio ni provocarle, no fuera a ser que hiciera una alianza o confederación con las ciudades y gobernantes vecinos».[92]

Carlos también se enfrentaba a un tercer desafío a su autoridad. A unos 10.000 kilómetros de distancia, otro grupo de súbditos se negaba a someterse a ella: los conquistadores del Perú se rebelaron. «Cierto —escribió un cortesano—, aunque el emperador había visto otras alteraciones y levantamientos de sus vasallos en España contra su real persona, ninguno sintió tanto, ni aún los de Alemania, como los del Perú», dirigido por otra «cabeza caliente»: Gonzalo Pizarro.[93]

13. La dominación de América

La primera América

En la dedicatoria de su triunfalista *Hispania victrix* de 1553, Francisco López de Gómara informaba a Carlos de que «La mayor cosa después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo crio, es el descubrimiento de Indias», añadiendo que «Nunca nación extendió tanto como la española sus costumbres, su lenguaje y armas, ni caminó tan léxos por mar y tierra, las armas a cuestas», y todo ello en tan breve plazo de tiempo.[1] Antes de que Carlos pusiera el pie en tierra española, no había existido ningún asentamiento europeo en el continente americano: los dominios castellanos de ultramar se reducían a unas cuantas islas del Caribe con un área total de unos 250.000 kilómetros cuadrados (aproximadamente la mitad del tamaño de España) y una población de unos 5.000 europeos y en torno a dos millones de indios. En el momento de su abdicación, cuarenta años más tarde, sus posesiones incluían no solo las islas del Caribe, sino también dos millones de kilómetros cuadrados en el continente (cuatro veces el tamaño de España), habitados por unos 50.000 europeos y una población indígena de alrededor de 10 millones, todos ellos incorporados a la Corona de Castilla y tratados —al menos en teoría— «como vasallos nuestros de la Corona de Castilla, pues lo son».[2] La estructura de la Iglesia del Nuevo Mundo fue expandiéndose al mismo paso: de cuatro obispos en el momento en que Carlos accedió al trono, todos ellos dependientes jerárquicamente del arzobispo de Sevilla, a dos provincias eclesiásticas independientes en el momento de su abdicación, dotadas de 3 arzobispos y 21 obispos sufragáneos, todos ellos nombrados directamente por la Corona.

Como historiador especializado en Latinoamérica, Horst Pietschmann apuntó: «La construcción de un orden estatal en las Indias ha sido en todo caso la obra que quizás tuvo más éxito de todas las que emprendió Carlos V». No obstante, según Pietschmann, «En la amplia correspondencia mantenida [por Carlos] con miembros de su familia y con sus consejeros más cercanos, apenas se encuentran indicaciones técnicas en relación con América».[3] Había, no obstante, tres excepciones. La primera era el dinero. Solo tres meses después de ser proclamado rey en 1516, Carlos ordenó a su regente en Castilla que enviara 45.000 ducados «de los dineros de Indias» a Italia «por lo que allá se tiene que proveer por las cosas de nuestro estado»; y un mes más tarde, mandó al «thesorero de la Casa de Contratación de Sevilla» (el organismo que supervisaba todo el comercio con América) que proporcionara a su representante especial «todo el dinero que hoviere venido de las Yndias y stoviere en su poder, y el que viniere dende adelante, fasta que nos seamos en esos reynos de España».[4] Durante todo su reinado, Carlos utilizó el oro y la plata de América para financiar «las cosas de nuestro estado», especialmente cosas caras como su campaña de Túnez en 1535 y el asedio de Metz en 1552 (ambos financiados en parte por los tesoros procedentes del Perú). Pocas semanas antes de su abdicación en 1555, el interés de Carlos permanecía intacto: ordenó a su regente en Castilla que se asegurara de que todo el oro y la plata que hubiera disponible en México fuera embarcado de inmediato en una flota atracada en Veracruz y enviado a España para financiar su guerra contra Francia.[5]

Carlos también mostró interés a lo largo de toda su vida por la flora y la fauna exóticas, estimulado tal vez por la que había visto crecer en los Países Bajos. Así, en 1518, desde Valladolid, daba las gracias a los funcionarios de la Casa de Contratación por «el envío de los dos pavos de las Indias y del papagayo que avían quedado del cathólico rey mi señor que aya gloria, con los

que se avía holgado», y solicitaba «que me embiéis las aves y cosas que desta calidad vinieren de las Yndias, que por ser extraño de lo de acá, holgaré con ello». Casi 40 años más tarde, desde su retiro en Extremadura, Carlos se mostraba encantado con «dos colchas de pluma forradas de ricos tafetanes» procedentes de América, que le habían enviado para que le dieran calor, y «mandó se le hiciessen de lo mismo batas y camisas para su cámara interior».[6]

Finalmente, Carlos siempre mostró preocupación por el tratamiento que se les daba a los habitantes indígenas de América. En 1516 pagó 16 ducados por el «mantenimiento e flete» necesario para permitir que «el devoto padre fray Antonio de Montesyno» zarpara de España a «la isla Española», donde cinco años antes había pronunciado un devastador sermón advirtiendo a los colonos españoles de «que todos estáis en pecado mortal y en él vivís y morís, por la crueldad y tiranía que usáis con estas inocentes gentes».[7] Al año siguiente, Carlos presidió una junta integrada por sus principales consejeros con el fin de considerar (entre otros asuntos) una «Ynstrucción para el remedio de los Indios y población de aquellas tierras» escrita por Bartolomé de las Casas, un dominico con una dilatada experiencia en las colonias de ultramar, primero como colono y luego como fraile. El documento denunciaba en términos muy gráficos la despiadada explotación del Nuevo Mundo por parte de aquellos a quienes se les había encomendado su cuidado, y hacía un llamamiento a un cambio radical de la política seguida hasta entonces. Las Casas afirmaría posteriormente que, aunque los holandeses que formaban parte del Consejo «no cognosciesen las personas grandes y chicas, y oyesen y entendiesen los negocios con mucho tiento, y tardasen en los despachos, por temor de ser engañados con falsas informaciones», su «Ynstrucción» convenció al rey para que ordenara a sus funcionarios «que entiendan en hordenar algunas

cosas que convienen al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor e nuestro, e bien de las Yndias e pobladores dellas». Carlos se esforzaría durante el resto de su vida por conciliar conciencia y poder en sus territorios de ultramar.[8]

En otros aspectos relacionados con el Nuevo Mundo, como en tantas otras cosas, Carlos se basó inicialmente en lo que le aconsejaban sus dos «gobernadores», Le Sauvage y Chièvres. Fernando Magallanes así pudo comprobarlo cuando llegó a Valladolid en 1518 ansioso por convencer al monarca para que financiara una expedición a las Molucas, las soñadas islas de las Especias, utilizando un «camino para ir a ellas fuera del camino que llevaban los Portugueses, y éste sería por cierto estrecho de mar que sabían». Para conseguirlo, «traía el Magallanes un globo bien pintado, en que toda la tierra estaba», a una reunión con Le Sauvage, y «allí señaló el camino que había de llevar, salvo que el estrecho dejó, de industria, en blanco, porque alguno no se saltease». El canciller finalmente «habló al rey y a Mosior de Xebres», aunque nada indica que Carlos tuviera tiempo de ver al explorador (o su globo).[9]

No obstante, en marzo de 1518 Carlos firmó una «capitulación y asiento» que prometía proporcionar a Magallanes cinco navíos, así como las provisiones y el salario de sus tripulaciones para dos años «para el descubrimiento de la Speceria», añadiendo «vos prometo e doy mi fee y palabra real que vos mandaré guardar y cumplir en todo y por todo». Curiosamente, esta promesa no satisfizo a Magallanes, el cual (según Carlos anotó), «nos suplicastéis e pedistéis por merced vos la mandásemos confirmar e aprobar» su compromiso, y él lo hizo recurriendo a una fórmula que anteriores reyes de Castilla habían utilizado cuando actuaban con dudosa garantía legal: «de nuestro propio motu e cierta ciencia e poderío real absoluto… abrogamos e derogamos… cualesquier leyes, premáticas, sanciones e otros cualesquier fueros e derechos que en contrario

de eso sean o ser puedan». Además, «mandamos al ilustrísimo Infante Fernando, nuestro muy caro e muy amado hijo e hermano» —y en aquel momento también su heredero—, así como a todos los nobles y funcionarios del reino cumplir su promesa «para siempre jamás».[10] Con esta tranquilidad, Magallanes viajó a Sevilla para descubrir, nada más llegar, que los funcionarios de la Casa de Contratación carecían de los 16.000 ducados necesarios para cumplir todas las promesas de Carlos. No zarparía de España hasta septiembre de 1519.[11]

La conquista de México

Nada más firmar la capitulación con Magallanes, el gobernador de Cuba, Diego Velázquez, le pidió que aprobara una expedición costeada por él, para «poner debaxo de nuestro yugo y servidumbre» Yucatán (que entonces se creía otra gran isla), recién descubierta por enviados de Velázquez al Caribe occidental. Carlos accedió, proporcionando «veinte arcabuces de a dos arrobas cada uno» de su propio arsenal para la expedición y autorizando al gobernador el reclutamiento de hasta 200 hombres entre los colonos de Cuba y de otras islas españolas del Caribe para llevar a cabo el «descubrimiento y pacificación». Incluso antes de recibir estas concesiones, Velázquez no obstante había nombrado a su secretario, Hernán Cortés, para que se pusiera al mando de una fuerza mucho más numerosa, de modo que 11 navíos con 600 soldados y marineros a bordo, 14 piezas de artillería y 16 caballos partieron de Cuba en febrero de 1519.[12]

Cortés no tardó en llegar al continente, donde encontró a un superviviente de una expedición anterior, que entonces ya hablaba con fluidez la lengua local, y que le informó de la existencia de un estado rico y poderoso en el interior. Juntos realizaron un viaje de reconocimiento por la costa caribeña durante varias semanas, buscando un lugar adecuado para

instalar su base, hasta que Cortés condujo a los 600 hombres a la orilla y fundó un asentamiento muy oportunamente bautizado como la «Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz» en «la ysla de Uluacán [Yucatán]». Todos los oficiales de la flota se convirtieron en miembros con derecho a voto de la nueva comunidad y enseguida eligieron a Cortés su alcalde. También enviaron a Carlos una Carta de Relación (aprobada e incluso posiblemente dictada por Cortés) afirmando que «a nuestro parecer se debe creer que hay en esta tierra tanto quanto en aquella donde se dice haber llevado Salomón el oro para el templo». Prepararon una «muestra» de «las riquezas de oro, plata y piedras» para acompañar a la Carta, escoltada por cinco indios totonacos. También enviaron a Carlos un «pedimiento», firmado en junio de 1519 por más de 400 «compañeros vecinos» de la comunidad, rogando:

> Que Su Magestad sea servido de le encargar [a Cortés] con el dicho cargo de conquystador e capitán general e justicia mayor destas partes hasta el fin de la pacificación desta ysla [Yucatán] e que pueda repartir los Yndios dela perpetuamente; e teniéndola conquystada y apaziguada le dé la governación dela por el tiempo que Su Alteza fuere servido.[13]

Las cartas y la «muestra» de Veracruz llegaron a España poco después de que Gattinara sucediera a Le Sauvage en el cargo de ministro con la responsabilidad primordial de los asuntos del Nuevo Mundo. El canciller había puesto «una mesa dentro en su cámara, con papel y escribanía», donde ordenó a Las Casas leer todas las cartas y documentos que llegaban a Carlos sobre los asuntos de América, y a continuación coger «la sustancia de cada capítulo en un renglón o dos, diciendo: "A la primera pregunta que Vuestra Alteza me mandó preguntar qué contiene esto y esto, etc., digo esto y esto, etc."». Gattinara también presentó a su señor algunas propuestas formuladas por Las Casas para la colonización y evangelización pacífica de Tierra Firme, tras lo cual «el rey mandó que micer Bartolomé llévase el negocio».[14] La visión del fraile era exactamente la opuesta a la de

la «conquista» de nuevas tierras, seguida del reparto de «los Yndios dela perpetuamente» que pedían los «compañeros vecinos» de Veracruz.

Cortés tuvo suerte con los tiempos. Las tres cosas, el «Pedimiento», la «Carta de Relación» y la «muestra» le llegaron a Carlos a Valladolid en marzo de 1520, justo cuando buscaba desesperadamente dinero para financiar su viaje a Inglaterra y los Países Bajos. Inmediatamente, vistió a los totonacos con ropas de terciopelo de color azul y verde brillante y tanto ellos como la muestra fueron expuestos al público como prueba de su recién descubierta fuente de riqueza y poder. El efecto resultó impresionante. El nuncio papal conjeturó, inquieto, que un poderoso príncipe extranjero había presentado tributo y embajadores para conseguir una alianza, lo que aumentaría en gran medida el poder de Carlos en Europa. El embajador veneciano informó de cómo «Su Majestad me convocó a una audiencia, y él mismo me mostró los regalos que le había enviado el gobernador de las tierras recién descubiertas», entre los que se incluía «una gran luna hecha de oro, de seis pies de circunferencia», así como otra hecha de plata; estatuas de «animales forjadas y decoradas en oro»; y objetos fabricados con plumas de «loros y otras aves desconocidas para nosotros». Los totonacos aseguraron al embajador «que en su país abundaba el oro y la plata».[15]

En mayo de 1520, mientras esperaban en La Coruña a que los vientos fueran favorables para llevarles a Inglaterra, los ministros de Carlos estuvieron debatiendo sobre la mejor manera de promover sus intereses en el Nuevo Mundo. Algunos delegados enviados por el gobernador Velázquez insistieron en que Cortés era un rebelde que debía ser juzgado, condenado y ejecutado por insubordinación, pero el Consejo se negó a matar una gallina que ponía tan valiosos huevos de oro. En lugar de ello, recomendaron a Carlos una solución de compromiso que

pudiera maximizar los rendimientos de América: redactaron unos documentos en los que ratificaban la autoridad de Velázquez en Cuba, pero no hacían ninguna mención a la Tierra Firme. Cortés quedaba por tanto libre para emprender la «conquista» del interior de América que pedían los «compañeros vecinos» de Veracruz.[16]

Cuando Carlos se marchó de La Coruña llevó consigo algunos artículos de la «muestra» enviada por Cortés, que fueron expuestos nada más llegar a Bruselas. De nuevo, el efecto fue espectacular. Alberto Durero escribió en su *Diario* que en «todos los días de mi vida no he visto nada que haya causado tanto goce a mi corazón como estas cosas, porque en ellas veo maravillosas obras de arte y me asombro ante la sutil ingenuidad de los hombres de estas tierras extrañas». Durero (al igual que Carlos) no era consciente de que eran relativamente pocas las «maravillosas obras de arte» que procedían de los habitantes de las llanuras costeras cercanas a Veracruz: la mayoría eran regalos que Cortés había recibido de los enviados de Moctezuma, gobernante supremo de la Triple Alianza de las ciudades-estado de Tenochtitlan, Texcoco y Tacuba, a menudo conocidas como el Imperio azteca, que controlaba el valle de México.[17]

Poco después de enviar sus cartas y la muestra a España, Cortés condujo a 500 españoles y cientos de «indios» desde Veracruz hacia el interior, encontrando por el camino tanto aliados como enemigos. En 1519 Moctezuma, que controlaba muy de cerca el avance de los españoles, les dio la bienvenida a Tenochtitlan, alojándoles dentro de su complejo palaciego. Casi de inmediato, Cortés arrestó a su anfitrión, y sus compañeros empezaron a inspeccionar y a apropiarse de los recursos de la zona. Pese a la creciente hostilidad de los líderes aztecas, y especialmente de los sacerdotes (a quienes los invasores españoles impedían llevar a cabo sus ritos litúrgicos tradicionales, uno de los cuales era el sacrificio humano para

contentar al dios sol), la audaz empresa de Cortés fue prosperando hasta que recibió la noticia de que una fuerza expedicionaria enviada por el gobernador Velázquez había llegado a Veracruz con órdenes de matarle o arrestarle. Tras dejar una pequeña guarnición española para controlar a Moctezuma, Cortés salió a toda prisa hacia la costa, donde consiguió ganarse el favor de casi todos los hombres de Velázquez. En su ausencia, sin embargo, Tenochtitlan se rebeló, mataron a Moctezuma y obligaron a los europeos y a sus aliados a huir a Tlaxcala, a más de 100 kilómetros al oeste.

Consciente de la necesidad de explicar estos hechos traumáticos a Carlos antes de que otros pudieran desacreditarle, en octubre de 1520 Cortés redactó una extensa Carta de Relación para su señor donde lo presentaba todo bajo un sesgo amable. «Me pareció —le escribía complacientemente— que el más conveniente nombre para esta dicha tierra era llamarse la Nueva España del Mar Océano»; y dadas sus inmensas riquezas, Carlos «puede intitular de nuevo emperador de ella, y con título y no menos mérito que el de Alemaña que, por la gracia de dios, vuestra sacra majestad posee».[18] Pese al tono imperial de la carta, Cortés no podía disfrazar el hecho de que el nuevo imperio se había perdido. En otra época, habría tenido que pagar por un fracaso tan catastrófico con sus bienes y tal vez hasta con su vida, pero los comuneros le salvaron.

Mientras permaneció en España, Gattinara se tomó un gran interés en América: los archivos del gobierno central muestran que entre su nombramiento en octubre de 1518 y su marcha en mayo de 1520, el canciller leía y aprobaba personalmente cada comunicación oficial que se enviaba al Nuevo Mundo. En cambio, en los registros de las órdenes emitidas por el Consejo sobre asuntos americanos no consta ninguna entrada entre agosto de 1520 y abril de 1521 —el único vacío presente en el registro—, y cuando el Consejo retomó su trabajo, en algunas

cédulas a sus funcionarios de ultramar expresaba la queja de no haber recibido cartas durante «muchos días». La culpa de esto se les adjudicaba a los comuneros: «aunque hayáis escrito, es possible que se ayan tomado las cartas por los traydores que an rebuelto los pueblos en tanto desacato y deservico nuestro». Hasta septiembre de 1521 el Consejo no informó a sus funcionarios de que «ha plazido a Nuestro Señor que todo se ha allanado y sosegado y puesto en toda paz y concordia» en Castilla, y solo entonces volvió a ejercer su acostumbrada vigilancia sobre los asuntos de América.[19]

Durante el lapso generado a raíz de los comuneros, Cortés se alió con fuerzas antiaztecas del valle de México, como Tlaxcala, con cuya ayuda impuso un estrecho bloqueo sobre Tenochtitlan, «en la cual murieron más Indios que en Jerusalén judíos en la destrucción que hizo Vespasiano». En agosto de 1521, los últimos defensores nativos se rindieron, con su capital convertida en escombros, y Cortés se apresuró a recompensar a los «primeros conquistadores», que entonces venían a sumar unos 2.000 europeos, con encomiendas: el derecho a exigir servicios laborales y tributos de un determinado grupo de indios, precisamente lo que Las Casas había pretendido evitar.[20] Cortés envió entonces otra muestra a Carlos para respaldar sus reivindicaciones en otra Carta de Relación. En este envío incluyó no solo «perlas, joyas y otros objetos preciosos por valor de 100.000 ducados», sino también una quinta parte de todos los metales y piedras preciosas descubiertos, así como todos los objetos «regios» (cetros, todo tipo de ornamentos decorados con águilas y enormes discos de oro y plata de carácter religioso). Cortés también hacía alarde de la relativa proximidad de México con el Pacífico, donde «descubriendo por estas partes el mar del Sur, se habían de hallar muchas islas ricas de oro, perlas, piedras preciosas y especería», siempre que (se deducía implícitamente) él permaneciera en el cargo.[21]

Casi al mismo tiempo, los supervivientes de la expedición de Magallanes regresaron a España, anunciando que «hemos descubyerto e redondeado la rondeza del mundo, yendo por el ocidente e venyendo por el oriente», y trayendo con ellos «las muestras de todos estos especies» y «la paz e amystad de todos los reyes y señores de todas yslas» productoras de especias. La expedición «llegó donde ni Portugal ni ninguna otra nación ha llegado —informó entusiasmado el emperador a su tía Margarita—, y he decidido enviar a los Países Bajos las especias que dicho barco ha traído», para anunciar en toda Europa su recién adquirida capacidad para proporcionárselas.[22]

La dominación de Nueva España

Estos espectaculares acontecimientos condujeron al emperador y a su canciller a prestar un poco más de atención a ese nuevo «mundo lleno de oro» del otro lado del Atlántico. Poco después de su regreso a España en 1522, Carlos creó una junta especial, presidida por Gattinara, para volver a considerar las reivindicaciones enfrentadas de Cortés y Velázquez. Su veredicto (en palabras de Luigi Avonto, un eminente experto en Gattinara) «se basó más en la razón de estado que en la estricta justicia»: la Junta exoneró a Cortés del cargo de rebelión, recomendó que fuera nombrado «Gobernador y Capitán General de la Nueva España», y ordenó que se le enviaran armas, caballos y otras provisiones para consolidar y expandir el dominio español. La Corona solo retendría el control de la real hacienda, nombrando a un tesorero, veedor, contador y otros funcionarios para sacar el máximo partido a los recursos de Nueva España.[23]

Un año después, Gattinara presentó a Carlos una consulta de gran alcance sobre los problemas a los que se enfrentaba, que contenía también las recomendaciones de cada miembro de una Junta de ministros de confianza. El primer punto hacía

referencia al «Temor de Dios». Aunque Gattinara reconocía que Carlos «es por naturaleza inclinado a temer y honrar a Dios», procedía a «dirigir vuestra atención hacia ciertos temas que, si os ocupáis de ellos, será del agrado de Dios y le pondrá más a favor de vuestra causa». Uno de ellos era la necesidad de «enviar personas bien cualificadas al Nuevo Mundo que Dios os ha revelado» para que «la fe cristiana sea venerada y glorificada sin oprimir ni esclavizar» a la población indígena. La Junta daba su respaldo unánime a esto y recomendaba la creación de un Consejo de Indias permanente integrado por «personas dotadas a la vez de conocimiento y experiencia, para reunirse al menos dos veces por semana». Aceptaba también la recomendación de Gattinara de que el presidente de este nuevo organismo fuera el confesor de Carlos, el dominico fray García de Loaysa. En agosto de 1524 Carlos firmó una nómina en la que nombraba a Loaysa presidente del Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias, destinado a ocuparse de todos los asuntos oficiales relativos al Nuevo Mundo, con Los Cobos como secretario y el canciller como miembro.[24]

Pocos meses más tarde, en México, Cortés escribió otra interesada Carta de Relación a su señor, acompañada de una nueva muestra de las riquezas que (gracias a sus esfuerzos) estaban ahora a disposición del emperador. El embajador veneciano se maravilló al ver «un pájaro, la cosa más bella del mundo, venido de aquellas tierras, ya muerto pero maravilloso de ver, pues no tenía pies y del todo diverso de los que hay por aquí. También he visto muchas cosas hechas con plumas hermosísimas […] Todos los días se ven objetos nuevos». El emperador y sus ministros, más interesados en el oro que en los loros, recibieron con especial agrado los 120.000 pesos que Cortés envió porque (como Gattinara informó a una embajada inglesa, con deliberado comedimiento) «ayudarán algo a aliviar sus cargas» en la lucha contra los franceses en Italia.[25]

No obstante, el nuevo Consejo de Indias cuestionó la conducta de Cortés. Carlos había dado órdenes estrictas de «que no hiziere repartimiento ni encomienda ni depósito de los Yndios de la dicha Nueva España, sino que los dexase bivir en libertad, ymponiéndoles… el tributo e servicio que ellos davan a Motençuma»; y, sin embargo, al parecer Cortés había desobedecido. Carlos le escribió en tono de reproche que «después que vos mandé proveer de ese cargo de nuestro capitán general y gobernador, por muchas personas y cartas he tenido muchas relaciones contra vos y vuestra gobernación». Reconocía que «se debe pensar que los que lo escriben e dicen, es con alguna pasión o envidia, de lo que vos Nos podríades servir; pero por cumplir con lo que soy obligado a la justicia, y conformándome con las leyes e costumbre de estos reinos», y también «por el descargo de nuestra real conciencia», se veía obligado a tomar medidas drásticas.[26]

En un principio, Gattinara quería que Carlos anunciara que «quiere hazer armada poderosa para embiar a reduzir a su verdadera obedientia la tierra descubierta por Cortés y poner orden en ella por gozar de tantas riquezas como hay en ella», porque el anuncio por sí mismo, «sin embiar armada», puede que «reduzga Cortés a ser buen ministro y a contentarse de la razón». Pero el canciller pronto descartó esta solución, optando por algo mucho más barato: la transferencia al Nuevo Mundo de una institución utilizada por la Corona para controlar a sus funcionarios en España, un «juez de residencia» que informaría de «qué manera, los nuestros officiales de la dicha Nueva España an usado y exercido sus officios y guardado y cumplido sus poderes». En concreto, tras consultar con Cortés «y con nuestros officiales y otras personas que vos pareciere, y principalmente de los rreligiossos que allá estén», el juez de residencia debía determinar «la mejor manera que para la combersión de los dichos yndios a nuestra santa fee católica, ques es nuestro

principal deseo e yntención y ellos ser bien tratados e mantenidos en justicia, y nos servidos y aprovechados de la dicha tierra se podría tener», unas instrucciones que claramente representaban los puntos de vista de Las Casas.[27] Dado que el juez murió al poco de llegar, como también el que fue designado su sucesor, Carlos probó otra estrategia. En otra Carta de Relación enviada a Carlos en 1526, Cortés expresó el deseo de volver a España y explicar su comportamiento, y al año siguiente Loaysa envió a Cortés una carta «en la cual le convidaba por muchos ruegos y consejos a venir a España a que le viese y conociese Su Majestad».[28]

Cortés encontró irresistible esta oferta. En mayo de 1528 llegó a España «a dar cuenta a Su Majestad de las cosas de aquella tierra, y también para satisfacer a lo que de su persona han dicho» sus críticos, acompañado por una escolta entre la que se incluían «conquistadores de los más principales y honrados», un hijo y un sobrino de Moctezuma y «muchos caballeros y señores de México, Tlaxcallan y otras ciudades». Además, «trajo ocho volteadores del palo, doce jugadores de pelota» y otros artistas que habían actuado para Moctezuma. «En fin», comentó Gómara, su capellán y biógrafo, Cortés «venía como gran señor».[29] Casualmente, el artista alemán Weiditz llegó a España al mismo tiempo y sus acuarelas de esta corte multicultural dejaron reflejada la tremenda impresión causada por Cortés y su séquito. Weiditz pintó al conquistador junto al título «este es el hombre que conquistó casi toda América para el emperador Carlos V», así como a varios de los volteadores y jugadores mexicanos que, escribió, «actuaron ante su majestad imperial».[30]

La seductora ofensiva de Cortés dio resultado. Una carta real de abril de 1529 le informó de que Loaysa y Los Cobos «me hizieron relación de lo que me ynbiastes a suplicar» y de que había ordenado al Consejo que preparara la documentación

necesaria «con todo el fabor que aya lugar». Al mes siguiente, firmó algunas cédulas por las que Cortés pasaba a ser marqués del Valle de Oaxaca y le concedía «fasta en número de 23.000 vasallos con sus tierras», unos 500 kilómetros al sur de la Ciudad de México. El emperador insistió en que esto era una «donación, pura y perfecta y no revocable, que es dicha entre vivos, para agora e para siempre jamás» para recompensar los servicios del marqués a la Corona desde que dejara Cuba diez años antes (un perdón retrospectivo por su insubordinación previa), y recurría a la misma fórmula que había empleado con Magallanes como garantía. El príncipe Felipe (entonces su heredero) y todos sus vasallos debían respetar la donación y considerarla inviolable, «no embargante qualesquier leyes… en contrario desto sean», porque el emperador las derogaba «de nuestro propio motu e cierta ciencia e poderío absoluto».[31] Además, Carlos dio entonces los primeros pasos hacia la creación de comunidades independientes de estos sus nuevos súbditos nativos americanos. A petición del nuevo marqués, y de los indios de Tlaxcala que le acompañaban, ordenó a sus funcionarios «que se informen de los servicios prestados en la conquista de México por los indios de Tlaxcala, de su calidad y de su contribución, y de si será conveniente liberarlos, para que no estén encomendados, como lo piden, en remuneración a sus servicios».[32]

Atando cabos sueltos

Emitir órdenes para América era una cosa; conseguir que se ejecutaran, otra. En noviembre de 1527 el emperador decidió crear una Audiencia en Ciudad de México, con un presidente y cinco oidores que respondían directamente ante el Consejo de Indias, pero algunos de los oidores tardaron un año en llegar a México, y dos de ellos murieron poco después. Elegir un presidente llevó aún más tiempo. En 1529 Carlos creó una junta especial presidida por el cardenal Tavera, con miembros de los

Consejos de Castilla y Hacienda, así como de las Indias, que recomendó el nombramiento de un «cavallero cuerdo y de prudencia» para el puesto, pero su primer candidato afirmó estar demasiado enfermo para cruzar el Atlántico, y Tavera comunicó con pesar que, aunque los otros dos «dixeron que servirían en ello a Vuestra Magestad, han pedido cosas tan desaforadas que parece que no tienen la voluntad que al prencipio mostraban, y ansí de nuevo comencamos a pensar en otras personas».[33]

El emperador tampoco tuvo mucho éxito en la explotación de las tierras más allá de América cuya propiedad reivindicaba para sí. Poco después del regreso de los hombres de Magallanes en 1522, Carlos firmó una «capitulación con los armadores» de España para equipar una segunda flota que volviera a las islas de las Especias dada «la voluntad que siempre abemos tenido y tenemos de engrandecer estos nuestros rreinos e señoríos [de España] e enrriquecer los súbditos y naturales dellos», pero también, como le confió a su tía Margarita, «por los beneficios que a mí me podría reportar». También estuvo de acuerdo en pagar una nueva «Casa de la Contractación», conocida como «Casa de la Especería», en La Coruña, junto con un nuevo muelle y tres fuertes para defender el puerto.[34]

El emperador tuvo que retrasar la partida de esta expedición debido a la presión del rey de Portugal, que reclamaba las Molucas basándose en los términos del Tratado de Tordesillas, que había fijado una línea de demarcación teórica para dividir los derechos de propiedad a escala mundial de las dos potencias ibéricas. Establecer el meridiano —África, Asia y Brasil correspondían a Portugal, y el resto de América, a España— resultó fácil, como aparece reflejado claramente en un mapa del mundo encargado por Carlos en 1543, en el que dicha línea atraviesa Brasil y la «Terra de Bacalaos» (Labrador); pero el mismo mapa refleja la dificultad para localizar el antemeridiano, porque nadie conocía la latitud de las tierras que quedaban entre

Asia y América. Magallanes había llevado consigo un impresionante despliegue de instrumentos náuticos para establecer la línea de demarcación, pero fracasó; de modo que en 1524 Carlos envió un equipo de diplomáticos, pilotos y marinos (incluidos algunos supervivientes de la circunnavegación) para dirimir las reclamaciones enfrentadas que mantenía con sus homólogos portugueses. Seis semanas después, la Junta se disolvió sin haber llegado a una resolución, el emperador ordenó que la flota de La Coruña volviera sobre los pasos de la ruta de Magallanes a las islas de las Especias, y aprobó la petición de Cortés de enviar una flotilla a recorrer la costa americana del Pacífico para ver si «en aquella costa hay estrecho que pasa a la mar del Sur; y se hallase, según cierta figura que yo tengo del paraje adonde está aquel archipiélago que descubrió Magallanes por mandado de vuestra alteza, parece que saldría muy cerca de allí».[35]

En marzo de 1526, inmediatamente antes de que Carlos se casara con Isabel de Portugal, otra Junta especial, esta vez con Gattinara y Loaysa presentes, volvió a debatir la cuestión de cómo reconciliar las reivindicaciones enfrentadas de los monarcas ibéricos. Animado tal vez por la derrota y captura de Francisco I, Carlos se negó a renunciar a sus derechos «a las nuestras islas de Maluco», y en lugar de ello ordenó a Cortés enviar una flota desde México para localizar y dar apoyo a los súbditos que ya tenía allí.[36] Poco después, la reanudación de la guerra con Francia hizo que Carlos se mostrara dispuesto a vender sus derechos sobre las Molucas al rey de Portugal; pero el rey Juan se dio cuenta de su ventaja y alargó las negociaciones con la esperanza de conseguir más cosas a cambio de su dinero. «Estoy pensando en romper las negociaciones por completo —afirmó Carlos encolerizado en una carta confidencial a uno de sus asesores borgoñones—, y creedme, aunque somos cuñados, se quedará entonces sin trigo, anclas, lanzas o cualquier otra

mercancía de mi reino que pueda necesitar». El emperador esperaba que la amenaza de ruptura reavivara las conversaciones, y conseguir así dinero de forma instantánea, «pero la verdad es que, si pudiera encontrar otra fuente de financiación, rechazaría cualquier oferta que ellos quisieran hacerme». Y, continuaba, protagonizando uno de los raros ejemplos de ira imperial desatada:

> Esto me ha herido más que ninguna otra cosa que pudiera ocurrirme, porque todos mis planes se basaban en ello. Ahora que lo veo esfumarse, creo que todo el edificio se ha venido abajo, sin esperanza de poder reconstruirlo, y he perdido toda esperanza de poder realizar el viaje. Os preguntaréis quizá si soy capaz de verlo con positividad y paciencia, pero os aseguro que no encontraréis estas cualidades en mí, porque creo que nunca me he sentido tan furioso.[37]

Finalmente, en abril de 1529, la necesidad de financiar su viaje a Italia y ayudar a Fernando en Hungría obligó al emperador a ceder: renunció a su reclamación sobre las Molucas «para siempre jamás», y aceptó que cualquiera de sus súbditos «tomados y hallados de aqui adelante» en la zona serían «castigados y pugnidos como cosarios, violadores y quebrantadores de la paz». A cambio, el «rey de Portugal dará y pagará» a Carlos 250.000 ducados de oro inmediatamente y en efectivo, y 100.000 más en octubre. El emperador contaba pues con el dinero suficiente para financiar su «viaje», pero la Casa de la Especería cerró sus puertas para siempre. Una vez más, había sacrificado los intereses de España a cambio de beneficios dinásticos.[38]

Nueva España presentaba al emperador problemas de un carácter distinto. Se quejaba de que había recibido muchos «diferentes pareceres», «y por estar tan lejos y ser las cosas de dicha provincia tan diferentes de estos reinos», se sentía confuso respecto a qué hacer a continuación. Al final, llevado por su deseo de «acertar en lo más sano y seguro a todo ello», y por el «descargo de nuestra conciencia», fue tomando medidas para crear un equilibrio de poder duradero. A petición de los

representantes enviados a su corte desde Tlaxcala, en marzo de 1535 «prometemos y damos nuestra palabra real que agora e de aquí adelante en ningún tiempo del mundo la ciudad de Taxcala [sic] con sus términos no sea enajenada ny apartemos de nuestra corona real nos ni nuestros herederos». En lugar de ello, la ciudad, conocida ya oficialmente como «la leal ciudad de Tlaxcala», quedaría permanentemente «incorporada» a «la corona real de Castilla». Carlos llegó incluso a pagar a su pintor de corte tres ducados para que creara un escudo de armas para la ciudad.[39] Al mes siguiente, nombró a don Antonio de Mendoza no solo virrey y gobernador de la Nueva España, sino también presidente de la Real Audiencia. Aunque Mendoza no tenía voto respecto a temas judiciales, los jueces no podían interferir en los asuntos administrativos y militares.

Carlos encargó a su nuevo virrey tres misiones de principal importancia. Mendoza debía garantizar que toda la población nativa recibiera una correcta enseñanza cristiana, porque «tenemos por cierto es el camino más verdadero para que ellos nos amen y teman como a sus naturales reyes y señores, y vivan en paz en continua y perfecta obediencia». Al mismo tiempo, debía aumentar los ingresos porque «al presente, segund es notorio, se nos ofrecen grandes necesidades para defensa de nuestra santa fee». Con este fin, Mendoza debía aplicar los mismos impuestos en Nueva España que los que se pagaban en Castilla (principalmente la alcabala y el servicio) e impugnar todas las exenciones, especialmente las concedidas a los «primeros conquistadores» y sus hijos. Por último, el virrey debía mantener controlado a Cortés, pese a los amplios poderes que le había concedido. A tal efecto, Carlos «vos mando [y] doy poder e facilidad para que quando se ofrecieren casos que a vos os parezca que sería conveniente cometer la execución y cumplimiento dello a otra persona y no al dicho marqués [del Valle], lo podáis hazer y hagáis».[40]

Estas y otras medidas enfurecieron tanto a Cortés que en 1540 regresó a España no solo «a besar las manos de Vuestra Magestad», sino también a «pedir justicia de muy notorios agrauios y fuerças que e rreçibido de don Antonio de Mendoça, visorrei de la Nueua España, no dignos de mis seruiçios».[41] Sus ruegos fueron en vano. Aunque el marqués intentó congraciarse con Carlos participando en su infausto ataque sobre Argel, nunca volvió a salir de España. Al menos, murió tranquilo en su cama, a diferencia de los conquistadores que consiguieron un segundo imperio americano para Carlos.

El problema del Perú

Tras la conquista de México, algunos grupos de españoles empezaron a desplegarse en busca de nuevas riquezas por todo el continente americano. Dos de ellos, Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, fueron a explorar la costa de lo que ahora es Ecuador, en los límites del estado inca, un imperio que rivalizaba con el de los aztecas tanto en tamaño como en recursos; y cuando el gobernador de Panamá les negó el permiso para emprender otra expedición de más envergadura, Pizarro regresó a España para conseguir el apoyo de Carlos. En mayo de 1529, el emperador aceptó la recomendación del Consejo de Indias de que el Perú, «se puebla, y la poblaçion se encomiende al capitan Piçarro y se le de la gouernaçion por sus días», no sin insistir en que el proceso debía ser pacífico,

> Pues segund la informaçion que ay de aquella tierra los naturales della son de razón y capaçidad para venir en conosçimiento de nuestra Sancta Fee catholica, y no avra neçesidad de conquistarlos y sojudgarlos con armas, sino de tratarlos con amor y buenas obras, paresçe que bastara que lleue dozientos y çinquenta honbres y así se haga.

Justo después de que Carlos partiera a Italia, Pizarro y Almagro recibieron el permiso para emprender el «descobrimiento, conquista e población» de «200 leguas de costa» entre Guayaquil y Chincha, junto con su área interior.

Pizarro dejó España, y en diciembre de 1530, junto con Almagro y otros inquietos aventureros de Panamá, zarpó hacia el Perú.[42]

El momento que eligieron para llevar a cabo su empresa no pudo ser más favorable. Aunque el estado inca ocupaba un área de casi un millón de kilómetros cuadrados, unificado mediante una sofisticada burocracia y una magnífica red de carreteras y puentes, carecía de una política de sucesión clara: a la muerte de cada gobernante, sus parientes varones se enfrentaban en mortal combate hasta que uno de ellos sometía o mataba a todos los demás. A la muerte del Inca Supremo en 1527, estalló una dura guerra sucesoria que duró cinco años, cuando los partidarios de su hijo Atahualpa, que controlaban el norte, derrotaron y capturaron a su principal rival. En noviembre de 1532 Atahualpa marchó a la cabeza de 40.000 guerreros hacia la capital imperial, Cuzco, y cuando estaba a punto de llegar a Cajamarca, se encontró con Pizarro, que acompañado de menos de 200 hombres (una tercera parte de ellos, a caballo) y unos pocos cañones de campaña, se dirigía hacia el mismo destino. Confiado por su enorme superioridad numérica, Atahualpa aceptó absurdamente una invitación a entrar en la plaza de la ciudad, donde Pizarro había escondido artillería y soldados por los edificios colindantes. Una vez el Inca Supremo hubo entrado, Pizarro dio «señas al artillero que soltasse los tiros por medio dellos», sembrando una confusión en la abarrotada plaza que su caballería supo aprovechar. Según uno de los vencedores,

> No alzó indio armas contra español, porque fue tanto el espanto que tuvieron de ver al Gobernador [Pizarro] entre ellos, y soltar de improviso la artillería y entrar los caballos al tropel, como era cosa que nunca habían visto, que con gran turbación procuraban más huir por salvar las vidas que hacer la guerra.

Aunque «la batalla duró poco más de media hora… en la plaza quedaron muertos dos mil, sin los feridos». Es probable que cada uno de los 168 españoles presentes en Cajamarca

matara como mínimo diez adversarios en menos de una hora.[43]

Atahualpa fue uno de los pocos supervivientes. Aunque tras la masacre sus captores le despojaron de sus ropajes y joyas de oro, vistiéndole con «ropa de la tierra», Pizarro respetó su cargo de Inca Supremo y (de forma bastante parecida a lo que Cortés hizo con Moctezuma) le permitió emitir órdenes, incluidas las de ejecutar a la mayoría de los demás miembros de la familia imperial y reunir todo el oro disponible para pagar por su rescate, tras lo cual él creía que sus captores le dejarían libre para gobernar el imperio que había conquistado. Entre marzo y julio de 1533, llegaron a Cajamarca más de 6 toneladas de oro y 12 toneladas de plata, que Pizarro mandó fundir en lingotes; pero en cuanto la operación hubo terminado, Pizarro mandó ejecutar sumariamente a Atahualpa mediante garrote.

Pizarro entonces, como también había hecho Cortés antes que él, trató de conseguir la aprobación de su iniciativa por parte de Carlos mediante el envío a España de una generosa parte del lote: no solo «prendas que son de ver… cosa que fasta oy no se ha visto en Indias otro semejante ni creo que lo hay en poder de ningún príncipe», que estaba seguro ayudarían a «Su Magestad Cesárea» en «la guerra contra los turcos, enemigos de nuestra Santa Fe».[44] Las prendas procedentes del Perú atrajeron la misma atención cuando fueron expuestas en 1534 como los tesoros enviados por Cortés desde México. Dos décadas más tarde, el cronista Pedro Cieza de León recordaba todavía la enorme impresión que le causaron «las piezas tan ricas que se vieron en Sevilla, llevadas de Caxamalca, adonde se juntó el thesoro que Atabalipa prometió á los españoles». Carlos, en cambio, no sintió el mismo entusiasmo. «Quisiera verlo todo —les dijo a sus funcionarios en Sevilla—, pero por dylación que abrá en traerlo e ser tan largo el camino, me a parecido que bastará, por aber algunas piezas ansí de oro como de plata, de las mas estrañas, e que todo lo demás se faga moneda». En enero de

1535, dada «la necesidad que hay de dinero» para preparar su viaje a Túnez, ordenó la distribución del oro y la plata restantes entre varias reales casas de la moneda de modo que todo estuviera disponible en dos meses para poder pagar sus deudas.[45]

Carlos compartió su gratitud hacia los conquistadores de la forma habitual. «Con acuerdo e parecer de los del nuestro consejo, y por la voluntad que tenemos de hazer merced a los conquistadores e pobladores de la dicha tierra, especialmente a los que tyenen o tuvieren intención y voluntad de permanescer en ella —informó a Pizarro—, tenemos acordado que se haga repartymiento perpetuo de los dichos indios» por todo el Perú. Aunque reconvenía a Pizarro por los hechos acaecidos en Cajamarca —«de la muerte de Atabaliba [Atahualpa], por ser señor, me ha desplacido, especialmente siendo por justicia»—, añadió, «pues a vos os paresció que convenía, está bien por el presente»; y en 1537 concedió al responsable de aquellos hechos «20.000 vasallos en esa prouincia con título de marqués» y el derecho a nombrar un sucesor «de vuestro linage o otra qual quiera que vos parezca».[46]

Pese a estas enormemente cuantiosas recompensas, la posición de Pizarro en el Perú había empezado a peligrar. Distribuyó casi todo el rescate de Atahualpa entre aquellos que habían tomado parte en su captura —comenzando por él mismo (más de 40.000 pesos de oro y plata) y sus hermanos (más de 60.000 pesos)—, mientras que Almagro y sus hombres, que habían llegado después de la captura del Inca, recibieron solo 20.000 pesos entre todos. Esto exacerbó las divisiones existentes entre los conquistadores y condujo a una guerra civil que costó las vidas de miles de hombres, incluidas las de ambos líderes. En 1540 el hermano de Pizarro derrotó a Almagro y le ejecutó, pero un año después, un grupo de almagristas arrinconaron al gobernador. Aunque Pizarro logró matar a dos de sus asaltantes, su espada quedó atascada en el tercero, lo que permitió al hijo

de Almagro clavarle un puñal en la garganta. Tras caer al suelo, el resto le infligió más de 20 heridas, un aparatoso asesinato típico de los feudos de la Europa de principios de la era moderna, entonces exportado (como muchas otras costumbres) a las colonias de ultramar.[47]

Las Leyes Nuevas

Estos macabros acontecimientos no tardaron en ser conocidos en toda Europa, dado que varios conquistadores publicaron relatos, objeto de una gran acogida y traducidos a varias lenguas, en los que describían con detalle la brutal conquista del Perú. El más destacado catedrático de Teología de la Universidad de Salamanca, el dominico fray Francisco de Vitoria, se lamentaba con un colega de que, aunque pocas cosas de las que leía le impresionaban, «el caso del Perú… se me hiela la sangre en el cuerpo mentándomelas».

> Yo no entiendo la justicia de aquella guerra… A lo que yo he entendido de los mismos que estuvieron en la próxima batalla con Tabalipa [Atahualpa], nunca Tabalipa ni los suyos habían hecho ningund agravio a los cristianos, ni cosa por donde los debiesen hacer la guerra… Y creo que más ruines han sido las otras conquistas después acá.[48]

Sus temores eran más que fundados. En 1534 Carlos había emitido una cédula por la que declaraba que siempre que sus funcionarios fueran a la guerra y capturaran indios, «los podáis tener por esclavos y contratarlos como habidos en guerra justa»; y algunos años más tarde, el virrey Mendoza proporcionó escalofriantes detalles sobre lo que esto significaba en la práctica. Se jactaba de que él ejecutaba a los indios que le hacían frente de una de estas tres maneras: «tirándolos con tiros de artillería que los hacían pedazos, y a otros aperreándolos con perros, y a otros entregándolos a los negros para que los matasen». Justificaba esta brutalidad no solo porque «el aperrear algunos indios de los más culpados y ponellos a tiro convino hazerse para escarmiento y más temor desos indios en lo de allí adelante», sino también porque estaba siguiendo un precedente europeo. Le recordaba a

Carlos que, durante la reconquista de Granada, en la que él había tomado parte, «acostumbra a cañaverear y apedrear muchos moros de los que an renegados Nuestra Santa Fee y por ello no hacen cargo a los jueces ordinarios». En cuanto a los indios que se libraban de esta brutalidad, «se hizo el castigo desclavos y se rrepartieron» entre los pobladores españoles.[49]

Espantado por estas historias, en 1537 Pablo III emitió una bula proclamando que los nativos americanos no eran «bestias sin raciocinio creadas para servirnos», sino miembros de la raza humana que «deberían libre y legítimamente disfrutar de su libertad y de sus posesiones. No debían ser esclavizados de ningún modo. En caso contrario, este será nulo y sin efecto». También ordenó al cardenal Tavera que excomulgara a cualquiera que transgrediera esta norma. Al año siguiente, cuando las Cortes de Castilla debatían la demanda de nuevos impuestos por parte de Carlos, el noble más veterano estableció un inquietante paralelismo entre el exorbitante coste de las políticas imperiales en Europa y América:

> Tengo por gran deservicio de Su Majestad, que siendo de edad para gozar muchos años de estos reinos, se les pusiese una tan gran carga sobre él; así que temen que en pocos años se acaben de gastar como se acabaron los indios; y el oro que hallaban en las primeras tierras que se descubrieron, así se acabará los de estos reinos, si tanta priesa se les da.

Pocos meses después, Vitoria pronunció una serie de conferencias públicas en las que vilipendiaba la conducta de los conquistadores hacia los indios. Daba igual, señalaba, que actuaran o no de acuerdo con las órdenes de la Corona y el Consejo: habían transgredido tanto la ley natural como la divina.[50]

La reacción inmediata de Carlos fue prohibir la publicación de las bulas en España, pedir al Papa que las revocara y prohibir todo comentario sobre el «derecho que nos tenemos a las yndias,

yslas y tierra firme del mar océano». Además, ordenó al prior del convento dominico de Salamanca en el que Vitoria y otros colegas suyos residían

> que luego, sin dilación alguna, llaméis ante vos a los dichos maestros y religiosos que de lo susodicho o de cualquier otra cosa de ello ovieren tratado, así en sermones como en repeticiones o otra cualquier manera pública o secretamente, y recibáis dellos juramento para que declaren en qué tiempos y ante qué personas han tratado y afirmado lo susodicho, así en limpio como en minutas y memoriales.

El prior debía, por tanto, entregar todas las copias a un comisario imperial que las llevaría a la corte para su examen. Debía también asegurar que ni «agora ni en tiempo alguno, sin expresa licencia nuestra, no traten ni prediquen ni disputen de lo susodicho ni hagan ymprimir escritura alguna tocante a ello, porque de lo contrario yo me tiene por muy deservido».[51]

El espectacular fracaso de su campaña en Argel fue, al parecer, el motivo que hizo cambiar de opinión al emperador. Comenzó a sospechar que el fracaso a la hora de proteger a los indios le había costado el favor divino, y cuando volvió a España inició una meticulosa revisión de las políticas en América.[52] El proceso comenzó en abril de 1542, momento en el que las Cortes de Castilla incluyeron entre sus peticiones de rectificación: «Suplicamos a Vuestra Magestad mande remediar las crueldades que se hacen en las Indias contra los indios, porque dello será Dios muy servido y las Indias se conservarán y no se despoblarán como se van despoblando». Carlos respondió con la creación de una Junta de Indias especial que incluía tanto a Loaysa como a Pedro de Soto (sus confesores; el primero lo había sido antes y el segundo lo era en aquel momento) y un selecto grupo de «personas de todos estados, así prelados como caballeros y religiosos y algunos de nuestro consejo». Junto con el emperador, escucharon el testimonio de testigos expertos, entre ellos, teólogos como Vitoria y misioneros recién regresados de América como Las Casas, quien leyó en voz alta algunos

espeluznantes ejemplos de maltrato español hacia los indios que una década después también haría constar en su *Brevíssima Relación de la destruyción de las Indias*.[53]

Convencido y contrito por lo que había escuchado en la Junta, en noviembre de 1542 Carlos firmó las «Nuevas leyes y ordenanzas para la gobernación de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conservación de los indios». Empezaba con una apología:

> Habiendo muchos años tenido voluntad y determinacion de nos ocupar despacio en las cosas de las Indias, por la grande importancia de ellas, así en lo tocante al servicio de Dios, nuestro Señor, e aumento de nuestra santa fe católica, como en la conservación de los naturales de aquellas partes y buen gobierno y conservación de sus personas.

Pero, desgraciadamente, «aunque hemos procurado desembarazarnos para este efecto, no ha podido ser por los muchos e continuos negocios que han ocurrido, de que no nos hemos podido excusar, e por las ausencias que de estos reinos yo, el Rey, he hecho por causas tan necesarias como a todos es notorio». Y, en aquel momento, tras haber convocado con carácter especial a la Junta de Indias,

> Para practicar y tratar las cosas de más importancia de que hemos tenido información que se debían mandar proveer, lo cual maduramente altercado y conferido, y en presencia de mí, el Rey, diversas veces platicado y conferido, habiéndome consultado el parecer de todos, me resolví en mandar proveer y ordenar las cosas que de suyo serán contenidas.

Algunos de los 40 capítulos que seguían iban dirigidos a «la conservación y aumento de los indios y que sean bien enseñados en las cosas de nuestra fe católica y bien tratados como personas libres y vasallos nuestros, que lo son»; otros insistían en que el tributo y los servicios requeridos a los indios debía ser «moderado, de manera que lo puedan sufrir, teniendo atención a la conservación de los dichos indios»; otros procedían, además, a reformar los procedimientos del Consejo de Indias y establecían la instauración de una Real Audiencia y de un virrey en el Perú, con otra Audiencia en Guatemala. Los otros tres capítulos provocaron directamente la rebelión. Uno ordenaba

que todos los indios, excepto aquellos que hubieran sido esclavizados por un acto de guerra o rebelión (y todas las mujeres y los niños indios esclavizados), debían ser liberados de inmediato y que, en el futuro, ningún indio podría ser esclavizado «aunque sea so título de rebelión». Otro prohibía por completo la concesión de nuevas encomiendas de indios y establecía que «muriendo la persona que touiere los dichos indios, sean puestos en nuestra real corona», ordenando a los funcionarios reales e instituciones eclesiásticas que tuvieran en ese momento encomiendas que las entregaran de inmediato. El tercero decretaba que, en el Perú, «a las personas principales que notablemente hallaren culpadas en aquellas reuoluciones» entre los seguidores de Almagro y Pizarro, «les quiten luego los indios que tuvieren y los pongan en nuestra real corona».[54]

Estos tres capítulos causaron divisiones, porque contradecían un gran número de directivas reales anteriores. Por ejemplo, las reales cédulas emitidas «con acuerdo e parecer de los del nuestro consejo y por la voluntad que tenemos de hazer merced a los conquistadores e pobladores» de varias provincias, habían garantizado «que se haga repartymiento perpetuo de los dichos indios», de manera que, a la muerte de cada encomendero, sus hijos legítimos (en ausencia de su viuda) los heredaran.[55] Igualmente, siguiendo órdenes expresas de Carlos, muchos colonos habían esclavizado a los indios acusados de resistencia, cautivos de guerra o declarados culpables por un tribunal colonial de cualquier delito punible con la muerte que hubiera sido conmutado con una pena de prisión, «a lo cual —la Audiencia de México le recordaba en tono de reproche a Carlos — Vuestra Majestad respondió que parescía bien lo que se hacía».[56] A muchos colonizadores españoles las Leyes Nuevas les parecieron una declaración de guerra.

La reacción hostil de los colonos fue rápida y arrolladora. Una carta enviada al Consejo de Indias en octubre de 1543 por Jerónimo López, magistrado de Ciudad de México y uno de los primeros conquistadores, fue quizá la más elocuente. Tras reconocer que «ordenanzas hay en las que Vuestra Majestad manda que se guarden que son muy justas e buenas para la conservación e perpetuidad de la tierra que Vuestra Majestad quiere e desea», López manifestaba que renegar de la promesa de que las encomiendas podían ser heredadas significaba que «la tierra no se puede perpetuar sino perderse y quedarse a los indios»; en tanto que la orden de que «no se hagan esclavos aunque se alcen e rebelen, esto es tan recio que Vuestra Majestad les da osadía para que mañana se alcen, pues ven que Vuestra Majestad les relieva de la pena». El emperador debía recordar que sus nuevas posesiones en América eran «partes tan remotas e apartadas de la presencia e poder de Vuestra Majestad y en tierra donde hay para cada español mil indios a lo menos», por lo que en caso de problemas «no está desde Sevilla o Granada el socorro que Vuestra Majestad nos puede dar, sino donde ni lo podemos pedir ni ternemos tiempo para ello, ni Vuestra Majestad para dárnoslo, ansí que acá lo ha de tener Vuestra Majestad de depósito». En consecuencia, proseguía López en buena lógica:

> Si esta tierra estuviera como está Flandes, Nápoles, Navarra, Granada, que Vuestra Majestad la pudiera visitar personalmente e ver sus enfermedades e necesidades para las remediar como convenía, bien era dar un tiento para mayor provecho a ver cómo iba, pero esta tierra que está tan lejos que ni Vuestra Majestad la puede ver ni gobernar desde allá, porque cuando van por remedio de una cosa le muda el tiempo en otra.

En esto radicaba la clave del problema: los obstáculos que imponía la distancia obligaban a Carlos a confiar en el consejo de otros, y «dice cada uno su parecer conforme a la inclinación que lleva y a lo poco que ha visto e conocido de la tierra». López se mostraba especialmente crítico con el consejo político que le

daban al emperador los frailes, porque «pocos dellos fueron gobernadores en el mundo de cibdades ni villas ni lugares ni aun de solas sus casas» y, por tanto, «hablan como hombres que no ganaron ni saben cómo se ganó ni con qué trabajos ni con qué muertes e derramiento de sangre… se sustenta tan grande e poderosa cosa». Sin embargo, «aconsejaran a Vuestra Majestad caminos por donde se pierda todo, e nosotros con ello». El emperador solo debía hacer caso de los consejos de aquellos que sabían de lo que hablaban, especialmente de conquistadores como López, que «todo lo he visto por mis ojos».[57]

López perdía el tiempo. Loaysa, presidente del Consejo, era dominico al igual que Las Casas, Soto y Vitoria, y no iba a abandonar las políticas que él mismo había convencido al emperador que debía adoptar; pero, para mayor seguridad, la carta fue visada con: «Vista y no hay qué responder». Carlos, entonces en Alemania, nunca llegaría a verla. El Consejo procedió a nombrar a uno de sus miembros, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, un sacerdote, visitador general de México, y le ordenó zarpar con el objetivo de hacer que las Leyes Nuevas entraran en vigor de inmediato; también nombró a Blasco Núñez Vela, un noble con amplia experiencia militar y naval, para ser el primer virrey del Perú, encargándole órdenes similares. El pensamiento grupal en la corte del emperador había alcanzado una rotunda victoria, que casi da al traste con el dominio español en América.[58]

La rebelión del Perú

En México, el virrey Mendoza percibió inmediatamente el peligro y suspendió la promulgación de las Leyes Nuevas hasta poder hacerle llegar al emperador las protestas que habían suscitado. Núñez Vela fue menos prudente: nada más llegar al Perú, en mayo de 1544, comenzó a confiscar encomiendas a los funcionarios reales, cargos eclesiásticos y personas involucradas

en las recientes guerras civiles, tal y como exigían las ordenanzas. Naturalmente, sus acciones le granjearon la enemistad de los colonos españoles, que en aquel momento sumaban como mínimo 5.000, muchos de los cuales pidieron protección a Gonzalo Pizarro, hermano y heredero universal del ya fallecido Francisco y un líder carismático por derecho propio.

Gonzalo empezó por redactar una protesta formal para el emperador en nombre de las ciudades y los encomenderos del Perú, afirmando que algunos capítulos específicos de las Leyes Nuevas constituían una amenaza para la supervivencia del Perú español y pidiendo (al igual que el virrey de México) que las ordenanzas fueran suspendidas hasta que el emperador tuviera conocimiento de las objeciones planteadas por los afectados.[59] A diferencia de Mendoza, el virrey Núñez Vela no prestó ninguna atención a las quejas de los colonos y en lugar de ello se condujo de una manera despótica. Cuando apuñaló hasta la muerte a un veterano funcionario del tesoro que se opuso a él, la Audiencia de Lima declaró depuesto al virrey y reconoció a Gonzalo como gobernador del Perú.

Carlos se encontraba en los Países Bajos cuando la noticia de estos alarmantes acontecimientos llegó a España, por lo que el Consejo de Regencia fue el primero en debatir sobre cuál sería la mejor manera de reaccionar. El duque de Alba abogaba por el envío inmediato de un ejército para restaurar el orden, dado que «un desacato y atrevimiento tan grande como aquel y violencia no podía remediar y castigarse si no era con muy gran poder y fuerza»; pero sus colegas apuntaron «cuán difícil cosa y aun casi imposible era haber de llevar gente, caballos, armas, bastamientos y artillería y municiones en navíos, mil y setecientos leguas que desde España hay al Nombre de Dios». Incluso después de haber llegado allí, continuaban los

consejeros, el hambre y la enfermedad diezmarían dicho ejército antes de que pudiera llegar al Pacífico, en aquel momento bajo el control de los partidarios de Pizarro.[60]

La situación en el Perú siguió deteriorándose. A finales de 1545, el virrey Núñez Vela consiguió escapar de prisión y reagrupar sus fuerzas, pero Pizarro acabó por encontrarle y posteriormente, a la cabeza de 800 hombres (algunos de ellos antiguos comuneros), derrotarle tras enfrentarse a él y a su reducido grupo de partidarios, y asesinarle. Todo el virreinato estaba en completa rebelión. Según un cortesano, el «atrevimiento y temeridad» de los rebeldes ofendió al emperador más «que la de las Comunidades de España… porque cuando las Comunidades se levantaron en España, el emperador, ni por su edad ni por la experiencia de reinar y gobernar en paz y en guerra, ni por la grandeza de su estado, estaba en tanta autoridad y reputación». Lo que más le molestó fue la noticia de que Gonzalo Pizarro, un plebeyo, planeara autodeclararse «Rey del Perú».[61]

Los consejeros del emperador estaban de acuerdo. «El remedio de lo del Perú», opinaba Los Cobos, se había convertido en un «negocio de tanta cualidad y importancia, que en muchos tiempos no se podría ofrescer mayor».[62] Para entonces ya había llegado desde México un aluvión de cartas, memorándums y testimonios personales despotricando contra las Leyes Nuevas: todas ellas instaban al emperador a mantener las *encomiendas* hereditarias basándose en que, aunque no fuera perfecta, dicha institución constituía la base de todo el comercio, la industria y la evangelización. Incluso los dominicos de Nueva España manifestaban que, si perdían a los indios, cuya labor daba apoyo a sus esfuerzos misioneros, tendrían que marcharse. Los consejeros de Carlos recomendaron por tanto hacer concesiones importantes para evitar (en palabras de don

Juan de Zúñiga) tener que volver a conquistar América de nuevo, esta vez, arrebatándosela a los colonos españoles. El príncipe Felipe resumió el debate para trasladárselo a su padre:

> Considerada y entendida la dificultad que para reducir el Perú había, les pareció a todos que no bastaba fuerza ni potencia humana para sosegar y cobrarlo si no interviniesen algunos medios convenientes y negociación de alguna persona de mucha prudencia y sagacidad que tuviese gran experiencia en negocios.

En un mensaje aparte, Los Cobos añadió que, dado que «no se puede lleuar por rigor, ni ay forma ni possibilidad para ello, y ay muy grandes inconvenientes de no lleuarse con blandura», la «persona de mucha prudencia y sagacidad» idónea para restaurar el orden en el virreinato era el licenciado Pedro de la Gasca.[63]

Tras conceder una audiencia a los representantes enviados por las partes enfrentadas en el Perú, el emperador estuvo de acuerdo. Aunque se negó a autorizar la esclavización de los indios, revocó «la ley que se hizo para que los indios que vacaren se pusieren en nuestra corona real»: en adelante, las viudas e hijos de los «primeros conquistadores» podían heredar sus encomiendas. «Suspéndase también la egecución de todas las otras Ordenanzas que han causado alteración», incluida la ley que despojaba a los implicados en guerras civiles anteriores de sus encomiendas, porque «abemos mandado que todo ello vuelva al punto y estado en que estaba antes y al tiempo que la dicha ley se hiciere». Por otra parte, mandó volver a Núñez Vela (todavía no sabía que estaba muerto), y autorizó el envío de La Gasca a restaurar el orden en el virreinato.[64]

Nacido en una familia de escasos recursos, La Gasca consiguió una beca para estudiar Derecho y Teología tanto en Alcalá como en Salamanca, donde fue discípulo de Vitoria y Silíceo antes de ser elegido rector universitario. Más adelante se convirtió en sacerdote, y en 1541, Tavera, inquisidor general, así como presidente del Consejo, le nombró inquisidor. Confiado en contar con el apoyo del cardenal y el de Los Cobos,

La Gasca se negó a marchar al Perú a menos que Carlos le concediera unos poderes sin precedentes: el derecho a perdonar todo tipo de delitos, tanto civiles como criminales, tanto «de parte» como «de oficio»; el poder de declarar la guerra y la paz; y la autoridad de entrar a saco en el tesoro real para financiar el reclutamiento y mantenimiento de un ejército en caso necesario. Tales demandas resultaban escandalosas, y durante algún tiempo «trataron y altercáronse algunos días en consejo estas cosas que Gasca pedía», pero frente al desafío sin precedentes de una grave rebelión transatlántica, Carlos cedió. Dio poderes a La Gasca para cesar al virrey y los jueces de la Audiencia de Lima y enviarles de vuelta a España «si en algo fuere culpado»; y si algunos clérigos se oponían a él, «en tal caso, podréis hacerles guerra». Envió una copia del sello real y «40 cédulas en blanco para personas particulares que se hayan mostrado ser servidores de Su Majestad, para que Vuestra Señoría hincha sus nombres en ella». Además de todo esto, «visto el largo camino y lo que podria subceder», en caso necesario, autorizaba a La Gasca a que «nombréis la persona que os pareciere más conveniente» para sucederle. El emperador también dio orden a los funcionarios del resto de los lugares de América para que «provean a Vuestra Señoría de todo lo que pidiese, y hagan y cumplan en todo y por todo lo que Vuestra Señoría les escribiere».[65]

Carlos también envió a La Gasca una carta repleta de buenos consejos. Ya que «de pequeños principios [pueden] nacer inconvenientes inremediables a los que gobiernan», recomendaba a La Gasca «procurad hablar con gran cuidado, así en dicho como en obra», porque «si vos mandáis una cosa y hacéis otra, os tendrán las gentes en lo interior por gobernador inconstante y de poca sustancia». Por otra parte, «No habéis de ir buscando todo lo que se dice y hace para juzgar dello, sino de los pecados que los hombres son acusados, porque los otros se

deben fingir que no se saben, pues si todos los delictos se fuesen inquiriendo, pocos o ningunos hombres quedarían sin castigo».[66]

En agosto de 1546, mientras Carlos se enfrentaba a los rebeldes alemanes en Ingolstadt, La Gasca llegó a Panamá y estableció allí su cuartel general mientras iba minando a los rebeldes del Perú. En diciembre de 1547, según iba avanzando hacia Cuzco, se sintió con fuerza suficiente para acusar a Gonzalo Pizarro de rebelión y traición, haciendo una comparación entre el comportamiento de Pizarro y el de los colonizadores de Nueva España, que habían presentado sus objeciones a las Leyes Nuevas «sin armas ni alborotos», mientras que Pizarro «No se contentó con hacerlo así sino que, como quien no se acordaba de quién era su rey… Juntó gente e vino a Lima con ella contra el visorrey, que Su Majestad había enviado, como quien no pretendía pedir justicia, sino tomarla por fuerza e ocupar la jurisdicción de Su Majestad, como lo hizo». Reprendía a Pizarro por ejecutar a los colonos que se oponían a él, por consumir los recursos de la real tesorería «defendiendo su rebelión contra Su Majestad», y por ofrecer 20.000 pesos «si me pudiese contentar para que me volviese a España e informarse a Su Majestad en favor de vuestra merced… Yo me reí mucho de aquel cohecho —continuaba La Gasca— e de que vuestra merced pensase que Su Majestad enviaba hombre que con ningún dinero se pudiese corromper». Y concluía con una lúgubre contraoferta: si Pizarro «no se arrepiente y se reduce al servicio de las Majestades divina y humana, que perderá el cuerpo y aún el alma, como en breve lo verá».[67]

La Gasca no hablaba en broma. En abril de 1548 desplegó su ejército de 1.500 hombres, apoyado por 11 piezas de artillería, en un altiplano justo a las afueras de Cuzco, desafiando a Pizarro a atacarle. La batalla que siguió requirió menos tropas y causó menos bajas que la de Mühlberg, librada apenas un año

antes (solo murió uno de los soldados del ejército real y 45 rebeldes), pero resultó igual de decisiva. Tras un duelo de artillería —el primero en el continente americano—, muchos de los rebeldes huyeron, y dado que Pizarro «e otros sus capitanes ni fueron para pelear ni para huir», todos ellos fueron hechos prisioneros. La Gasca debatió con sus principales asesores «si se llevarían los presos al Cuzco a hacer justicia, o si se haría allí dellos», concluyendo que «convenía hacerla con toda brevedad… ansí por excusar el peligro que en su huida podría haber como porque en tanto que Gonzalo Pizarro vivía parecía que no era segura la paz según las inquietudes e mudanzas que en esta tierra ha habido». Gonzalo y cuatro de sus lugartenientes fueron ahorcados en el campo de batalla y llevaron sus cabezas rápidamente a Cuzco para exponerlas.[68]

Si La Gasca albergaba algún recelo sobre la decisión que había tomado, sin duda se disipó en cuanto llegó a Cuzco y descubrió «que tenían concertado de coronar por rey destos reinos a Gonzalo Pizarro luego que hubiesen vitoria contra el exército que comigo iba»; y que ya «habían quitado las armas reales de su estandarte y echádolas a quemar en un brasero». Indignados, los vencedores desplegaron una operación de venganza contra sus enemigos. Los obispos del lugar desterraron a los numerosos clérigos que habían apoyado a Pizarro, incluido Juan Coronel, «canónigo que fue de Quito… que había hecho un libro que intituló *De bello justo*, en favor y defensa de la rebelión»; y varios jueces seglares juzgaron y ejecutaron al menos a 50 pizarristas, a algunos de ellos tras someterles a tortura y mutilaciones, y condenaron a unos 1.000 más a penas menores, incluida la del exilio. Estas purgas, llevadas a cabo después de los «340 e tantos hombres que Gonzalo Pizarro y sus ministros justiciaron en el tiempo de su rebelión», acabaron con aproximadamente una tercera parte de la primera generación de conquistadores, así como con la mayoría de la familia real inca. Carlos ordenó a sus

jueces en España que amenazaran con castigar con similar dureza a los familiares de los rebeldes que habían repatriado dinero y bienes, confiscando sus tierras, casas y otros bienes inmuebles por el valor de los activos recibidos del Perú (y, si los habían gastado, que fueran a prisión por no cumplir con el pago de la deuda). La Corona llegó a secuestrar incluso las dotes pagadas por el ingreso de las mujeres de sus familias en conventos.[69]

El pacificador del Perú se convirtió en una celebridad en todo el mundo hispano. En enero de 1550 el cronista Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo escribió una carta para felicitar a La Gasca por el éxito de su «ventura de César», que comenzaba diciendo obsequiosamente «que por su aviso yo sepa aquella gloriosa definición de la victoria pasada y muerte del tirano Gonzalo Pizarro». Prometía que su *Historia General de las Indias*, que le había sido encargada por el emperador, y que comenzaba «en el primero descubrimiento que hizo don Cristóbal Colón», terminaría «en estos trofeos de vuestra señoría reverendísima». Y, en efecto, la figura de La Gasca está presente en los últimos capítulos de la Gran Obra.[70] El éxito de La Gasca también impresionó a Carlos. Después de leer la crónica de su enviado sobre la derrota de Pizarro, y la «justicia dél y de los principales que le seguían, de que habemos tenido el contentamiento que es razón», el emperador celebraba que Dios y La Gasca hubieran creado las condiciones adecuadas «para que se pueda de aquí adelante continuar lo que se pretende: que es el acrecentamiento de su sancta fee cathólica y junto con esto assentarse las cosas en paz y justicia, y escusar las fuerças y robos y muertos que con tanta crueldad se hazían en nuestros súbditos y vassallos». A continuación, anunciaba que había nombrado a don Antonio de Mendoza el siguiente virrey del Perú, «a lo menos sea por dos o tres años», y que una vez La Gasca le hubiera informado convenientemente sobre la tarea, «os podréis boluer con la

bendición de dios a España, que os doy licencia para ello, trayendo con uos la mayor cantidad de oro y plata que pudiéredes haber, como tenemos por cierto lo haréis».[71] Una vez más, La Gasca mejoró lo que de él se esperaba: cuando desembarcó en Sevilla en septiembre de 1550, «me traxo para Nos hasta dos millones de coronas y aún algo más» en metálico, una fabulosa cantidad de dinero caído del cielo que Carlos comparó (mientras fantaseaba sobre cómo gastarlo) con el rescate pagado por el rey Francisco dos décadas antes, alegrándose de que esto «ha dado gran reputaçión a los negoçios públicos y los nuestros particulares, y será causa que los designos y propósitos que hauía en todas partes se cumplen».[72]

No obstante, la «ventura de César» había estado a punto de no acabar bien. Según el lapidario veredicto del virrey Mendoza: «Las provysiones que Su Magestad e los señores del Consejo dan, santas y justas son, mas no se negara que con las leyes nuebas Su Magestad destruyó el Perú». Como recordaba (en un típico «te dije»), «antes que el Perú se alçase, le scriuí hartos años lo que hauía de suceder», pero «no oso aclararle más porque me va mal de ello, mas que tengo gran lástima de ver que Su Magestad y los del Consejo y los frayles se han juntado a destruir estos pobres indios».[73] Por otra parte, La Gasca no solo creyó necesario mantener el sistema del repartimiento, sino extenderlo, distribuyendo encomiendas por valor de más de un millón de ducados al año entre aquellos que le habían apoyado, lo cual resultó incluso insuficiente: algunos de los que habían abandonado a Gonzalo, pero no habían recibido nada, corrieron a ponerse bajo la bandera de la rebelión que por breve tiempo encabezaría Francisco Hernández Girón en 1550.

Por el lado positivo, el aislamiento y derrota de Pizarro revelaron no solo la fuerza del control de Carlos sobre sus nuevas posesiones, sino también su capacidad para coordinar sus recursos. Desde Panamá, en diciembre de 1546, La Gasca

recordaba a otros funcionarios reales que «converná que de todas las partes de las Yndias, como su Magestad manda con sus cédulas, acudan a favorescer su real voz», añadiendo que «en una cosa que tanto importa a su real auctoridad e ynteresse», era esencial «que todos acudan a ella como si su real persona se hallasse en ella… dando a entender a Su Magestad y a toda Spaña que ay tantos y tan valerosos y leales vassallos en las Yndias que para allanar a los que no lo sean no ay para que venga de Spaña exército». América, argumentaba La Gasca, debía mostrar «que no menos se acude acá que en Spaña acuden los buenos con sus personas y haciendas a ayudar a Su Magestad en semejantes jornadas como en la de Viena quando lo del Turco y en la de La Goleta y Alger y otras se han visto y cada dia vemos», y su llamamiento produjo espectaculares resultados. En Nueva España, el virrey Mendoza gastó 192.000 pesos en reclutar un ejército de 600 soldados, que comandaría su hijo, para servir en el Perú, y en marzo de 1547 (justo antes de llegar la noticia de que ya no era necesaria) pasó revista a toda la fuerza expedicionaria.[74]

«Otro mundo de oro»

El discurso pronunciado en nombre de Carlos ante las Cortes de Castilla en 1520 para justificar su elección como emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano prometía que la adquisición de «otro nuevo mundo de oro fecho para él, pues antes de nuestros días nunca fue nascido», protegería a sus súbditos españoles de los costes de sus nuevos compromisos en el centro de Europa. Hasta cierto punto, la promesa se cumplió. En 1523 don Martín de Salinas apuntó que «son venidos naos de las Indias en que traen 800.000 pesos de oro», concluyendo que «parece que Dios toma cargo de los negocios de Su Majestad, pues tan bien adereça sus cosas».[75] Diez años más tarde, estupefacto ante el tamaño del rescate de Atahualpa mientras pasaba por Panamá de camino a España, un funcionario del tesoro exclamó:

> Se tiene por cierto que en la grand ventura de Vuestra Magestad es Dios servido que estas maravillas se vean y descubran en su tiempo y también pues Vuestra Magestad anda *in viam domini*, serviéndolo, deffendiendo su república cristiana e iglesia de nuestra sancta fe cathólica dele fazer esta ayuda y merced para que con más ánimo e possibilidad prosigua la sancta empresa e guerra contra el turco e Luterio, y los otros enemigos de la fee.

En 1535, en Barcelona, Salinas comentó con asombro que «ha ordenado de venir en esta cibdad los monederos de todos sus reinos y hecho traer el oro y plata de las Indias para que aquí se labre por escudos, y desta moneda será proveído y servido», y estimaba «la valor presente de quinientos mil escudos». En palabras de James Tracy: «La empresa de Túnez fue posible solo gracias a que la conquista del Perú por Francisco Pizarro reabasteció la cámara del tesoro del emperador».[76]

La mayor parte de esta esplendidez americana procedía de un impuesto importado de Castilla: el «quinto real», en virtud del cual los monarcas recibían una quinta parte de todos los botines cobrados en las guerras contra los enemigos de la fe y de todos los minerales producidos. A lo largo del reinado del emperador, más de la mitad de lo recaudado por sus tesoreros de México y cuatro quintas partes de los del Perú procedían de esta fuente. El resto procedía en su mayoría del tributo pagado a la Corona por los nativos americanos, y de las confiscaciones. En nueve ocasiones, Carlos ordenó el secuestro de las remesas de particulares, valiéndose del engaño para disfrazar sus intenciones. En 1523, para ayudar a financiar su invasión de Francia, ordenó a sus funcionarios en Sevilla retener e inventariar todo el oro, plata, perlas y mercaderías de los barcos que llegaran de América, ya fuera para la Corona o para «mercaderes y personas particulares… por manera que nadie sepa lo que yo mando acerca de esto». En enero de 1535, ordenó que todo barco que llegara «del Perú o de otra parte que trajere gran suma de oro, en tal caso, con la disimulación y buena manera que vosotros viéredes que más disimuladamente

lo podéis hacer, me enviaréis el registro de ella con correo volante». En caso de que los dueños del tesoro protestaran y exigieran la devolución de su dinero, los funcionarios reales debían mentirles y «Dar a entender a todos que por la ocupación que tenéis en el amonedar de ese oro y plata, no lo podéis despachar». En enero de 1543, mientras el emperador preparaba su campaña contra Güeldres y Francia, volvió a ordenar que «de aquí adelante, viniendo algún navío o navíos juntos que traigan valor de hasta 80.000 ducados de oro o dende arriba, detenéis el oro y plata y perlas que trajeren de cualesquier particulares que sea, por la mejor manera y color que viéredes, para que no se entienda que se hace por orden nuestra».[77] En todos los casos, los «particulares» que perdían su capital recibían compensación en forma de juros a bajo interés.

Aunque Carlos justificaba estos secuestros mediante la necesidad de salvaguardar «nuestra reputación y autoridad y defensa de nuestros estados», esta forma de proceder acarreaba importantes costes económicos de oportunidad: el dinero exportado, ya fuera para pagar a los soldados o a los banqueros del emperador, era dinero que no podía invertirse en empresas nacionales; y el coste anual de pagar los intereses de los juros llegó como mínimo a duplicarse a lo largo del reinado. No obstante, la tentación resultaba irresistible. Como el cronista valenciano Martí de Viciana comentó más adelante: «De estas Indias Su Magestad tiene tanto aprovechamiento que, con su tesoro, e la gente de España, puede toda vez que quiere más que todos los otros reyes cristianos», o, parafraseando lo que otro diría en épocas posteriores: «América hizo grande a Carlos».[78]

Imperio e información

Carlos necesitaba superar algunos obstáculos fundamentales para un gobierno transatlántico eficaz. En Europa utilizaba cuatro estrategias para controlar sus dominios desperdigados:

visitaba cada uno de ellos lo más a menudo posible durante el mayor tiempo posible; capacitó a sus familiares más cercanos para representarle cuando él estuviera ausente; cimentó alianzas a través del matrimonio; y creó una estructura institucional basada en un equilibrio de poder. No siendo posible desplegar las tres primeras estrategias en América, Carlos se basó sobre todo en la cuarta, pero, al igual que en sus demás dominios, las disensiones se interponían a menudo en el camino. En 1551, Tomás López Medel, un juez de Guatemala, advirtió de que, en la América española, todos tenían «pasión, ambición o interese proprio por acá, en especial por agora». Aquel mismo año, don Antonio de Mendoza, al reflexionar sobre su experiencia de dieciséis años como virrey, llegó a la misma conclusión. «En la Nueva España son los hombres muy amigos de entender en los oficios agenos más que en los suyos propios», y «en el que principalmente se ocupan, es en el gobierno de la tierra, especialmente en enmendar y en juzgar todo lo que se hace en ella». Lamentablemente, continuaba diciendo Mendoza, «Yo he hallado muchos que me aconsejen y me enmienden, y pocos que me ayuden cuando los negocios no se hacen a su propósito»[79]. Este fundamental obstáculo dio lugar a otro. Volviendo a citar a López Medel, «el mal destas partes, entre otros, es que juzga Vuestra Alteza por relaciones y no por vista de ojos». Así pues, los que vivían en las colonias «quéxanse y nunca acaban de quexarse en que no fueren oídos ni se les dio lugar a alegar de sus derechos ni a probar lo que les convenía». Una vez más, Mendoza estaba de acuerdo: «Provee Su Magestad a mí, y a otros como yo, por virreyes y gobernadores siendo nueuos en los cargos y no teniendo experiençia; embía oydores que allá no se proueyerán por alcaldes mayores, y fíales un mundo nuevo sin ninguna orden ni razón ni cosa que parezca a lo de allá». Y concluía amargamente: «¿Qué spera Su Magestad que ha de

suceder a dos mil leguas de donde está, sino dar con todo en el suelo y que se acabe, haziendo speriencias antes que lo entienda?».[80]

Carlos era completamente consciente de estos problemas estructurales. En 1518, poco después de llegar a España por primera vez, informó a algunos clérigos desplazados al Caribe que le pidieron asesoramiento: «en las cosas desas partes ha habido muchas diferencias, y paresceres diversos, y no se os podía escrevir cosa determinada». Ocho años más tarde, frustrado por su incapacidad para responder con eficacia a las peticiones de los colonos de Cuba «por no estar informado ni tener entera relación de los pueblos y de su población», Carlos firmó una cédula en la que afirmaba que «yo quiero ser informado de las casas, ganados y haciendas y granjerías y otras cosas que tenemos en esa isla», y ordenaba al gobernador «que luego que esta recibáis, saquéis una relación muy larga y particular de todo». En 1535, en sus instrucciones a Mendoza, afirmaba que de «la grandeza y variedad de cosas de esa tierra» así como de «la distancia que hay en estos nuestros reinos donde no residimos, os obliga a tener y avisad Nos siempre de todo lo que viéredes e proveyéredes». El virrey debía encargar «una traça o pintura de los principales pueblos y puertos de esa tierra y costas della… declarando el sitio, distancia de leguas, grados de altura que ovjere de un pueblo y puerto a otro» y enviarla a España.[81]

Carlos también tomó medidas en lugares menos lejanos para procesar esta información recibida de ultramar. Mientras él y el Consejo de Indias residieron en Sevilla en 1526, visitaron la Casa de Contratación, encargándola de organizar su caótica colección de mapas y documentos y crear una recopilación sistemática de información geográfica, «así por scripto como por palabra y pintura y de la maña que vos pareciere que conviene de todas y qualesquier personas que sepan de la dicha arte y

tengan noticia y espiriencia de la navegación». La casa también debía asegurarse de que todos los pilotos que navegaran el Atlántico

> Sean obligados a escribir el viaje que hizieren de a por día desde el punto que partieren en qualquier puerto o lugar que sea hasta de ser de vuelta en la çibdad de Sevilla… en la cual escriptura ha de venir puesto y notado el camino que cada día hizieren y a qué rrumbos y qué tierra o yslas o baxos toparon… y en que distancia e altura estavan.

Según Arndt Brendecke, «Parece ser que todas las informaciones se reunieron en un libro central que contenía los informes de más de 150 pilotos».[82]

El flujo de información resultante dio a Carlos la confianza suficiente para emitir leyes a raudales respecto a la economía, sociedad y administración del Nuevo Mundo: «Se manda no sean libres los esclavos negros que se casasen ni los hijos que tuviesen, para que así pueda prosperar la isla Española» (1526); «que habiendo necesidad se puedan establecer casas de mujeres públicas en la Ciudad de Santo Domingo» (1526); todas las monedas acuñadas en las nuevas Casas de Moneda de México y San Domingo debían tener «de la una parte castillos y leones con la Granada y de la otra parte las dos columnas y entre ellas un rétulo que diga Plus Ultra, que es la divisa de mi el Rey» (1544), etcétera. Cuando llegó el momento de su abdicación, Carlos había emitido más de 1.000 órdenes e instrucciones generales para sus diversas posesiones en el hemisferio oeste (en comparación con las apenas 200 para Castilla).[83]

El emperador también firmó miles de cédulas que abordaban cuestiones de carácter particular. En 1536 se enteró de que un español residente en Nicaragua había violado a una mujer del lugar y a continuación prendido fuego a su casa para que muriera, pero, aunque el gobernador provincial «procedistes contra él, le condenastes en 5 pesos de oro tan solamente», Carlos lo consideró claramente inadecuado dada la gravedad del

delito y ordenó por tanto que el gobernador revisara el caso «y enviaréis al nuestro consejo de las Indias relación del castigo que hiciéredes».[84] Dos años más tarde, autorizó el pago de 1.000 ducados de oro para crear un prototipo del canal de Panamá, en respuesta a una «información» enviada por sus funcionarios radicados en el istmo respecto a «la utilidad de facilitar la navegación del Río Chagre» y la necesidad de mejorar el transporte de mercancías desde Panamá a nombre de Dios.[85] Aquello fue un ejemplo de «subimperialismo»: una respuesta a iniciativas tomadas por funcionarios de la periferia del imperio, que solo después se presentaban al gobierno central para su aprobación. Otro sorprendente ejemplo se produjo en 1550, cuando Carlos recibió una consulta del Consejo de Indias en la que este transmitía un informe del virrey Mendoza (cuyo largo periodo de servicio le había proporcionado una enorme confianza en sí mismo) recordando a todos sus peticiones anteriores para «que se funde en aquella tierra [Nueva España] una Universidad de todas ciencias donde los naturales y los hijos de los españoles fuesen instruidos». El Consejo reveló que Mendoza había ya «señalado personas en todas las facultades para que desde luego lean leçiones con la esperança que les ha puesto que Vuestra Magestad será servido de fundar y criar en aquella tierra una universidad con sus cátedras», con constituciones basadas en el modelo de Salamanca o Alcalá. El Consejo, tras señalar que los «perlados y religiosos de aquella tierra» eran decididamente favorables a la nueva institución, recomendó que Carlos la dotara con una subvención anual de 1.000 pesos. El decreto decía: «En esto parece que se deue hazer conforme al parecer del consejo», y en septiembre de 1551, una real cédula autorizó a los funcionarios del Tesoro de México a pagar 1.000 pesos de oro al nuevo «estudio y universidad», con efectos inmediatos.[86]

Pocos meses antes, Carlos había fundado otra universidad americana en respuesta a la presión de la periferia de su imperio. En 1548, los frailes dominicos de la nueva provincia de la Orden en el Perú solicitaron un «estudio general» asociado a su monasterio de Lima, y encargaron a su provincial, fray Tomás de San Martín, conseguir la aprobación imperial. Este contactó primero con el cabildo de Lima, que le nombró uno de sus procuradores (La Gasca acabaría siendo el otro), para convencer al emperador de que creara un «estudio general con los privilegios y esenciones y capitulaciones que tiene el estudio general de Salamanca» dado que «estas partes están tan remotas despaña y los hijos de los vezinos y naturales enbiándolos á los estudios despaña sería hazer grandes gastos y por falta de posibilidad algunos se quedaran ignorantes». Más avanzado aquel mismo año, tras escuchar en audiencia a los procuradores, el emperador les concedió lo que pedían y asignó «3.000 pesos de oro de la Real Hacienda para su mantenimiento y ornamentos» del nuevo estudio general. La Universidad de Lima (en la actualidad Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos) lleva desde entonces impartiendo clases.[87]

¿A Carlos le importaba realmente?

Sería fácil argumentar que Carlos no tomó parte en estas ni en otras iniciativas relacionadas con sus posesiones americanas, especialmente por lo que se refiere a aquellas leyes que no fueron firmadas por él en persona. Así, las provisiones para la creación y financiación de las Universidades de Lima y de México en 1551 salieron mientras el emperador se encontraba en Augsburgo: las cédulas en concreto fueron firmadas por su regente en España.[88] Pese a ello, como todas las medidas de este tipo, exigían la aprobación imperial, y algunas eran sometidas a un profundo escrutinio previo. Por ejemplo, la *Relación* de don Antonio de Mendoza en la que acusaba a Carlos de manejar de forma incoherente e incompetente los asuntos de América, le llegó a

este mientras estaba en Innsbruck, en marzo de 1552, «lo qual oý a la letra», le dijo a su hijo, porque contenía «puntos de importancia y mucho de considerar». Por tanto, ordenó que «se myre y trate sobre todos los puntos» planteados por Mendoza «para que Nos podamos con más fundamento resoluer».[89] Algunos funcionarios se quejaban de que el emperador intervenía con demasiada frecuencia en los asuntos de América, causando perturbaciones innecesarias con sus cambios de opinión y por tanto en sus políticas. «Su Magestad y los consejos y los frayles —se quejaba Mendoza— gastan tanto tiempo y tanta tinta y papel en hazer y deshazer, y dar prouisiones unas en contrario de otras, y mudar cada día la orden del gobierno».[90] Los ejemplos de esta clase de incoherencias eran abundantes. Por citar una de ellas, aunque el emperador decretó solemnemente en 1535, y reiteraría en 1541 y en 1542, que «nos ny los reyes que después de nos vinieren» debían enajenar jamás «de nuestra corona real esa provincia de Tascala ny nynguno pueblo della», rompió su promesa repetidas veces haciendo concesiones de tierras a los españoles en dicha provincia; y aunque los virreyes apoyaron las protestas de los tlaxcalos, estas concesiones rara vez fueron anuladas.[91] Lo mismo más o menos puede decirse de Leyes Nuevas, promulgadas en 1542 y parcialmente revocadas en 1546: en 1550 las instrucciones de Carlos a don Luis de Velasco, su nuevo virrey en México, le ordenaban guardar y mandar «en todo lo que las Leyes Nuevas, que mandamos hacer para el buen gobierno de las Indias, disponen», y, sin embargo, como su predecesor, Velasco emitió muchas cédulas permitiendo a los hijos de «uno de los primeros conquistadores» heredar encomiendas otorgadas por Cortés, contraviniendo claramente las Leyes Nuevas.[92]

No obstante, estas medidas siguen siendo la excepción: Carlos continuó resistiéndose a la «perpetuidad». Cierto es que en 1553 se ablandó y le pidió a Felipe que considerara «lo que se podría sacar de los repartimientos de la Indias, lo qual a mí me ha parecido cosa larga y difícil por las contrariedades de opinions que en esto hay». Cumpliendo sus deseos, su hijo convocó una Junta de teólogos para estudiar el asunto, pero cuando este le informó de que los miembros de la Junta «concurren en que se deve e puede hazer lo del dicho repartimiento» porque «ningún otro remedio ay para la conservación e pacificación de aquellas tierras», Carlos lo rechazó de plano: «Yo nunca he estado bien en esto, como sabe, y lo he querido siempre escusar». Felipe debía esperar a convertirse en soberano de Castilla y sus colonias americanas, y entonces «lo podrá hazer a su voluntad y como cosa suya, y firmar los despachos, y a mí me quitará deste escrúpulo».[93]

«Deste escrúpulo»: ¿Qué quería decir Carlos con esta expresión? En 1550 había convocado una junta por su cuenta para:

> En general inquerir y constituyr la forma y leyes como nuestra Santa Fe Catolica se pueda predicar, e promulgar en aquel Nueuo Orbe que Dios nos ha descubierto, como más sea a su santo seruicio, y examinar que forma puede auer como quedassen aquellas gentes sugetas a la Magestad del Emperador nuestro señor sin lesión de su Real conciencia.

La Junta estaba formada por nueve miembros procedentes de los consejos principales de la monarquía junto con dos obispos y cuatro teólogos y, a lo largo de varias semanas, todos ellos escucharon las exposiciones realizadas por el humanista Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y el dominico Bartolomé de las Casas. Varios de los miembros de la Junta tenían experiencia en América, algunos directa (como La Gasca y Tello de Sandoval) y otros indirecta (el marqués de Mondéjar, que presidía la Junta, era el hermano mayor del virrey Mendoza). Al final, aconsejaron a Carlos que las adquisiciones de territorios y súbditos en

América por vía de conquistas eran «peligrosas para la conçiençia de Su Magestad por muchas causas e rrazones que allí se trataron y prinçipalmente por la dificultad que avía en escusar los daños e graves pecados que se hazen en las tales conquistas». Siguiendo esta misma línea, Las Casas publicó en 1552 los argumentos que había presentado ante la Junta en su *Brevíssima Relación de la destruyción de las Indias*, dedicada al príncipe Felipe para que pudiera con mayor «eficacia suplicar e persuadir a Su Magestad que deniegue a quien las pidiere» los excesos que se habían producido durante la conquista, como el repartimiento y las encomiendas.[94]

Carlos ya estaba predispuesto a ello. Su primer confesor, Jean Glapion, dimitió en 1522 tras haber solicitado y recibido permiso papal para ser misionero en América; Loaysa, que sucedió a Glapion, llegó a ser presidente del Consejo de Indias, cargo que ejerció hasta su muerte en 1546; y Diego de Soto, otro dominico que desempeñó un papel principal en la Junta de Valladolid, sucedió a su vez a Loaysa como confesor de Carlos.[95] Así pues, no es de extrañar que varios de los decretos de Carlos sobre América afirmaran que actuaba «por el descargo de nuestra real conciencia». Por tomar solo dos de los muchos ejemplos existentes, el preámbulo a sus Ordenanzas «sobre el tratamiento de los Indios» de 1528 sostenía que las prácticas actuales no solo eran un «deservicio de Dios Nuestro Señor», sino también «tan cargoso a nuestra real conciencia»; y al año siguiente ordenó al Consejo de Indias que propusiera medidas adecuadas para «descargo de su real conciencia y para la conservación de la dicha Nueva España».[96]

Los ministros y súbditos de Carlos eran conscientes de este escrúpulo, y le sacaban provecho. En 1530, un procurador enviado a España por Cortés formuló sus peticiones al emperador en forma de apelación a «la real conciencia de Vuestra Alteza»; al año siguiente, los oidores de la Audiencia de

México afirmaron que «por el descargo de vuestra real conciencia, conviene que haya gran diligencia en enviar frailes» a Nueva España; y en 1533 Cortés afirmó que un «repartimiento general de la tierra» entre los «conquistadores e primeros pobladores della, lo cual, demás de ser necesario para la dicha conservación, es cosa justa, y descargo de la real conciencia de Vuestra Magestad».[97] La Gasca hizo un excelente uso del escrúpulo imperial en una carta de 1549 a los magistrados de Arica, una ciudad peruana que continuó, pese a las Leyes Nuevas, enviando indios a trabajar en las minas de plata de Potosí. En ella hacía hincapié en que la cláusula que prohibía «echar indios a minas» no había sido revocada, y no veía perspectivas de cambio porque «Su Majestad, informado de cómo murieron todos los naturales de la Española y de Cuba y de las otras islas por echarse indios a las minas, está tan persuadido que se iría al infierno si permitiese que se echasen que por ninguna vía lo quiere permitir». «Disimular cosa tan fuera de términos como es que se lleven indios 170 leguas a echar en minas —advertía— es cosa que no se puede disimular sin grandísima ofensa de Dios y gran cargo de consciencia y peligro de incurrir en ira de Su Majestad».[98] En vista de la «delicada conciencia» del emperador y, en especial, de su temor a las llamas del infierno, La Gasca insistía en que esta práctica debía cesar de inmediato.

La retórica de La Gasca no constituía un caso aislado. Las crónicas escritas por los conquistadores españoles invocaban constantemente a Dios, de promedio, tres veces cada 1.000 palabras. Dios les daba fuerza, valor, consuelo, inspiración, ayuda, apoyo, la victoria y la salud; Él liberaba, protegía, recompensaba, preveía y perdonaba; Él conducía, salvaba, deseaba y dirigía. Las únicas palabras que aparecen en las crónicas de la conquista con más frecuencia que «Dios» eran «guerra», «oro» y, sobre todo, «el rey» (o sus equivalentes: «Su

Majestad», «emperador», «real»): ocho veces cada 1.000 palabras.[99] Las expresiones «el servicio de Dios y de su Magestad» a menudo aparecían unidas y se empleaban en alusión a la visión providencial de Carlos. Así, el emperador recibió el rescate de Atahualpa «para que con más ánimo e possibilidad prosigua la sancta empresa e guerra contra el turco e Luterio, y los otros enemigos de la fee». El primer panfleto publicado en España sobre la pacificación del Perú describía las atrocidades cometidas por «este Luterano de Gonçalo Piçarro, tan poco respecto tenía a las cosas y religiones de Dios como a las cosas del rey»: aunque no hay evidencia de que Pizarro ni ninguno de sus seguidores simpatizara con los protestantes, calificarle de hereje encajaba perfectamente en la visión del mundo que tenía Carlos.[100] Como Horst Pietschmann comentó:

> Al joven César tanto las experiencias del enfrentamiento con Lutero y del rompimiento de la unidad religiosa, así como el levantamiento comunero castellano, constituyeron experiencias con tanto impacto sobre su persona que le hacen reaccionar con bastante violencia frente a libertades reales o supuestas de ciudades [y] frente a las heterodoxias religiosas que le acosaron no solo en el imperio alemán sino también en la península [y en América].

El emperador simplemente no se podía permitir ignorar al Nuevo Mundo.[101]

Retrato del emperador en su plenitud

Un alumno lento

En 1557, justo después de la abdicación de Carlos, un embajador veneciano recordaba que, tiempo atrás, «todo el mundo, o casi todo el mundo, había tomado a Carlos por tonto y por vago, pero de repente e inesperadamente despertó y se volvió espabilado, comprometido y valiente». Pocos años más tarde, un veterano ministro comentó que «Éstos de la casa de Austria hazen tarde, como se vio en el emperador que está en Gloria».[1] En otras palabras, Carlos había sido lo que en una época posterior ha dado en llamarse «un alumno lento».

La mejora más espectacular tuvo que ver con las habilidades verbales de Carlos. Cuando llegó a España en 1517 sus nuevos súbditos se quedaron espantados al ver que solo hablaba y entendía el francés; pero en tan solo un año su castellano hablado llegó a ser fluido. En 1536, valiéndose solo de unas notas, pronunció una arenga en español que duró bastante más de una hora. Siete años más tarde redactó una carta de doce páginas en español con consejos para su hijo: aunque cometió algunos errores gramaticales (especialmente con el uso del subjuntivo), y utilizaba en ella varias palabras y expresiones tomadas del francés y del italiano, se entendía perfectamente lo que quería decir.[2]

La capacidad del emperador para comunicarse en italiano siguió una trayectoria similar. Cuando al llegar por primera vez a la península, en 1529, recibió algunos regalos de bienvenida, «ni siquiera era capaz de dar las gracias a los que se los entregaban, teniéndolo que hacer uno de sus cortesanos italianos por él»; pero ocho años más tarde un asombrado embajador italiano informó de que «Su Majestad me respondió en todo momento en italiano y se aseguró de que yo entendía todo lo que me decía». Esta fluidez no le abandonó con la edad.

Durante una audiencia en 1553 con un embajador inglés, «Su Majestad estaba ronco al principio» y el embajador «no podía escucharle bien a menos que su Majestad quisiera hablar en italiano; con lo cual, estando más dispuesto a hablar en italiano que capaz de hablar en voz más alta», Carlos continuó hablando en italiano durante el resto de la audiencia. También leía el italiano con soltura, y así afirmaba en 1550 que «nos para nuestra recreación leemos algunas vezes en un libro intitulado *Los Discursos* de Nicolao Machiaveli, que está escripto en lengua Toscana… por ser muy vtil y provechoso para cualquier príncipe».[3]

Su dominio del alemán también mejoró. Durante su coronación en Aquisgrán en 1520, un embajador escribió que Carlos necesitaba un intérprete «porque no puede hablar alemán improvisadamente»; pero cuatro años más tarde, cuando otro diplomático, Juan Dantisco, se dirigió a él en alemán durante una audiencia, Carlos «con el rostro benévolo e invadido de cierto rubor» le dijo: «No sé cómo responderos; si lo hago en español, tal vez no comprendáis todo, y si en alemán, yo no lo hablo con perfección». Dantisco respondió adulador: «Vuestra Majestad puede hablar todo lo que desea en alemán». De donde, mirando a su alrededor por si estaba presente el canciller [Gattinara], que no estaba, «me respondió así en lengua alemana y me agradó anotar sus palabras, según recuerdo…». Dantisco transcribía a continuación casi 100 palabras en un alemán idiosincrásico pero comprensible.[4] Para cuando Carlos regresó a Alemania en 1530 para presidir la Dieta de Augsburgo, ya hablaba alemán con soltura; y para la década de 1540 e incluso antes, también holandés.[5]

En cambio, Carlos nunca llegó a dominar el latín. En 1526, el embajador inglés refería que a menos que Gattinara «estuviera presente, el emperador no me daba audiencia porque aunque lo entendía, no le resultaba cómodo responder en latín»; y tres

años más tarde, al llegar a Italia, Carlos lamentaba no poder entender «la retórica y las elegantes frases» de las alocuciones en latín pronunciadas por las personas que iba conociendo, añadiendo en tono arrepentido, «que si diera crédito a las palabras de mi buen maestro Hadriano [Adriano de Utrecht], quando me enseñaua, no tuuiera yo agora necessidad de interprete, para entender lo que aquí se me ha dicho». En sus Instrucciones al príncipe Felipe de 1543 recalcaba que, para que le comprendieran sus súbditos, «no ay cosa más necessarya ny general que la lengua latyna, por lo qual yo os ruego mucho que travajéys de tomarla de arte que después de corrido no os atreuáys a hablarla». Unos años más tarde, siguió por fin su propio consejo: durante el asedio de Metz, en 1552, su ayuda de cámara, Guillermo van Male, utilizó la Vulgata para enseñar latín a su señor, «y el emperador a veces alardea de ello».[6]

Muchos contemporáneos alabaron la facilidad de Carlos para las lenguas vernáculas. Estando en campaña, se paseaba entre sus soldados y les infundía ánimo hablando a cada unidad en su propia lengua (al igual que había hecho su abuelo Maximiliano); y en los acontecimientos públicos, como la Dieta de Augsburgo de 1530, un diplomático señaló que «tanto el emperador como su hermano hablan muy bien y responden casi de inmediato en muchas lenguas distintas —especificando holandés, francés, alemán, italiano y español— de modo que da gusto ver cómo pasan de un idioma a otro». Dos años después, otros diplomáticos se admiraban de la capacidad de Carlos para «hablar cuatro idiomas —francés, español, portugués y alemán (aunque este último es el que le resulta más difícil— además del italiano».[7] Esta aptitud lingüística acabó convirtiéndose en objeto de broma:

> Si necesito hablar con Dios, solía decir Carlos V, lo hago en español, porque el idioma español transmite solemnidad y majestad; si es con amigos, en italiano, porque el habla italiana suena amistosa; y si es para seducir a alguien, en francés,

porque no hay idioma más seductor. Pero si quiero amenazar o regañar, empleo el alemán, porque es una lengua absolutamente, amenazante, dura y enfática.[8]

¿Cómo adquirió Carlos tal habilidad políglota? Su educación formal terminó en 1515, cuando Adriano de Utrecht partió hacia España, y no parece que contratara a otros instructores; sin embargo, en el siglo XVI (como también ocurre en la actualidad) adquirir fluidez en un idioma exigía dedicación, práctica y confianza. Tal vez su mandato de que Felipe debía aprender suficiente latín, no fuera a ocurrir que «no os *atreuáys* a hablarla», ofrece una pista: el testimonio de Dantisco confirma que el propio emperador no tenía empacho en aprender por ensayo y error. Estaba dispuesto a practicar, si era necesario en público, a fin de mejorar. Una carta escrita por el humanista y diplomático Girolamo Aleandro durante su estancia en la corte de Carlos en 1531 nos da una segunda pista: el emperador encontraba fascinantes las lenguas extranjeras. Aleandro estaba sentado una noche «junto a una lámpara que había sobre una mesa para leer un memorial que yo había escrito, cuando el emperador casualmente pasó por allí y vio que yo había escrito en hebreo». Cuando Carlos «me preguntó qué escritura era esa», Aleandro se puso nervioso, porque varios de sus contemporáneos (entre ellos Erasmo y Lutero) habían afirmado que él era judío; de modo que «Respondí con una sonrisa que no quería que su Majestad se enfadara, como los luteranos, si le decía que esa escritura era hebreo… Entonces su Majestad recitó los dos primeros versos de la Biblia en latín y me preguntó si yo podía hacer lo mismo en hebreo. Así lo hice, y su Majestad no pudo ocultar su regocijo». Le pidió entonces a Aleandro que hiciera lo mismo en griego y «luego me preguntó si sabía escribir en griego, y cuando le mostré la otra cara del documento, que estaba en griego, dijo: "Esto es extraordinario: qué bonito, es maravilloso"». El nuncio se alegró mucho «de ver cuánto

disfrutaba su Majestad con la diversidad de los idiomas» y dedujo, con toda verosimilitud, que «lo había heredado de su abuelo Maximiliano».[9]

Carlos también trató de aprender de adulto otra disciplina que había estado ausente de su educación formal: las matemáticas. A su regreso a España en 1533 «trató de hurtar algunas horas al peso de los negocios para emplearlas en el estudio de las disciplinas matemáticas, pues ya que sustentaba en sus ombros el cielo este glorioso Atlante, quiso tomar el compás para medirle». Dado que «tenía el César algún empacho en aprenderlas inmediatamente de los cosmógrafos», preguntó a Francisco de Borja «si tenía alguna noticia de estas ciencias». El futuro santo confesó que él no la tenía, por lo que fue a estudiar con Alonso de Santa Cruz y otros. A partir de entonces, Borja mantenía diariamente «coloquios»

> Trasladando al claro entendimiento del César lo que bebía de aquel insigne cosmógrafo Santa Cruz, y de otros matemáticos del emperador; de suerte que en poco más de seis meses llegaron a penetrar las más útiles máximas destas ciencias, bien instruidos en los elementos de Euclides, en las especulaciones de Theodosio, y las de Apolonio, etc.[10]

Los desafíos de gobernar un imperio global

Algunos coetáneos se quejaron de que la «afición a las letras» y a las matemáticas del emperador le distraían de la cantidad de trabajo que generaba su vasto imperio. Pocos años después de la muerte de su hermano, Fernando le confió a su médico que él consideraba a Carlos «un poco negligente».

> En más de una ocasión le pregunté: «¿Por qué no lee vuestra Majestad las peticiones y documentos de sus súbditos en lugar de dedicar tan gran parte de su tiempo y momentos de ocio a los libros de matemáticas?». A lo que el emperador contestó riéndose: «Por la noche me encuentro cansado y agobiado y por ello me resulta imposible ocuparme de temas de trabajo».[11]

Más pronto o más tarde, sin embargo, Carlos siempre acababa ocupándose personalmente de los asuntos importantes, incluso cuando estaba de viaje: en 1541 un diplomático refería con sorpresa que «Hoy he visto aquí una habitación de madera

construida para su Majestad en la que hay una cama, una mesa de escritorio y un pequeño espacio para sentarse, que se puede desmontar y transportar en cajas tiradas por mulas». También continuó ocupándose de los temas delicados en cartas ológrafas, aunque ponía el límite en tener que escribirlas dos veces: en cierta ocasión se disculpaba ante Los Cobos porque «esta carta tenía escripta de my mano y derramóse en ella un tintero y por pereza de no tornalla a escrivir he mandado a Eraso que la meta en cifra».[12] Asimismo, Carlos continuó asegurándose de que entendía perfectamente los temas antes de tomar decisiones. Un embajador veneciano señaló que el emperador solía «aceptar el consejo de todas las partes, llegando a pasar hasta cuatro o cinco horas seguidas sentado en una silla tratando cada cuestión de importancia, y poniéndose a continuación a escribir las razones a favor y en contra para decidir qué era lo mejor».[13] En junio de 1546, cuando el Papa expresó su frustración por la dilación del emperador en declarar la guerra contra los protestantes, un diplomático veterano aclaró que «las razones que explican la demora de su Majestad son muchas y diversas [*molte e diverse*], pero la principal es esta: no quiere iniciar una empresa de tan grandes dimensiones en Alemania sin sondear a varios de los príncipes». Una vez comenzó la guerra, Carlos siguió mostrando la misma prudencia en asuntos militares. El embajador veneciano en el campamento imperial relató que «ayer noche su Majestad estuvo reunido con su Consejo de Guerra hasta la medianoche, y hoy otra vez hasta el mediodía, debatiendo sobre qué hacer» *(véase lámina 27)*.[14]

No obstante, Carlos reconocía que no lo podía hacer todo: «La urgencia de algunos asuntos públicos —informó en cierta ocasión a Fernando— implica que debo hacer lo que es possible, no lo que quiero».[15] Tambi én era consciente de que sus funcionarios podían tratar de engañarle. Ferrante Gonzaga, que había crecido en la corte imperial y más tarde sería virrey de

Sicilia, gobernador de Milán y comandante del ejército imperial, le dijo una vez a Carlos que pasaba demasiado tiempo escuchando las críticas hacia sus ministros. «Su Majestad replicó que él no había creído y seguía sin creer nada de lo que se decía contra mí, y que solo le guiaba el deseo de escuchar a cualquiera que quisiera decirle algo», lo cual, según Gonzaga dejó anotado con amargura, para él «significaba "cualquiera que quisiera hablar mal de mí"». Gonzaga ordenó por tanto a su representante en la corte, Natale Musi, que se quejara de esta maledicencia, pero, como uno de los consejeros de Carlos le recordó: «Siempre hemos oído todo tipo de agravios hacia todos los ministros. Negarnos a hacerlo constituiría tiranía por parte de su Majestad y una afrenta a la ley humana y divina». Cuando Musi sugirió que Carlos debía «castigar a quienquiera que acusara en falso a un ministro», su interlocutor respondió: «Eso nunca funcionaría, porque dicho castigo asustaría y disuadiría a cualquier persona que fuera verdaderamente objeto de agravio por parte de dicho ministro». En su célebre retrato del emperador en Augsburgo en 1548, Tiziano captaba brillantemente esta cualidad: los «ojos de águila» de Carlos (como sus contemporáneos los denominaban) escudriñan fríamente al espectador, tratando de detectar cualquier signo de hipocresía o engaño *(véase lámina 28)*.[16]

Estas prácticas solían en general permitir a Carlos guardarse la última decisión para sí. En 1546, un diplomático inglés se quejó de que el emperador «hace cosas por su cuenta sin consultar a sus am igos» (refiriéndose en este caso a sus aliados); y seis años después el nuncio papal se hacía eco de que «al emperador le gusta ocuparse de sus asuntos a su manera, tomándose su tiempo para pensar las cosas con la esperanza de lograr sus fines sin grandes renuncias».[17] Muchos encontraban frustrante este estilo de toma de decisiones. Durante un capítulo oficial celebrado por los caballeros del Toisón de Oro en 1546, estos

expresaron las mismas quejas sobre su soberano que durante su última reunión quince años atrás: que Carlos no les notificaba con antelación sus decisiones importantes (en concreto, sus dos campañas africanas); que «se exponía al peligro demasiado a menudo en tiempo de guerra»; que «era muy lento en las negociaciones»; y que «tenía muchas deudas, de lo cual se quejaban sus acreedores». Como en la ocasión anterior, Carlos «tuvo la gentileza de responder», pero se defendió vehementemente. Recordó a los caballeros que sus dos campañas africanas «debían ejecutarse en el mayor secreto para no dar ocasión a sus enemigos de evitarlas» (aunque sí lo había «notificado a algunos de los caballeros que estaban entonces con él»). «Respecto a lo lento que era en las negociaciones, afirmaba que esto siempre le había funcionado bien»; y que ya había ordenado a su tesorero averiguar exactamente cuánto debía como paso previo al pago de sus deudas. A continuación, dijo: «En cuanto al resto, si en algo había ofendido, había sido sin darse cuenta y no con mala intención; y concluía asegurando a la asamblea que en el futuro pondría más atención al correcto desempeño de sus deberes».[18]

La tiranía de la distancia

Carlos podía haber ofrecido otra explicación de por qué «era tan lento en las negociaciones»: la naturaleza del sistema de comunicaciones en el que se basaba su gobierno. Fernand Braudel, el primer historiador en dedicar verdadera atención a este problema, escribió en 1949:

> La comprensión de la importancia que tenía la distancia en el siglo XVI —de los obstáculos, las dificultades y los retrasos que causaba— lleva a considerar los problemas administrativos a los que se enfrentaban los imperios del siglo XVI bajo una nueva luz. Sobre todo, el inmenso imperio español […] que implicaba (para su época) una enorme infraestructura de transporte terrestre y marítimo, y requería no solo el continuo movimiento de tropas sino el envío de órdenes e informes diarios, unas conexiones tan silenciosas como vitales.

Braudel sugirió que «como mínimo la mitad de las acciones de Felipe II podían explicarse solo por la necesidad de mantener estas conexiones», y lo mismo podía decirse de su padre. Para ambos, según la memorable frase de Braudel, «La distancia era el enemigo público número uno».[19]

Muchas de las quejas expresadas por Carlos y sus coetáneos avalan esta afirmación. En 1525, desde Basilea, Erasmo comentaba con fastidio que había escrito al secretario imperial Jean Lallemand en España, pero «si la carta le llegó alguna vez o no, es algo que a estas alturas todavía no he podido averiguar. ¡Nos separan tantas montañas, llanuras y mares, que parece que viváis en un mundo diferente!». Cuatro años después, otro secretario imperial, Alfonso de Valdés, se quejaba a Erasmo desde Barcelona de que «las cartas desde vuestra parte del mundo tardan muchísimo en llegarnos, si es que nos llegan». Don Pedro de Toledo, tan largo tiempo al servicio de Carlos como virrey de Nápoles, comentó jocosamente en cierta ocasión que «si tenía que esperar a la muerte, esperaba que llegara por carta desde España, porque así no llegaría nunca».[20]

Es posible que exageraran: Carlos y sus ministros tenían acceso a una red de correos de una extensión y complejidad sin precedentes. En 1502, el padre de Carlos comenzó a pagar a Francisco de Taxis para mantener una red de puestos de correos que enlazaban Bruselas con la frontera española formada por 35 hombres, y tres años después le nombró su «correo mayor». En 1506 su abuelo Maximiliano firmó un contrato con la empresa de Taxis para la creación de 15 puestos de correos que comunicaría Augsburgo con Bruselas; y, una década más tarde, Carlos firmó un contrato con Taxis que establecía unos plazos estandarizados de entrega para las cartas que viajaban hasta las principales ciudades de Alemania, Italia y España (12 días entre Bruselas y Toledo en verano, 14 en invierno; etcétera). Llegada la década de 1530, los miembros de la familia Taxis dirigían los

puestos de correos de Innsbruck, Augsburgo, Bruselas, Roma y España; y Raimundo de Taxis viajaba a menudo con Carlos para garantizar un servicio eficaz dondequiera que se encontrara.[21]

En cierta ocasión Carlos manifestó su deseo de que sus mensajeros «pudieran» volar, para poder mantenerle más al tanto de los acontecimientos y, a veces, casi lo hicieron. En 1519, la noticia de su elección como rey de Romanos en Fráncfort le llegó a Carlos estando en Barcelona, a más de 1.300 kilómetros de distancia, en 17 días, «por medio de rápidos correos que vuelan en velocísimos caballos»; tres años después, un mensajero cubrió los 1.500 kilómetros que separaban Roma de Bruselas en 12 días para llevar a Carlos la noticia de que el «Señor Adriano [de Utrecht] ha sido elegido Papa»; en 1545, un correo enviado desde Roma se presentó ante él en Worms, a 1.320 kilómetros de distancia, en menos de seis días. Estas eran hazañas verdaderamente extraordinarias que sitúan la velocidad media en 76 y 125 kilómetros al día a principios del reinado, llegando más tarde a alcanzarse los 220 kilómetros. Como comentó Giovanni Ugolini, a principios de la era moderna nada viajaba más rápido que las cartas.[22]

El problema era que las cartas no viajaban a una velocidad uniforme. Aunque carecemos de un estudio sistemático de la velocidad de la correspondencia de Carlos, el estudio que ha llevado a cabo Pierre Sardella de 10.000 cartas recibidas por el gobierno de Venecia desde toda Europa entre 1497 y 1532 facilita un útil paralelismo *(véase figura 2)*. Sardella se propuso establecer el «plazo normal» —es decir, el intervalo más frecuente entre el despacho y el recibo— que tardaban las cartas que llegaban a Venecia a través de distintas rutas postales. Lógicamente, cuanto más cercano era el lugar, más alta era la proporción de cartas que llegaban en el plazo de tiempo normal: solo una de cada diez de las cartas procedentes de Innsbruck y una de cada ocho de las intercambiadas entre Londres y

Valladolid, pero en cambio una de cada cinco entre Bruselas y Viena, y casi una de cada tres entre Nápoles y Roma. Aun así, casi dos tercios de las 1.053 cartas de Roma recibidas en Venecia *no* llegaron en el plazo normal: algunas llegaron en menos de dos días, mientras que otras tardaron más de una semana.

Figura 2. Tiempo que tardaron las cartas oficiales en llegar a Venecia, 1497-1532

Lugar de origen	Número de cartas	Tiempo más corto (en días)	Tiempo más largo (en días)	Tiempo normal (en días)	Recibidas en «tiempo normal»
Roma	1.053	1½	9	4	38 %
Nápoles	682	4	20	8	38 %
Viena	143	8	32	13	22 %
Palermo	118	8	48	25	19 %
Bruselas	138	9	35	10	17 %
París	173	7	34	12	13 %
Valladolid	124	12	63	23	12 %
Londres	672	9	52	24	12 %
Innsbruck	163	1	16	6	10 %
Augsburgo	110	5	21	12	6 %

Dos venecianos, Mario Sanudo y Girolamo Priuli, registraron en sus diarios la fecha en la que más de 10.000 cartas oficiales llegaron a Venecia y también cuándo y dónde fueron escritas. A partir de estos datos en bruto, Pierre Sardella calculó el tiempo más largo, el más corto y el «normal» que tardaban las cartas en llegar desde varios destinos. Sus conclusiones revelaron que el tiempo «normal» era una categoría carente de significado, especialmente en el caso de los lugares más alejados: así, de las 124 cartas recibidas desde Valladolid, la capital administrativa de España, solo 15 llegaron después del lapso de tiempo «normal» de 15 días, mientras que otras tardaron menos de dos semanas y una más de dos meses. Esta imprevisibilidad de las comunicaciones socavó la planificación del gobierno.

Fuente: Sardella, *Nouvelles*, 56-57.

Los problemas que suponían las distancias para el gobierno de Carlos, cuyas posesiones se extendían por casi la mitad del orbe, eran todavía mayores. Las cartas intercambiadas entre Carlos y Fernando en la década de 1520 tardaban un promedio de 40 días en llegar, pero algunas lo hacían en menos de un mes y en cambio otras, en más de dos. Estas disparidades tenían un impacto directo en la toma de decisiones, ya que ni el remitente ni el destinatario podían estar seguros de cuándo llegaría su

carta. Incluso algunas cartas de importancia clave, como la de Fernando del 22 de septiembre de 1526 comunicando la noticia de la catastrófica derrota de Mohács casi un mes antes, no le llegó a Carlos (entonces en Granada) hasta 51 días después.[23] Obviamente, las cartas procedentes de América tardaban todavía más: las escritas en México rara vez llegaban a la corte en menos de tres meses; las del Perú a menudo tardaban más del doble. El 20 de agosto de 1555 llegó a España un mensajero «del Perú con la nueva de haver cortado la cabeça al tirano Francisco Hernández» el diciembre anterior, un retraso de casi nueve meses, pese a la importancia de la noticia.[24]

Incluso cuando una carta llegaba en un tiempo récord, su contenido podía no obstante no estar inmediatamente accesible. Sobre todo, el uso del cifrado podía demorar los asuntos varios días. En 1525, los embajadores ingleses en España recibieron una carta codificada de su señor, «tras lo cual nos pusimos a descifrar la carta, que es larga y nos ha costado dos días de trabajo»; tres años después, en un momento crítico durante el asedio francés de Nápoles, el virrey español tardó cinco días en descifrar una carta de vital importancia que fue interceptada; en 1546, aunque el embajador español en Roma consiguió hacerse con parte de una carta cifrada que se le había caído a un representante del conde Fieschi en un descuido, en la que se hablaba de la conspiración de este para capturar Génova, tuvo que reenviarla a Florencia para que la descodificaran.[25] La llegada de muchas cartas al mismo tiempo podía también ser causa de demoras. En 1543 Edmund Bonner, embajador de Enrique VIII en España, impaciente por cumplir con la gestión que le había encargado su señor, se desesperó cuando una galera de Génova trajo «una gran cantidad de cartas para el emperador, enviadas desde Flandes por la regente [María de Hungría], desde Alemania por Granvela y algunos otros, y desde Italia por el Marqués de Guaste [Vasto] y varios amigos que el emperador

tenía allí». De modo que, pese a «mi diligente solicitud y trabajo», Bonner tuvo que esperar varias semanas para obtener las decisiones que necesitaba.[26]

El historiador James Tracy formuló un acertado símil del dilema que representaba la combinación de una red de información de una complejidad sin precedentes con un imperio de dimensiones incomparables:

> Carlos y su círculo más estrecho recibían de forma habitual informes de asuntos que afectaban a docenas de reinos y principados de Europa y ultramar, y de vez en cuando informes de muchos otros. Trazar las interconexiones entre estas distintas historias exigiría un esfuerzo gigantesco, una especie de emisión simultánea desde treinta o cuarenta canales diferentes.[27]

El emperador adoptó varias estrategias para procesar esta emisión en simultáneo. Continuó delegando las decisiones sobre tierras lejanas en personas en quienes confiaba —María de Hungría en los Países Bajos, Fernando en el imperio, Mendoza en México, La Gasca en el Perú—, si bien insistiendo en que no dejaran de inundarle de noticias. En 1522, dado que su plan de volver a España dependía de conseguir el préstamo, tanto de dinero como de barcos de guerra, por parte de Enrique VIII, ordenó a sus embajadores en Inglaterra que «me escriban contándome todo aquello que oigan *cada día*, para que podamos preparar mejor nuestro viaje». Poco después de llegar a España, le recordaba a su tía Margarita que «Deseo sobremanera tener noticias a fin de saber siempre qué es lo que está pasando en los Países Bajos, por lo que os pido me mantengáis informado *con la mayor frecuencia que podáis*». En 1525, expresaba su esperanza de que sus embajadores en Roma continuaran «avisándonos *continuamente* de lo que se hiziere»; y cuatro años más tarde instaba a su nuevo embajador en Génova a tener «siempre muy especial cuydado de escrivirnos *muchas vezes y por diversas vías* assí de mar como de tierra todo lo que os paresciere convenir que acá sepamos». En 1543, con ocasión del envío de un nuevo embajador a Roma, hizo la promesa

recíproca: «miraremos y os scriviremos lo que en los negocios havéys de hazer, porque *cada día y cada ora ay nouedades* en ellos y assí es menester mudar consejo segund el tiempo».[28]

El emperador también instaba a sus funcionarios a mantener contacto unos con otros. «Holgamos que nuestros ministros estén en toda conformidad y tengan buena ynteligencia y correspondencia los unos con los otros —le recordó en cierta ocasión al duque de Alba—, porque así se haze mucho mejor, como sabéis, lo que toca a nuestro servicio».[29] Cuando en 1529 nombró a Gómez Suárez de Figueroa para que fuera su embajador en Génova, Carlos le ordenó que consultara con quien había sido su predecesor en el cargo largo tiempo, Lope de Soria, que iba a trasladarse a la embajada veneciana, «antes que se parta, y informaros muy bien dél con mucho secreto y discrición de la qualidad de las personas de aquella república assí en general como en particular, y quales son más o menos afficionados a nuestro servicio y de quien solía ser él avisado de lo que allí passaba, y que medios tenia para ello». Diez años más tarde, cuando Carlos ordenó el traslado de Soria y este tuvo que dejar la embajada de Venecia, insistió al embajador para que «os detengáys en essa ciudad veynte o treynta días después que ay llegare» su sucesor, para que le informara «de palabra como de scriptura» y le entregara todos los documentos necesarios a fin de que pudiera «quedar mejor informado y hazer mejor su oficio». Soria también debía compartir «la cifra general que tenemos con nuestros ministros» y pasar un tiempo «tractando juntamente con él los negocios, para que mejor los entienda y la manera que en ellos devría tener».[30]

Señor de la guerra

El perspicaz embajador veneciano Bernardo Navagero señaló que Carlos «no puede disimular lo que disfruta en la guerra. Le hace feliz, le hace sentir vivo». Mientras que por lo general

«siempre se muestra muy solemne, cuando se halla con el ejército quiere estar en todas partes, verlo todo y meterse en todo, y olvidarse del gran emperador que es y hacer el trabajo de un simple capitán. Muchos dicen», continuaba Navagero,

> Que el deseo del emperador de participar en las operaciones acarrea muchas desventajas, porque cuando está presente en persona siempre tiene uno que ser más cauteloso cuando va de marcha y más prudente en combate, y asumir solo las operaciones en las que hay posibilidad de salir airoso. En cambio, si el emperador no está presente, sus generales se mostrarían más audaces a la hora de tentar a la Fortuna, sabiendo que si pierden un ejército pueden fácilmente reclutar otro.

Según Navagero, «muchas personas, especialmente los españoles, dicen que el emperador haría mejor en no ir de campaña», citando el ejemplo de su abuelo Fernando que, «sin salir de España, conquistó el reino de Nápoles y muchas ciudades de África»; y de hecho «el emperador también ha conseguido siempre sorprendentes e importantes victorias cuando ha dejado que sus ministros dirijan la guerra». Pero, añadía el embajador, «otros dicen que dado el tipo de ejércitos que él manda, las cosas habrían salido peor en su ausencia de lo que lo han hecho en su presencia, y en ciertas ocasiones han triunfado algunas empresas que de otro modo habrían fracasado».[31]

El embajador resumía con acierto las apasionadas discrepancias que este tema suscitaba entre los miembros del séquito de Carlos. Cuando la archiduquesa Margarita descubrió en 1529 que su sobrino planeaba ir a Italia «y arriesgar su persona en la guerra», le recordó que «mi abuelo el duque Carlos [el Temerario] murió derrotado en batalla» (añadiendo con duro sarcasmo, «como estoy segura de que ya habréis oído contar muchas veces»), y que «el difunto rey Carlos [VIII] de Francia, que quería ir a Nápoles, se encontró con que todo el mundo era su aliado» hasta que se quedó sin dinero, a partir de lo cual «todos le abandonaron hasta quedarse solo con 5.000 o 6.000 hombres, con los que se vio obligado a luchar, con gran riesgo y

peligro para su vida, para poder volver a Francia». Rogaba por tanto a su sobrino que dejara que fueran sus ejércitos los que lucharan hasta que hubieran derrotado a todos sus enemigos. Seis años más tarde, cuando su hermana María de Hungría se enteró de los planes de Carlos para la campaña de Túnez, argumentó que «su Majestad no debería estar presente en persona, porque muchas cosas que podrían arriesgarse en su ausencia no pueden intentarse con su presencia».[32]

Al propio Carlos le asaltaban periódicamente dudas a este respecto. Cuando supo que el hermano de su esposa, el infante Luis de Portugal, había tomado parte en «una encamisada» mientras se hallaba en campaña contra el Xarife de Marruecos en 1549, afirmó inequívocamente:

> En ninguna manera seríamos de opinión que se metiese ny encerrase en ninguna fuerça, aunque estuviese bien proveyda y bastecida, porque se aventuraría mucho en ello y trayendo el campo que el Xarife traería se podrían hazer pocos efectos sustanciales, y es mejor que se halle libre para proveer y dar orden en el socorro y en otras cosas que se podrían ofresçer.

Por supuesto, él no siguió su propio consejo. Cinco años antes, nada más unirse a sus tropas en el asedio de St Dizier, asumió personalmente el mando alegando que «casi una docena de distintas naciones» servían «en mi ejército», y como no siempre se ponían de acuerdo, «si no estoy yo allí presente, estoy seguro de que no hay quien pueda poner orden».[33] El emperador también se preciaba de su capacidad logística. En 1538 recordó a su hermano una lección que había tenido que aprender por las malas dos años antes en la Provenza: que, en la guerra, «conviene que uno lleve su comida, sin depender de si la encuentra o no en las tierras del enemigo». El 26 de marzo de 1547, facilitó a su hermano un itinerario detallado de la campaña venidera contra Juan Federico de Sajonia. Prometió llevarse a su ejército de Núremberg al día siguiente y «con la ayuda de Dios» llegar al campamento de Fernando en Cheb (Eger), a 150 kilómetros, en nueve días: «No puedo llegar antes,

porque las tropas no pueden recorrer más de dos leguas al día. Vos estáis a 18 leguas, lo que implica nueve días». Pese al sufrimiento de «un escozor al orinar que no me deja en paz ni de día ni de noche» (cabe suponer que debido a una infección del tracto urinario), Carlos llegó a Cheb con su ejército el 5 de abril, exactamente nueve días después (un logro notable por lo que respecta tanto a la predicción como a la ejecución).[34]

El emperador observado de cerca

Muchos observadores se tomaron un interés obsesivo en la salud del emperador. Periódicamente, este asombraba a todo el mundo con un prodigioso alarde de fortaleza y resistencia física. En Mühlberg, en 1547, según un testigo presencial, tras ganar la batalla, Carlos «vino a su alojamiento a la vna de la noche después de aver andado XXII oras sin se apear». Cuatro años después, un embajador informaba de que el emperador seguía siendo un cazador tan entusiasta que «durante varias noches durmió vestido de arriba abajo para estar listo al amanecer», añadiendo, «cuando es necesario, está en forma para hacer todo lo que quiere». El médico imperial, Cornelis van Baersdorp, estaba rotundamente en desacuerdo. En una serie de boletines médicos escritos tras la victoriosa campaña sajona en 1547, informó de que Carlos había cogido un fuerte resfriado (en mayo); sufrió un dolor de estómago hasta que se curó mediante una poderosa lavativa (en junio: «Su Majestad en persona dijo haber hecho de vientre tres veces y en gran cantidad, después de lo cual se había sentido mucho mejor»); le mordió un roedor (en julio); y «el asma le tuvo siete noche sin dormir» (en agosto).[35] Tres años después, el embajador francés Carlos de Marillac afirmó que el emperador «sufría varias enfermedades crónicas, todas las cuales se agudizaban de vez en cuando: su primer padecimiento son las hemorroides, que le llevan a perder mucha sangre». En segundo lugar, «es asmático y el catarro se le baja a los pulmones constantemente, provocándole en ocasiones

una tos tan fuerte que es milagro que la lleve aguantando tanto tiempo». Tercero, padecía de gota en los brazos, hombro y cabeza, con tales dolores que «llora y se despide del mundo, habiendo tenido que darle la extremaunción a toda prisa». Marillac consideraba «un milagro y contrario a las leyes de la naturaleza que siga con vida».[36]

El propio Carlos habría estado de acuerdo. Cuando redactaba sus *Memorias* en 1550, anotó el momento y el lugar exacto de diecisiete ataques de gota, y es fácil entender por qué: le habían dejado muy debilitado.[37] Cuando salió de Gante en enero de 1545, tras un episodio prolongado de esta enfermedad, Navagero afirmó que «todo el que ha visto al pobre monarca ha sentido compasión de él, porque parece sumamente débil, pálido y enfermizo. Hizo el viaje en una litera, amarrado y bien asegurado a la que se subía con gran dificultad, apoyándose en un gran bastón». Tras sufrir otro ataque tres años después, un enviado florentino afirmó que un reciente retrato (muy posiblemente el pintado por Tiziano en Augsburgo) mostraba al emperador «muy pálido y falto de color», y añadía: «lo cual no es de extrañar, dadas las muchas purgas que le habían hecho, y que estaba a dieta».[38]

El término «dieta» era bastante flexible en lo tocante a Carlos. El quisquilloso joven gobernante fue sucumbiendo paulatinamente a la glotonería a medida que se fue haciendo mayor. El doctor Baersdorp se quejaba en 1548 de que el emperador a veces comía en exceso, especialmente fruta («cinco docenas de cerezas de una vez, y ayer medio pepino»; y cantidades desorbitantes de melón); y dos años más tarde, Roger Ascham vio a Carlos darse un atracón de «muy buen buey, cordero asado, liebre al horno» y un pollo mientras bebía en cantidades ingentes («pasaba con la cabeza metida en el vaso cinco veces más tiempo que cualquiera de nosotros, y nunca

bebía menos de un litro largo de vino renano de una sentada»); Marillac consideraba al emperador «el hombre más autoindulgente del mundo en lo que respecta a comida».[39]

Bartholomaus Sastrow, por lo general muy severo en sus críticas hacia Carlos, contaba en cambio una versión diferente: «Le ví muchas veces comer en público» en la década de 1540, recordaba Sastrow, y bebía «solo tres veces durante cada comida» de «una copa de cristal», si bien «la vaciaba hasta la última gota, parándose a respirar dos o tres veces». En cuanto a la comida, aunque «siempre había cuatro servicios, cada uno compuesto de seis platos»,

> Cuando los criados descubrían cada uno, el emperador negaba con la cabeza cuando los rechazaba y asentía y atraía hacia sí los otros. A veces se llevaban enormes pasteles, grandes piezas de caza y los más suculentos platos, mientras su Majestad tomaba solo una pieza de asado, o una cabeza de cordero o cosa similar. Nadie le trinchaba la comida, y él apenas utilizaba el cuchillo salvo para cortar el pan, y también el plato elegido, en trozos los bastante pequeños para poder metérselos enteros en la boca. Luego dejaba el cuchillo sobre la mesa y utilizaba los dedos para cogerlos, sujetando el plato bajo su barbilla con la otra mano.[40]

Aunque Sastrow opinaba que «comía con tanta naturalidad y al mismo tiempo con tanta limpieza que deba gusto verle», cabe suponer que sus maneras en la mesa reflejaran su prognatismo, que le hacía imposible masticar. El problema empeoró sin duda tras sufrir dos accidentes. En 1550 el embajador florentino, al tiempo que se maravillaba de la puntería del emperador («es sin duda un tirador excelente»), informaba de que utilizaba «un arcabuz de tal largo alcance que llegaba a resultar excesivo, porque el retroceso era tan fuerte que el que no tenía los dientes bien encajados en la mandíbula» sufría las consecuencias. Al año siguiente, mientras viajaba por Augsburgo y sus alrededores un día, llevando una especie de cureña «que él mismo había diseñado», se cayó y «perdió los pocos dientes que la naturaleza le había dejado».[41]

Las extremas oscilaciones en la salud del emperador llevaron a algunos a sospechar que exageraba sus dolencias bien para ganar tiempo o para evitar llevar a cabo acciones que no eran de su agrado. El embajador inglés, William Paget, no albergaba ninguna duda. «Cuando voy a verle», escribió en marzo de 1545,

> No observo ninguna razón por la que no pueda hablar con ningún embajador. Respecto a sus enfermedades, no sé si le harán sufrir por dentro, pero lo que se ve desde fuera por su cara y la rapidez y el volumen con el que habla, es un aspecto más saludable que el que yo le vi cuando estuve con él en verano. Y, para ser sincero, yo creo que no estaba más enfermo entonces de lo que podría estar yo, pero que lo utilizaba a efectos tácticos.

Paget hizo un comentario similar nueve meses más tarde: «La gota del emperador *le sirve para todo tipo de propósitos* siempre» y «será una *excusa honesta* ante el imperio para explicar por qué no está presente en la Dieta como prometió. *Es un hombre de muchísimos recursos*». Paget no era el único en tener estas sospechas: aunque Carlos permaneció «en una silla baja con la pierna en alto» durante una audiencia, el nuncio informó de que «algunos sospechan que está *fingiendo estar enfermo*».[42]

La verdad no emergió hasta que el cuerpo desnudo de Carlos fue expuesto al público en la década de 1870. Un espectador comentó su «corpulencia» y «su alta y amplísima cavidad torácica; sus anchos y elevados hombros; sus cargadas espaldas» *(véase lámina 39)*. Un moderno análisis de laboratorio de una falange separada de uno de sus dedos confirmó que había sufrido de una gota en grado extremo: «un enorme tofo gotoso había destruido por completo la articulación interfalángica distal y se había extendido al tejido blando vecino». Si las demás articulaciones del emperador estaban afectadas de modo simi lar, debió de padecer un dolor crónico y no es cierto que estuviera «simplemente fingiendo estar enfermo».[43]

Sus contemporáneos también se tomaron un interés obsesivo por la conducta del emperador. Según las anotaciones de Sastrow, Carlos siguió comiendo solo y en silencio, y aunque «sus bufones [*Schalksnarren*] están detrás de él», «les prestaba poca atención, esbozando una ligera sonrisa [*mit einem halben Lachlin*] cuando decían algo especialmente divertido». Otras veces, el emperador daba muestra de un gran sentido del humor, en ocasiones haciendo bromas sobre sí mismo. Así, una vez, mientras trataba de concertar una entrevista privada con Francisco, en 1538, insistió a un enviado francés en la importancia de

> Hazer todo lo posible, para hallar con su presencia la confiança, porque algunas vezes una palabra haze mucho, juntando (sonriéndose) con que esso fuese de manera que no se mordiesen, y aunque Su Magestad tiene muchas vezes la boca abierta, podía estar seguro de su parte, y que no tiene la dentadura tan propicia para esto.

Durante una audiencia, una década más tarde, después de que un embajador hubiera resumido un documento, Carlos le pidió que leyera en voz alta el texto completo para asegurarse de que lo había entendido todo. Al embajador le dio apuro, «porque nunca había tenido que utilizar mis lentes cuando le leía algo a su Majestad, y traté de zafarme de hacerlo. Pero el emperador empezó a reírse y dijo "Aquí tienes a otro que depende de ellas", señalándose a sí mismo».[44]

Carlos casi siempre se esforzaba por mostrarse amable en público. En 1543 Francisco de Enzinas, un exiliado protestante español y por tanto un testigo hostil al emperador, testificó que después de cenar, el emperador solía «levantarse y pasar mucho rato apoyado en un bastón» mientras escuchaba a los peticionarios allí reunidos «como si no tuviera otra cosa que hacer que escuchar lo que teníamos que decirle». Cuando llegó el turno de Enzinas, este le regaló al emperador su traducción del Nuevo Testamento «a nuestra lengua española. "¿Al castellano?", preguntó su Majestad». Enzinas así lo afirmó,

añadiendo que había dedicado el libro a Carlos y que quería tener una licencia exclusiva para venderlo. «Se hará lo que pedís», respondió el emperador, añadiendo prudentemente «siempre que no contenga nada prohibido». A continuación, «pasó a una habitación anexa», llevándose el libro.[45] Sastrow, otro testigo hostil, contaba una historia similar. Cada día, después de cenar, Carlos «se sentaba en uno de los rincones que formaban las ventanas, donde todo el mundo podía acercarse a él o entregarle una petición y explicar sus razones, y él les comunicaba su decisión en el acto». Sastrow también alabó el comportamiento del emperador fuera de sus aposentos:

> A menudo le veía salir de sus apartamentos, y si encontraba electores y príncipes esperándole, él siempre era el primero en quitarse el sombrero. Si por casualidad estaba lloviendo, dejaba que su cabeza se mojara y daba la mano a todo el mundo con palabras y gestos amables… Cuando regresaba, se giraba al pie de la escalera (que conducía a sus aposentos], se quitaba el sombrero, daba la mano a todo el mundo y se despedía cortésmente.[46]

No siempre era tan amable. Cuando fue haciéndose mayor, el emperador protagonizó alguna que otra pataleta. En 1551 «utilizó palabras muy duras» durante una audiencia con el embajador francés, «blandiendo el puño en un gesto desafiante mientras le decía: "Haga entender a su rey que no toleraremos ningún acto hostil"». Pocos días antes había reprendido a un enviado inglés por el tratamiento que se le daba a su prima María Tudor: «No voy a tolerar que se la trate mal. No lo consentiré. ¿Acaso no fue suficiente con el trato tan malo que recibió mi tía, su madre, del rey ya fallecido, como para que ahora mi prima lo reciba peor de sus consejeros?».[47]

Al igual que sus padecimientos físicos, algunos sospechaban que dichos ataques de ira eran fingidos. Según Marillac, ese mismo año: «Si se para a analizar la cuestión con detalle, uno se dará cuenta de que el emperador nunca se ha preocupado por nadie, excepto si le necesitaba», mencionando el displicente trato dado por Carlos a su cuñado, Cristián de Dinamarca, y a

su tía Catalina de Aragón. El nuncio papal llegaba a una conclusión similar: «El emperador es por naturaleza muy bueno y un buen cristiano —comenzaba diciendo con cautela—, pero me parece no obstante que se ha vuelto tan mezquino y anda tan falto de dinero y de todo lo que pueda serle útil a él y a sus intereses» que «poca fiabilidad y confianza puede depositarse en la amistad de su Majestad, a menos que le proporcione a él algún beneficio directo».[48]

El reformador de Estrasburgo Martin Bucer captó con brillantez las paradojas del carácter de Carlos tras observarle durante la Dieta de Espira en 1543. Informó a un colega que «el emperador es un hombre con una aguda inteligencia que persigue sus planes con la máxima determinación» y que «es imperial de palabra, obra, aspecto, actitud, regalos y en todo. Incluso los que llevan largo tiempo con él se sorprenden de ver en él tanto entusiasmo, voluntad, determinación y majestad». Predecía que «El emperador podría hacer grandes cosas, si se comportara solo como un emperador alemán y un servidor de Cristo». Bucer no tardó mucho en saber que Carlos podía hacer grandes cosas actuando como un emperador medieval y persiguiendo herejes: en abril de 1549, cuando Estrasburgo aceptó el *Interim*, Bucer huyó a Cambridge (Inglaterra), donde el clima y la dieta minaron su salud. Murió dos años más tarde, y en 1557 la nuera de Carlos, María Tudor, hizo desenterrar sus restos y quemarlos en una hoguera pública por hereje.[49]

CUARTA PARTE

Caída

«Tendrías que preguntarte a ti mismo…».

«Yo no *tengo* que hacer nada: yo soy el rey.»*

14. *Pat erfamilias*, 1548-1551

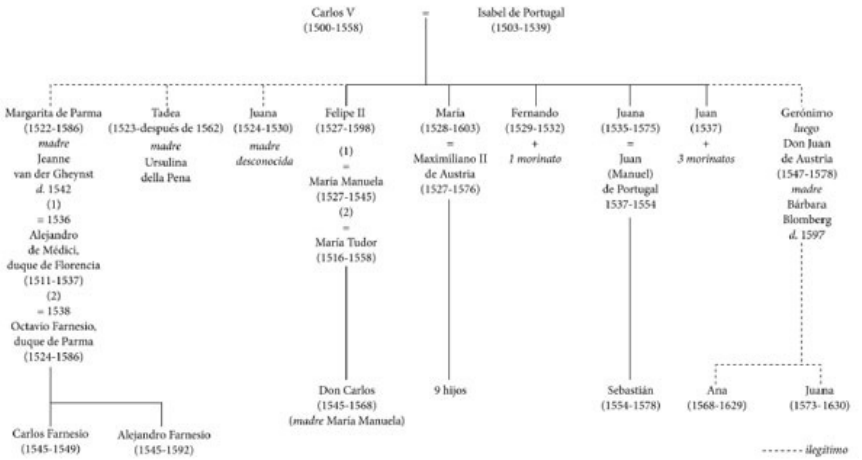
El sexo y el emperador I: tres hijas ilegítimas

Un diplomático de Mantua afirmó en 1530 que Carlos «paga hasta dos ducados por noche a cualquier mujer que se acuesta con él»; según el testimonio de un embajador veneciano en 1548, sus «médicos y los que le conocen bien [a Carlos] dicen que por naturaleza fue y sigue siendo muy inclinado a los placeres sensuales y que ha hecho el amor con muchas mujeres»; y su sucesor en 1557 afirmaba que «en todos los lugares que ha visitado ha dado gusto a sus placeres venéreos, tanto con mujeres de clase baja como alta». El soldado y biógrafo francés Brantôme afirmó posteriormente que «cada vez que el emperador se acostaba con una mujer hermosa no se marchaba hasta haber eyaculado tres veces».[1] Dado que ninguno de los tres escritores declararon sus fuentes, sería fácil desechar estas afirmaciones como meros cotilleos escabrosos, si no fuera porque Carlos reconoció cuatro hijos ilegítimos, dos de los cuales engendró con criadas adolescentes *(véase figura 3)*.[2]

A finales de 1521, durante las seis semanas que residió en el castillo de Oudenaarde, en los Países Bajos, Carlos sedujo a una de sus criadas, Juana van der Gheynst. Para cuando Juana dio a luz, en julio de 1522, el emperador ya estaba de vuelta en España; pero había dejado instrucciones de que su hija fuera bautizada con el nombre de «Margarita», como su tía, y a continuación llevada a Bruselas para ser criada por un cortesano. A cambio de renunciar de este modo a su hija, Carlos concedió a Juana una modesta pensión anual y dispuso su matrimonio con alguien socialmente mejor situado que ella; y veinte años más tarde, al enterarse de su muerte, transfirió la pensión de Juana a sus legítimos hijos.[3] La archiduquesa Margarita se tomó verdadero interés en su tocaya, comprándole regalos, enseñándole a montar y a cazar, e invitándola de vez en cuando

a actos celebrados en la corte; y Carlos jugaba con la idea de casar «a mi hija bastarda que vive en los Países Bajos» con un príncipe italiano, primero con el hijo del duque de Ferrara, luego con el heredero de Mantua y por último con Alejandro de Médici, el sobrino del Papa, con la intención de sellar la reconciliación de los italianos con él. En 1529 le concedió a Margarita el derecho a utilizar el título familiar «de Austria», y le consiguió una declaración de legitimidad. Cuando dos años después regresó a Bruselas, se encontró por primera vez con su hija, pero poco después, a petición de Clemente, acordó que «mi muy querida y amada hija Margarita» debía residir en Italia. Asimismo dejó ordenado a su aya lo que «Madama» (como entonces la conocía ya todo el mundo) debía estudiar y cómo debía comportarse, y en 1536 presidió su boda, a la edad de 13 años, con Alejandro de Médici, entonces duque de Florencia. Su unión no resultó afortunada: un año más tarde un pariente de Alejandro le asesinó.[4]

Figura 3. La familia de Carlos V e Isabel de Portugal



La emperatriz Isabel tuvo 9 embarazos, pero solo 3 de sus hijos le sobrevivieron, y de estos, solo dos tuvieron más de un heredero: María, que dio a luz a 9 hijos, y Felipe II, cuyas 4 esposas solo tuvieron dos hijos que sobrevivieron al rey. Carlos también tuvo cuatro hijos ilegítimos, de los cuales dos entraron en un convento (Tadea y Juana); uno

de ellos nunca se casó, pero engendró al menos dos hijos ilegítimos (Gerónimo, posteriormente conocido como don Juan); y la otra (Margarita) alumbró gemelos, uno de los cuales murió en la infancia.

Aunque la joven viuda comenzó a firmar su correspondencia como la «triste Margarita», aprovechó al máximo la libertad de su nuevo estado hasta que Carlos tomó cartas en el asunto. En enero de 1538 el emperador informó al mayordomo de Margarita (que él mismo había nombrado) de que «he sabido que algunas vezes la duquesa [Margarita] va a caza y queda en ella dos y tres y quatro días», y le ordenó «apartarla desto por la major maña que pudiéredes, y sy algún día quisiere yr a caza sea para bolver en la noche a su casa». Al mes siguiente Carlos aceptó la sugerencia del papa Pablo de que el nieto de este, Octavio Farnesio, se casara con Margarita, celebrándose poco después la ceremonia en la Capilla Sixtina.[5] Una vez más, la unión no salió bien. Octavio, de 14 años, resultó incapaz de consumarla y Margarita se negó a dormir con él. Escribió una grosera carta a su padre quejándose de esta insatisfactoria situación, llevando a Carlos a redactar «la primera carta que os he escrito de mi puño y letra». Tras criticar su lenguaje, «que no debería utilizar ningún cristiano, y menos conmigo, que soy vuestro padre», adoptó el mismo tono pasivo-agresivo que empleaba con otros miembros de la familia: «Hasta ahora no he utilizado la fuerza, ni me gustaría tener que hacerlo. Prefiero advertiros sobre lo que debéis hacer, y espero y confío en que mis advertencias, consejos y llamamientos demuestren ser más beneficiosos que toda la fuerza y las amenazas que otros podrían usar». Concluía con la esperanza de que Dios «os guiará, conducirá e inducirá a hacer todo lo que debáis, así como lo que me debéis a mí y a vos misma como la buena hija que sois; y prometo que siempre encontraréis en mí un buen padre». Parece evidente que Margarita respondió con nuevas quejas sobre su marido, porque pocas semanas más tarde Carlos volvió a escribir

otra carta ológrafa, en la que se disculpaba porque si él «hubiera sabido todas estas cosas en un principio» no la habría obligado a este matrimonio, pero añadía que en ese momento «No cumpliría con mis deberes como buen padre, ni justificaría la confianza que habéis depositado en mí, si no os aconsejara e instara a hacer lo que debáis para satisfacer vuestro honor y vuestra conciencia», esto es, a «vivir como esposa» con Octavio.[6] No obstante, el emperador hizo todo lo que pudo para atender las quejas de su hija: se llevó a su marido con él cuando partió para Argel en 1541 y le tuvo formando parte de su séquito, y por tanto alejado de Margarita, durante dos años. Esto resolvió temporalmente las dificultades conyugales. Cuando volvieron a verse, según una fuente bien informada, «la primera vez que el duque Octavio durmió con su señora, eyaculó cuatro veces»; y en agosto de 1545 ella dio a luz a dos varones gemelos. Carlos «preguntó complacido [por sus nietos], interesándose por cuán grandes y rollizos estaban, y si se les podía distinguir de alguna manera entre sí».[7] Dos años después, sin embargo, el emperador cambió de opinión: al enterarse de que Octavio había contraído la sífilis, hizo «todo lo que se pudiere […] para evitar que este mal no se pegue a la duquesa». Margarita ya no tendría más hijos y ella y Octavio cumplieron renuentemente la petición de Carlos de que enviaran al gemelo superviviente, Alejandro, su único hijo, para ser educado en España. Margarita nunca volvió a ver a su padre.[8]

Carlos sedujo a Ursolina de Cancellieri de Perugia, viuda de un noble «de muy ermosa aspatto», que vivía en su corte en los Países Bajos en 1522, pero de esta relación no tuvo nietos. En cuanto el emperador supo que estaba embarazada, la envió de vuelta a Italia, donde dio a luz a su hija, Tadea. En 1530, poco después de su coronación, hizo que Tadea fuera a verle y la reconoció públicamente como su hija, tras lo cual, «le yzo hazer una señal nela pierna derecha de bascio de la rodilla, nela parte

de afuora, que fue un IHS», es decir, que el emperador mandó a alguien hacer esta marca permanente en su hija, cabe suponer que con algún objeto punzante, en un lugar donde nadie más pudiera verla: un hecho sin duda extraordinario. Tadea regresó a su convento hasta 1532, año en el que Carlos la volvió a hacer llamar para otra breve visita. A continuación, ordenó a las monjas que «ni a la madre ni a persona del mondo le diesse asta tanto que Su Magestad disponesse della», sin duda con la intención de utilizarla (al igual que a Margarita) como instrumento dinástico. Este fue el motivo por el que se enfureció tanto cuando, cuatro años después, los hermanos de Ursolina irrumpieron en el convento para llevarse a Tadea y obligarla a casarse con un noble de la localidad. Carlos escribió entonces a Ursolina una carta recriminatoria, tranquilizándose luego al recibir la respuesta de ella: «Aunque estaba muy enfadado con vos, vuestra señoría estaréis agradecida al saber que con el portador de la presente os envío 3.000 coronas de oro para beneficio y uso de nuestra hija». En 1550, tras la muerte de su madre y su marido, Tadea fue a Roma y se hizo monja, pero al enterarse de que Carlos había abdicado y se había mudado a Yuste, le escribió pidiéndole permiso para viajar a España. En 1562, no habiendo recibido respuesta todavía, envió un mensajero a Felipe con la misma petición, acompañada de los documentos que demostraban quién era su augusto padre. Con su característica falta de sensibilidad, Carlos no había informado a Felipe de que tenía otra hermana, por lo que probablemente fue la primera vez que este supo de su existencia. Y con similar falta de sensibilidad, Felipe archivó sus peticiones y se olvidó de su medio hermana.[9]

La tercera hija ilegítima de Carlos nació en Valladolid en 1523, probablemente fruto de una relación con la hija de un noble veneciano exiliado.[10] El emperador envió inmediatamente a la madre y la recién nacida, llamada Juana, a un convento en

Madrigal de las Altas Torres, donde la priora, María de Aragón (hija ilegítima de Fernando el Católico y por tanto tía de Carlos) cuidó de ellas. Al año siguiente, la priora informaba de que «por la poca edad que tiene [la niña] es maravylla del cuerpo que tyene y suéltase ya un poquyto andar de un mes acá, trayéndola de los bracytos», añadiendo con toda intención, «parésçese de cada dýa mucho más al emperador my señor». Afirmaba también que la madre de la niña «está muy tryste de ver que quanto a que Su Magestad aquí enbyó a la señora doña Juana nunca se a acordado della, ny envýa a saber della, y desto tyene tanta pena que no puede ser más». Le rogó en vano que Carlos le hiciera una visita aprovechando que en breve este iba a ir a ver a su madre a Tordesillas, a poca distancia de Madrigal. En 1530 Juana se ahogó en el pozo del convento y fue enterrada allí sin haber llegado nunca a conocer a su padre.[11]

Carlos pareció abandonar su promiscua forma de vida cuando se casó, pero la tentación rara vez dejaba de rondarle. Mientras en 1531 se ocupaba de crear una casa para su hermana María de Hungría, encargada de la regencia de los Países Bajos, nombró a «la joven viuda Egmont» para que fuera su asistente y, ante posibles sospechas, así defendió esta elección en una carta a su hermano Fernando: «Para demostraros que no me he dejado llevar por el gusto por las mujeres jóvenes, he retrasado el nombramiento hasta ahora, que estoy a punto de marcharme, para que nadie pueda decir o pensar falsamente que lo he hecho con aviesas intenciones. No soy tan mal marido».[12] Su confesor, García de Loaysa, no estaba tan seguro, y le instaba a que «nunca os dejéis gobernar de vuestra infiel sensualidad»; y varios observadores se hicieron eco de su manifiesto «gusto por las mujeres jóvenes». Así, en 1530, cuando «sesenta mujeres de la localidad, jóvenes y mayores, agraciadas y menos agraciadas» salieron a darle la bienvenida a Innsbruck, «él fue estrechando la mano de todas ellas, dando a las más jóvenes un beso». El

propio Carlos admitió su coquetería cuando hizo su entrada ceremonial en Nápoles cinco años más tarde. «Todo el mundo conoce el atractivo de esta ciudad y la belleza y la gracia de las mujeres que allí viven», comentó a sus cortesanos, añadiendo:

> Soy un hombre como todos los demás, y quería ganarme sus favores. La mañana de mi llegada, hice llamar a un barbero para que me recortara el pelo, afeitara y perfumara. Este me puso un espejo delante. Cuando me miré en él y vi [algunos cabellos grises]… Sorprendido y consternado pregunté, «¿Qué es esto?». Y mi barbero me respondió: «dos o tres canas». Eran más de una docena. «¡Quíteme esos pelos!», le dije, «y no deje ni uno».

«¿Y saben que pasó? —preguntó el emperador a su séquito—: Poco tiempo después, cuando quise volver a mirarme en un espejo, descubrí que por cada cana que me había arrancado, habían salido tres más; y si hubiera querido que me arrancaran las nuevas, en menos que canta un gallo me habría vuelto más blanco que un cisne».[13] Pese a sus canas, durante su residencia en Nápoles durante aquel invierno de 1535-1536 (según un miembro de su séquito), «el emperador aprovechó estos festejos para conocer a todas las señoras y damas de Nápoles». En concreto, veía a la duquesa de Salerno todos los días, y una noche, durante un baile de máscaras, «le pidió insistentemente una, dos y hasta tres veces besarle la mano»; y para ganarse su favor le concedió todo lo que ella le pidió (incluido su perdón para un asesino convicto, un tremendo error por el que más adelante expresaría su arrepentimiento).[14]

El sexo y el emperador II: un hijo ilegítimo

Tras la muerte de su esposa, Carlos volvió a su vida de promiscuidad. Mientras residió en Ratisbona entre abril y agosto de 1546 para negociar con la Dieta y preparar un ataque contra los protestantes alemanes, tuvo un romance con Bárbara Blomberg, una adolescente exactamente de la misma edad que su hijo Felipe. Hija de un curtidor, Bárbara estaba emparentada con el dueño del hospedaje donde Carlos se alojaba y podía entrar y salir de allí sin llamar mucho la atención. El 24 de

febrero de 1547, fecha del cumpleaños de Carlos, ella dio a luz a un hijo al que puso el nombre de «Jerónimo», conocido más tarde como don Juan de Austria.[15]

La primera reacción de Carlos fue similar a su comportamiento tras el nacimiento de Margarita —dispuso que la criatura fuera separada de su madre y llevada a Bruselas—, pero mientras que de «ma petite bastarde» había alardeado, y casi de inmediato la había utilizado como instrumento dinástico, mantuvo en secreto la existencia de Jerónimo. En 1550, François Massi, un músico imperial, firmó una cédula en virtud de la cual el aposentador principal del emperador, Adrian Dubois, le había facultado para llevar a su hijo ilegítimo a España, «porque el señor Adrian no quiere en ninguna manera que su mujer supiesse ni oyesse hablar de ello», y educarle allí hasta nuevo aviso. La existencia de la cédula solo nos consta porque Carlos adjuntó una copia de ella a un codicilo secreto a su testamento, escrito y firmado sin la presencia de testigos en 1554, admitiendo que él —y no Dubois— era el padre: «estando yo en Alemaña después que embiudé, huve un hijo natural de una mujer soltera, el qual se llama Gerónimo». Asimismo, ordenó que la cédula y el codicilo se guardaran sellados y en secreto hasta después de su muerte.[16] Entretanto, el emperador dispuso que doña Magdalena de Ulloa, esposa de su compañero de armas don Luis Méndez de Quijada, supervisara la crianza de su hijo secreto en su castillo de Villagarcía de Campos, a 50 kilómetros de la corte en Valladolid. Allí permaneció hasta el verano de 1558, cuando el emperador ordenó a Quijada que llevara a Jerónimo a vivir cerca de Yuste. Carlos solo vio a su hijo una vez antes de morir, pero rehusó reconocerle, dejando que sus hijos legítimos descubrieran por sí mismos que tenían otro hermano.

Carlos trató a Bárbara Blomberg un poco mejor. Esta se casó tiempo más tarde con Gerónimo Kegel, un empleado imperial de segunda fila, a quien el emperador concedió 100 libras «en consideración a ciertos servicios que ha prestado al emperador, y para cubrir sus gastos mientras espera de Su Majestad un puesto adecuado». Poco después Kegel recibió una pensión anual de 100 florines «con la obligación de residir en los Países Bajos y, cuando sea necesario, prestar servicio a la regente y cumplir sus órdenes». Bárbara y su marido se asentaron en Bruselas, donde criaron tres hijos.[17] Aunque tanto Bárbara como Carlos vivieron en Bruselas entre 1552 y 1556, lo más probable es que ella le viera (si acaso) solo de lejos; no obstante, cuando yacía en su lecho de muerte, el emperador se acordó de ella con cariño y ordenó a un ayudante de confianza que cogiera de su dinero para gastos personales «600 escudos en horo» —una cantidad importante— y se los entregara. Al día siguiente murió.[18]

Bárbara y Felipe II también vivieron en Bruselas entre 1555 y 1559, pero una vez más ella solo le vio (quizá) de lejos. El rey solo se tomó un interés personal por «la madre del señor don Juan» (como la conocían sus funcionarios) a raíz de que esta enviudara en 1569. Primero la animó a ingresar en un convento; ante la negativa de ella, hizo que se mudara de Bruselas a Gante; y poco después trató de engatusarla para que fuera a España, aparentemente para que estuviera cerca de su hijo, pero al temer que se tratara de un complot para meterla en un convento, declinó hacerlo. Sus miedos no eran infundados. En 1577 se reunió por fin con su hijo, entonces ya una celebridad en Europa gracias a su victoria frente a la flota otomana en Lepanto, pero más avanzado ese año aceptó su promesa de que si viajaba a Génova un escuadrón de galeras la llevaría de allí a Nápoles, donde podría vivir en la corte de la hija de Carlos (y por tanto hermanastra suya), Margarita. Don Juan mentía. Él y Felipe habían dispuesto que las galeras que

estaban esperándola la llevaran a España, donde Bárbara sería obligada a entrar en un convento pese a sus protestas de que odiaba los rigores de la vida en clausura. Al final, Felipe le concedió una pensión anual de 3.000 ducados y el uso de una casa en Cantabria que sería posteriormente conocida como «el palacio de Madama». No tardó en quedarse sin dinero, por lo que en 1595 firmó una petición en la que le rogaba al rey «que con breuedad se paguen las deudas del dicho don Juan y se cumplan sus legados», incluida su pensión. A su muerte, en 1597, las posesiones de Bárbara resultaron insuficientes para pagar su propio funeral y fue enterrada en el convento cercano de San Sebastián de Montehano «hasta que la voluntad del rey nuestro señor sea servido de trasladarlo a otra parte». Su albacea testamentario suplicó al rey «le haga merced en mandar fundar una memoria de una mysa reçada cada día por su alma, que por moryr tan pobre como muryó… no dexa con qué hazer memorya alguna». En palabras de un ministro que leyó su petición, era un triste destino para alguien «que fue madre de tan gran príncipe»; pero Bárbara permaneció allí durante casi cuatro siglos, cuando unas excavaciones dejaron al descubierto su esqueleto. En 1977 fue de nuevo enterrada, esta vez en una tumba con su propia lápida.[19]

Educar al heredero

Aunque en general Carlos hacía bastante poco caso a su familia ilegítima, a su heredero le prestaba una gran atención. Insistió en estar con la emperatriz cuando diera a luz a su primer hijo, un hecho insólito, y rechazó la sugerencia de ponerle un nombre tradicional Trastámara, como Fernando o Juan, y en cambio le llamó como al padre que apenas había conocido, Felipe. Según un embajador, está «el emperador tan alegre y regocijado y gozoso del nuevo hijo, que en otra cosa no entiende sino en ordenar fiestas», pero las fiestas cesaron al llegar la noticia del saqueo de Roma y el encarcelamiento del Papa.[20]

Cuando Carlos zarpó a Italia en 1529, dejaba atrás a dos hijos ilegítimos, al príncipe Felipe y a la infanta María (nacida en 1528, que luego sería María de Austria) y, al poco de su partida, la emperatriz dio a luz a otro hijo, Fernando, que murió un año más tarde, antes de que Carlos pudiera conocerle. La última descendiente legítima que le sobrevivió nació mientras él se encontraba ausente en África en 1535: la infanta Juana.

Aunque fuera muy a menudo un padre ausente, Carlos tomó verdadero interés en la educación de su hijo. Invitó a tres admiradores de Erasmo, a quien había conocido en sus viajes entre 1529 y 1533, para ocupar el puesto de preceptor del príncipe —don Francisco de Bobadilla y Mendoza, maestrescuela en Salamanca; Joachim Viglius van Aytta de Friesland, catedrático de Derecho en la Universidad de Padua; y Juan Luis Vives, uno de los más destacados humanistas de su época—, pero, aunque los tres le servirían más adelante en otras funciones, ninguno aceptó la oferta de preceptor. Carlos nombró por tanto una pequeña Junta para seleccionar a un maestro. Pronto redujeron una lista de quince candidatos a tres, entre los cuales estaba Juan Martínez del Guijo, más conocido por la versión latinizada de su apellido, *Silíceo*, un sacerdote de origen humilde de 48 años que había estudiado en París y publicado libros de filosofía y matemáticas antes de convertirse en catedrático de Filosofía en Salamanca, donde el emperador le escuchó dar clase en junio de 1534. Poco después le nombró maestro de su hijo.[21]

Un año más tarde Carlos creó una casa independiente para Felipe, y eligió como ayo a don Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, uno de los «felipistas» que habían viajado a los Países Bajos para entrar a su servicio 25 años antes. El emperador no siguió el estilo borgoñón que había tenido su casa para la de su hijo, sino que trató de imitar la de su tío don Juan, el último príncipe nacido en Castilla, y ordenó a Zúñiga que obtuviera

descripciones detalladas de la casa de don Juan a partir de los miembros de ella que aún vivían. El ayo mandó llamar a uno de ellos —el historiador Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo— para que fuera a una entrevista en Madrid, pidiéndole posteriormente que pusiera por escrito todo lo que fuera capaz de recordar, porque «la voluntad de César fue que Vuestra Alteza se criase e sirviese de la manera que se tuuo con el príncipe su tío». Felipe iba a convertirse en un «verdadero prínçipe de Castilla».[22] En adelante, el séquito del príncipe estaría formado exclusivamente por criados varones —el emperador nombró a unos cuarenta—, y Zúñiga (o su ayudante) dormía en su cámara por la noche y le mantenía bajo constante vigilancia durante el día. «Sólo hago ausencia», aseguró Zúñiga a su señor, cuando «estaua escriuiendo para Vuestra Majestad» o «estando [don Felipe] en la escuela, o en parte con su madre donde yo no pueda entrar».[23]

La exclusión de «la escuela» por parte de don Juan era reflejo de la tradición castellana según la cual «conviene que el príncipe tenga dos personas que le enseñen cosas diversas: vn maestro que le abeze letras y buenas costumbres, y vn ayo que lo industrie en militares y galanes exercicios».[24] Por tanto, fue Silíceo quien enseñó al príncipe y a seis de sus pajes a leer, escribir y rezar, si bien el progreso fue lento. En febrero de 1536, Silíceo informó a Carlos de que había «suspendido por algunos días en el escrevir» las tareas de latín del príncipe «porque son difíciles estos primeros principios»; e incluso cuatro años después, cuando el príncipe ya tenía trece, «el escribir en latín [solo] se ha començado».[25] El relajado sistema de Silíceo y su hostilidad hacia el Humanismo no contribuyó a estimular el intelecto del príncipe: para finales de 1538 su biblioteca constaba solo de dieciséis libros, todos ellos devocionarios excepto una «genealogía ymperial» y tres libros de gramática española y latina. Por otra parte, como apuntó José Luis

Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, «gran parte de los libros que se emplearon en la educación del futuro Felipe II entre 1535 y 1541 fueron obras manuscritas», de modo que, al igual que su padre dos décadas antes, «parecía estar estudiando según los criterios estéticos y culturales del siglo anterior, no con los del XVI».[26]

Silíceo tuvo más éxito a la hora de estimular la devoción religiosa de Felipe. Incluso el austero y piadoso Zúñiga quedó impresionado, y cuando asumió el puesto de ayo en 1535 comentó que «el temor de Dios en el [príncipe] es tan natural que en su hedad yo no lo he visto mayor»; y el príncipe pronto adquirió varios objetos religiosos, incluidos tres pequeños códices litúrgicos lujosamente encuadernados, aparentemente diseñados para poder colgarlos del cinturón o de su mesilla de noche, un *Libro de Horas* y un pequeño rosario bellamente ilustrado.[27] A partir de 1535 Felipe empezó a dedicar la mayoría de sus mañanas a la oración y el culto, así como (cuando la salud le acompañaba) a las clases, en compañía de los hijos de Zúñiga, Los Cobos y Francisco de Borja; los libros de cuentas de su casa y las cartas de sus tutores a Carlos revelan cómo pasaba el resto del día. En agosto de 1535, se puso tan alegre al enterarse de la victoria de su padre en Túnez que «a acordado de escribir a Vuestra Magestad una carta de su letra y de su nota», aunque estas incursiones en el terreno de la escritura no fueron nunca frecuentes en él. Zúñiga se quejaba de que «Aprende muy bien después que está en la escuela», añadiendo pícaramente, «aunque ¡cuando va a ella parece un poco a su padre quando era de su hedad!».[28]

La inesperada muerte de la emperatriz llevó a Carlos a imponer importantes cambios en la vida de sus hijos. En 1539 ordenó que sus hijas se mudaran a la ciudad de Arévalo, en Castilla la Vieja, donde podían criarse fuera del bullicio de la corte —y lejos de su hermano—, y en adelante Carlos controló

sus vidas de forma directa (incluso cuando decía estar demasiado ocupado para responder a cartas oficiales siguió encontrando tiempo para cambiar el lugar de residencia de sus hijas cada vez que cabía la posibilidad de que su hermano las fuera a visitar) y también de manera indirecta, ordenando a Felipe que hiciera cumplir las directrices que él había dado para ellas (como por ejemplo su plan de casar a María con Carlos de Orleans en 1544 y con Maximiliano cuatro años más tarde).[29] Tras el matrimonio de María, Carlos decretó que Juana solo podría vivir en lugares tan pequeños y aislados que ningún caballero de la nobleza tuviera derecho a solicitar el honor de hacerle una visita, y finalmente la envió a Aranda de Duero, una ciudad insalubre donde le exigió que cuidara de su sobrino don Carlos. Llegó incluso a negarle a María el permiso de visitar a su hermana, y aunque en 1550 permitió a Juana (que entonces tenía 15 años) trasladarse a Toro, le prohibió que de camino parase a ver a su hermana. Al año siguiente, accedió de mala gana a que Juana visitara a su hermana antes de que ella y Maximiliano partieran hacia Alemania, pero después no volverían a verse nunca más.

Carlos también ejerció un estrecho control sobre su hijo. Tras la muerte de la emperatriz, aumentó el tamaño de la casa de Felipe y ascendió a Zúñiga para que fuera su mayordomo mayor (sin dejar de ser también el ayo del príncipe). Dos años más tarde, frustrado por el fracaso de Silíceo a la hora de enseñar latín a su hijo, Carlos encargó a Zúñiga, Tavera y Los Cobos que se reunieran en comité y propusieran un candidato adecuado para ser su nuevo maestro. Estos recomendaron a Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, criado en Cataluña, destacando que no solo era «hombre muy docto», sino también «limpio de sangre» (es decir, que no tenía antepasados judíos ni moros), por lo que Carlos procedió cumplidamente a su nombramiento «por maestro de gramática para que enseña a todos los pajes que son

y fueren del dicho príncipe». Al poco tiempo añadió otros tres instructores: Honorato Juan, de Valencia, para que le enseñara matemáticas y arquitectura; Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, de Córdoba, para enseñarle historia y geografía; y Francisco de Vargas Mexía, de Toledo, para enseñarle teología. Aunque los cuatro preceptores eran españoles (si bien de diferentes puntos de la península), todos habían viajado mucho por Europa y poseían una visión cosmopolita que ampliaría los horizontes del príncipe y sus compañeros de aula en la escuela palatina.[30] Calvete, a diferencia de Silíceo, era un entusiasta del aprendizaje humanista, y en un año había comprado ya 140 libros para el príncipe, que de este modo aumentó en más del doble el tamaño de su biblioteca.

En 1542 el emperador llevó a su heredero a Navarra, Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia. Su principal propósito era asegurar que cada reino reconocía a Felipe como su «príncipe heredero», pero Calvete, Juan y Sepúlveda —todos los cuales acompañaron en el viaje a Felipe y a su padre— aprovecharon cada oportunidad para enseñarle las diferentes lenguas, culturas e historia de sus futuros vasallos. El príncipe admiró antiguas ruinas, monedas e inscripciones a lo largo de la ruta; conoció a un embajador del sah de Persia y a un hermano del rey del Congo; y recibió de fray Bartolomé de las Casas un ejemplar dedicado del manuscrito de la *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. Cuando llegó la noticia de que los franceses habían puesto sitio a Perpiñán, la segunda ciudad más importante de Cataluña, Sepúlveda dirigió un debate entre los cortesanos sobre cuál era la mejor manera de salvar la plaza, y supuso el primer contacto de Felipe con la estrategia militar. Además, durante el recorrido y tras su vuelta a Madrid, Carlos instruyó a su hijo en el arte de gobernar. Sin duda su intención era que estas lecciones tuvieran un carácter habitual, pero su partida de España en

1543 para dirigir las operaciones militares contra Francia y Güeldres no lo permitió. También le impidió supervisar el casamiento de Felipe.

En septiembre de 1542, Carlos había «pedido al rey de Portugal la mano de su hija mayor», María Manuela, porque (según le explicó a su hermano) «la edad del príncipe mi hijo hace más que necesario concertar su matrimonio, a fin de continuar la dinastía». Dado que la princesa no solo era la hija de su hermana Catalina, sino también la sobrina de la difunta emperatriz, Carlos tuvo que pedir numerosas dispensas al Papa para solventar «qualesquier parentescos assy de consangujnjdad como de affinydad que entre los dichos señores príncipe y infanta puede haver» *(véase lámina 29)*.[31] Esto supuso un retraso para la boda, lo que llevó a Carlos a explicar sus intenciones maritales a su hijo por escrito: en sus instrucciones de mayo de 1543 dedicó casi cuatro páginas al tema del sexo.

«Hijo, plaziendo a Dyos presto os casaréys», señalaba el emperador, aunque la relación sexual a los 16 años «suele ser dañoso, asý para el creçer del cuerpo como para darle fuerças, muchas vezes pone tanta flaqueza que estorua ha hazer hijos y quita la vida». Previamente ya había interrogado a su hijo para asegurarse de que seguía siendo virgen («tengo por muy çierto que me auéys dicho verdad de lo pasado y que me auréys conplido la palabra hasta el tienpo que os casáredes»); en este momento, exigía que el príncipe mostrara la misma contención sexual tras su matrimonio con María Manuela. «Os ruego y encargo mucho que, luego que auráys consumydo el matrimonyo, con cualquier achaque os apartáys [de la princesa] y que no tornáys tan presto ny tan a menudo a verla; y quando tornáredes, sea por poco tiempo».[32] Carlos apoyaba esta sorprendente petición en motivos emocionales (si un exceso de sexo mataba al príncipe, «¡myrad qué ynconuenyente serýa sy vuestras hermanas y sus maridos os uvyessen de heredar, y qué

descanso para mi vejez!») y como medida para garantizar el cumplimiento conyugal de la joven pareja. Envió sus instrucciones a Zúñiga, con órdenes de que el príncipe debía «leerlaéys en su presençia, para que él tenga cuydado de acordaros las cosas en ella contenydas, todas las vezes que él vyere que fuere menester». Por otra parte, «para que en eso no aya falta» ordenaba que «en aquello, avnque os enojasse, no dexe [Zúñiga] de dezir y hazer todo lo que en él fuere, para que asý lo hagáis». Y, lo más humillante de todo, ordenó al duque de Gandía, el futuro San Francisco de Borja y su esposa «que hagan lo mismo» con María Manuela cuando llegue a España «y la tengan apartada de vos, syno a los tienpos y ratos que para vuestra vida y salud se podrá çufrir». Resulta difícil imaginar una forma más eficaz de crear un complejo sexual en un joven de dieciséis años. No parece que a Carlos se le pasara siquiera por la cabeza que el régimen que pretendía imponer hacía que María Manuela pareciera a su joven esposo una amenaza mortal.[33]

Meter en cintura al heredero

Desde la retrospectiva, Felipe situaba el comienzo de su gobierno personal el día que su padre dejó España. En 1574 le recordaba a un ministro «yo comencé a governar el año de [15]43» y dos años más tarde rechazaba una sugerencia sobre cambiar su estilo de gestión alegando que «ha ya casi 33 años que trato negocios».[34] Tenía razón. Aunque la intención del emperador era que su hijo se limitara solo a firmar «las nóminas y otras cédulas y prouisiones que hiziere para lo tocante a su casa», y en lo demás hiciera lo que se le decía, pronto se dio cuenta de que se había equivocado. En octubre de 1543, al final de una carta en la que suplicaba dinero para seguir sosteniendo su guerra con Francia, Carlos añadió una posdata ológrafa que casi equivalía a un chantaje:

> Hijo: vos veréis lo que en ésta os escribo, y estoy muy cierto que viendo quanto me va en ello que haréis todo lo que podréys como buen hijo es obligado, para no dexar a vuestro padre en necesydad en tal coyunctura […] No os descuydeys ny dexeys de embyarme el dynero y soldados que os he scrito y escrivo.

Apenas dos semanas más tarde, el emperador volvió a empuñar la pluma para mantener la presión: «Hijo —le ronroneaba—, lo que os tengo escrito [de enviárme dinero y soldados españoles] no se puede ny deve excusar: […] y asy, hijo, os torno a encargar que mostreys en esto cuanto buen hijo me soys». El príncipe continuó impasible. Sin duda a instancias de sus consejeros españoles, a los que les preocupaba que tanta presión fiscal pudiera provocar malestar, el príncipe no respondió hasta febrero de 1544 —¡cuatro meses más tarde!—, e incluso entonces recurrió al sarcasmo para justificar su pasividad:

> Suplico a Vuestra Majestad cuan encarescidamente puedo, y que se tome esto que aquí digo con la intención y sinceridad de ánimo que se escribe. Lo cual no se hace poner por poner estorbo a Vuestra Majestad en sus grandes pensamientos, los cuales son de su imperial valor, sino por traerle a la memoria la cualidad de los tiempos, la miseria en que está la república cristiana, las necesidades de sus reinos, los daños que de tan grandes guerras se siguen por más justas que sean, y el peligro en que están.

Poner fin a todas las guerras era la única estrategia realista, recalcaba Felipe con descaro, «si Vuestra Majestad no quiere caer en algún inconveniente irreparable».[35]

José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero ha argumentado que en esta carta «Felipe exponía por vez primera sus opiniones políticas», las cuales no cabe duda irritaron profundamente a Carlos (¡y desde luego a «sus grandes pensamientos»!).[36] Otros acontecimientos también lo hicieron. En febrero de 1545 el emperador envió a Zúñiga una larga carta repleta de quejas hacia su hijo, lamentando ciertas «cosillas que començavan por mi ausencia». Carlos reconocía que algunas «cosillas» no tenían

remedio. «Bolber tarde quando va a caça sería mejor que no se hiziesse», pero no veía solución. En cuanto a las quejas respecto a que su hijo descuidaba sus estudios,

> Visto que ya es casado y está ocupado en negocios, y no en edad para que aproveche apretarle a más de lo que él por su voluntad y gusto quisiere tomar, nos parece que lo que buenamente se pudiese encaminar en ello se haga y no estrechándole tanto que lo venga a aborrecer del todo.

El emperador también se rendía ante las demás «cosillas», incluyendo «la desorden que ay y tiempo que se pierde en acostar y levantar, desnudar y vestir» y «la tibieza que ay en la devoción que solía tener y en el confesar». Prometió a Zúñiga que, «si esto fuere empeorando o se hizo con algún fin», tomaría inmediatamente medidas para encontrarle solución; pero, por el momento, no hizo nada.[37]

Carlos había reconocido, a regañadientes, que su dependencia de la ayuda de España restringía su autoridad parental. El mismo día que escribió su queja a Zúñiga, el emperador envió a Felipe otra petición de dinero más: «Creed que sy a esta vez no se haze de lo imposible pusible, que es impusible poder sostener los negocios que tengo en mano», porque si no conseguía los fondos que solo Felipe podía reunir «serya dar conmigo y con la carga tan redonda en el suelo que nunca nos levantayamos». (El uso del «nos» actuaba de recordatorio, nada sutil, de que lo que era malo para Carlos también lo era para su hijo.) Por otra parte, una vez que María Manuela se quedó embarazada, las advertencias sobre los riesgos del sexo adolescente dieron paso a las bromas sobre la potencia sexual del príncipe: «Seha mucho enorabuena su preñado, del qual he holgado como es razón: ¡hauéyslo hecho mejor de lo que yo pensaua, porque os daua otro año de término!». El emperador a partir de entonces empezó a inmiscuirse menos en la vida privada del príncipe. En cierta ocasión, le dijo a Zúñiga: «escusarlo he daquy adelante

más que hasta aquy, porque no puede más el pecador. Lo mismo hago con mi hijo». Cuando Zúñiga murió, en 1546, Carlos no buscó reemplazo para el puesto de ayo.[38]

Asegurar la sucesión I: un proyecto para el imperio

Al año siguiente, tras aplastar a sus enemigos alemanes, los pensamientos de Carlos se volcaron sobre el futuro de sus posesiones. En agosto de 1547, justo antes de que diera comienzo la llamada «Dieta férrea» en Augsburgo, en una carta «que debéis quemar después de leerla», Granvela informaba a María, la hermana del emperador, de que «Su Majestad ha mantenido largas conversaciones conmigo sobre el gobierno de los Países Bajos», del cual María había declarado que le gustaría dimitir. «Estoy convencido de que él planea traer a mi señor el príncipe [Felipe]» a Alemania, le confiaba Granvela, «y que le llevará a los Países Bajos. A tal fin ya está pensando en secreto cómo organizar el gobierno de España» en ausencia de Carlos y de su hijo, y también cómo gobernar los Países Bajos. En 1544 Carlos había firmado un codicilo anexo a su testamento por el que estipulaba que, si Felipe moría antes que él, la infanta María de Austria (hija del emperador) se casaría con el hijo de Fernando, Maximiliano, y gobernaría España, en tanto que la infanta Juana gobernaría los Países Bajos; pero, desde entonces, María Manuela había muerto tras alumbrar un nuevo heredero, don Carlos, y la muerte de Francisco I dejaba a la reina Leonor libre para marcharse de Francia. Tras comentar estos acontecimientos con Carlos, Granvela predijo «que mi señor el príncipe no se quedará mucho tiempo en los Países Bajos, y que su Majestad preferirá al archiduque antes que la reina viuda de Francia» para el puesto de regente de los Países Bajos.[39]

El día de Navidad de 1547, encontrándose todavía en Augsburgo, Carlos acabó de dar forma a los planes que había estado debatiendo con Granvela. Informó a su hijo de que «nos

hauemos resuelto en vuestra venida a estas partes, y que sea con la más breuedad posible»; que María de Austria debía acompañar a su hermano; y que «haviendo llegado al cabo los artículos de la capitulación» para su matrimonio con Maximiliano, Felipe debía conseguir el consentimiento de su hermana. Pocas semanas después, Carlos se enteró de que su hija María había expresado el deseo de permanecer en la península y por tanto envió órdenes más taxativas. «Soy cierto», escribió Carlos, que María «se conformará con mi voluntad, como es razón que lo haga, pues yo más que nadie por lo que la quiero y amo he de mirar por su descanso y contentamiento»; pero, en caso de que hallara resistencia, instaba a que «pongáis la cosa en razón y déis particularmente a entender las causas que hay para no poderse hacer otra cosa». Como había ocurrido con «la alternativa» cuatro años atrás, Carlos esperaba que su hija sacrificara cualquier escrúpulo que pudiera tener por el bien de la dinastía.[40]

Así pues, el 18 de enero de 1548, el emperador firmó una larga evaluación de políticas a la que en ocasiones se ha dado en llamar su *Testamento político*, que escribió, al igual que sus instrucciones secretas de cinco años antes, movido por el temor a morir antes de poder explicar su visión a su hijo en persona. «Los trabajos pasados se me han recrecido algunas dolencias, y postreramente me he hallado en el peligro de la vida» admitió. Por tanto, «dudando lo que podría acaecer de mí, según la voluntad de Dios, me ha parecido avisaros por ésta de lo que para en tal caso se me ofrece». El documento que seguía, probablemente redactado tras posteriores conversaciones con Granvela, evaluaba los estados y gobernantes con los que Felipe iba a reunirse a lo largo de su viaje al norte de Europa, y los desafíos y amenazas a los que se enfrentaría si tenía que sucederle. A diferencia de las instrucciones secretas de 1543, este documento gozó de amplia circulación: han sobrevivido al

menos 28 copias manuscritas y en 1606 Prudencio de Sandoval publicó el texto completo en su historia semioficial titulada *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, considerado como uno de los textos de evaluación estratégica más sobresalientes escritos por un gobernante europeo de comienzos de la era moderna.[41]

Como de costumbre, el emperador comenzaba con una invocación a la confianza en Dios: «Por principal y firme fundamento de vuestra buena gobernación, debéis siempre concertar vuestro ser y bien de la infinita benignidad de Dios, y someter vuestros deseos y acciones a su voluntad». La defensa de la fe católica debía constituir la principal responsabilidad de Felipe. A continuación, el emperador lamentaba el coste de «las guerras [que] me han sido movidas tantas veces y en tantas partes, a las cuales he sido forzado siempre por la defensión dellos, y según las guerras me han sido movidas tantas veces y en tantas partes», aunque, apuntaba con cierto engreimiento, «Dios me ha ayudado de manera que aunque he pasado muchos trabajos, con su ayuda (y Él sea alabado por ello) los he guardado, defendido y añadido a ellos otros de harta calidad e importancia». Aunque en ese momento sus súbditos necesitaban desesperadamente la paz, sin embargo

> Evitar la guerra y apartarse a ella no sea siempre en la mano de los que lo desean, como muchas veces me ha sucedido; y siendo esto más dificultoso a los que tienen tantos y tan grandes reinos, Estados y señoríos, y algunos lejos de otros, como Dios por su divina bondad me ha dado y os dejaré, placiendo a Él, y questo consiste en la buena o mala voluntad de los vecinos y otros potentados.

De modo que Felipe debía estar preparado para luchar siempre que fuera necesario a fin de conservar lo que era suyo.

Carlos pasaba luego a repasar la situación internacional, especialmente los desafíos con los que su hijo podía encontrarse. «La razón y spiriencia de lo pasado», comenzaba diciendo,

> han mostrado que sin mirar y tener cuidado de entender los andamientos de los otros potentados y estados de las cosas públicas, y tener amistades e inteligencias en todas partes, sería difícil y como imposible poder vivir descansadamente, ni obviar, proveer ni remediar lo que se podría emprender contra vos y vuestros reinos, estados y señoríos que tuviéredes; y tanto más siendo, como es dicho, apartados unos de otros, e ymbidiados.[42]

Así pues, «La principal y más cierta amistad y confianza que debéis tener, es con el rey de Romanos, mi hermano». Convertido en el confidente más leal para Carlos, Fernando podría dar consejos de inestimable valor a su sobrino; y, una vez fuera emperador, el apoyo de Fernando reforzaría el control de Felipe sobre el norte de Italia y los Países Bajos, además de favorecer una comunicación fácil y segura entre ellos.

«Cuanto al Papa presente, Paulo III, ya sabéis cómo se ha habido conmigo», proseguía Carlos, manifestando la esperanza de que un cambio de pontífice mejorara las cosas. No obstante, temía que «tendréis con el papa tres principales dificultades. La una, la del feudo de Nápoles»; en segundo lugar, las reivindicaciones papales sobre Sicilia; tercero, el patrocinio real de la Iglesia en España y América. Aconsejaba a su hijo que, si estas u «otras diferencias ocurriesen, las trataréis… con la sumisión que un buen hijo de la Iglesia lo debe hacer, y sin dar a los papas justa causa de mal contentamiento vuestro», pero «de manera que no se haga ni intente cosa prejudicial a las preeminencias y común bien y quietud de los dichos reinos». Felipe no debía entregar nada, ni siquiera al jefe de la Iglesia católica.

Carlos pasaba entonces a tratar el tema de los «otros potentados de Italia». Aunque la República de Venecia había sido en cierto momento su más enconado enemigo, la paz venía prevaleciendo ya dos décadas, y Carlos creía que lo mejor era que su hijo «guardáredes el tratado y liga que tengo [hecho] con venecianos» en 1529, «y mostraréis querer y guardar en toda buena amistad con ellos, favoreciéndolos como a buenos aliados

en todo lo que buenamente habrá lugar». Carlos recordaba que «el duque de Florencia se me ha siempre mostrado, desde que le proveí del Estado [en 1537], muy aficionado, y también a mis cosas: y creo que continuará esta amistad con vos, pues ha recibido tantas buenas obras». Por otra parte, el duque Cosme «es de buen seso y juicio, y tiene su Estado con buena orden y proveído», por lo que encomiaba a su hijo «favorezcáis todas sus cosas».

Asimismo, «del duque de Mantua podéis hacer confianza, como yo la tengo», y las repúblicas de Siena y Lucca habían sido desde hace mucho tiempo «devota al Sacro Imperio». La República de Génova constituía el aliado más importante de España en Italia, tanto por sus lazos económicos con varios dominios Habsburgo como porque permitía el acceso desde Nápoles, Sicilia, Cerdeña y España a Lombardía, Alemania y los Países Bajos. Felipe debía por tanto hacer todo lo posible por preservar y fortalecer la autoridad de Andrea Doria y sus aliados, y correr en su rescate siempre que este se encontrara en dificultades, como Carlos había hecho el año anterior.

El emperador expresaba preocupación solo por dos estados italianos. El duque de Ferrara se había casado con Renata de Francia, que había sido en tiempos prometida de Carlos, y aunque él le había mostrado recientemente una lealtad ejemplar (como cuando mandó un contingente a unirse al ejército imperial contra la Liga de Esmalcalda), instaba a Felipe a que «temporaricaréis con él. Tened advertencia deste aviso, y de sus andamientos». El emperador también aconsejaba a su hijo mostrarse precavido con el nuevo duque de Parma, Octavio Farnesio. Aunque la duquesa, su hija Margarita, «me ha sido obedientísima sin otro respeto alguno», y aunque «hame desplacido de la muerte del duque de Castro» (Pedro Luis Farnesio), Carlos temía que su decisión de retener Piacenza podía crear problemas. En este sentido, declaraba que Felipe

«con buen derecho y razón la pueda y deba tener [Piacenza], y por la autoridad del imperio, y por el bien público de toda Italia, y por las obras del dicho duque», pero no obstante aconsejó a su hijo «ofrecer al papa que este negocio se vea y examine, para hacer por vía de concierto» una reconciliación.[43]

Venecia, Florencia, Mantua, Lucca, Siena, Génova, Ferrara y Parma eran precisamente los más grandes de los 300 estados independientes del norte de Italia. La mayoría de ellos estaban en manos de dinastías locales y Carlos había creado un sofisticado y complejo «sistema» —quizá el primero de la era moderna— dirigido a mantener la preponderancia española en Italia. Como aspecto positivo para ellos estaba que el emperador en ocasiones cedía territorio adyacente, concertaba un matrimonio con una princesa Habsburgo o nombraba a un miembro de la dinastía gobernante para algún puesto de prestigio dentro de la monarquía (como había hecho con Ferrante Gonzaga, hermano del duque de Mantua). También mantenía durante algún tiempo a otros príncipes italianos, especialmente a los herederos, en su corte, donde eran generosamente agasajados y animados a ver el mundo a través de la mirada Habsburgo. Tanto a ellos como a otros, les otorgaba pensiones, regalos, tierras, puestos y honores que culminaban con la Orden de caballero del Toisón de Oro, con derecho a ser llamados «mi primo». Felipe haría lo mismo. No obstante, la reciente avalancha de rebeliones demostró que la diplomacia debía ser apoyada con la fuerza. Por ello, construyó fortificaciones de última generación en Sicilia, Nápoles y sobre todo en Milán, e instaló a un tercio de infantería española bien entrenado y varias compañías de caballería en cada una de ellas. También mantenía varios escuadrones de galeras dispuestos a proteger el Mediterráneo occidental. Carlos advirtió a su hijo de que

> Aunque os sea necesario mirar en ahorrar cuanto pudiéredes, según quedaréis adeudado y vuestros Estados alcanzados, no por esto se podrá excusar de tener siempre alguna gente española en Italia, y conforme al tiempo, y como viéredes los andamientos de franceses y otros que os podrán ser contrarios, porque será el verdadero freno para impedir innovamiento de guerra, y que no se hagan empresas para cobrar tierras, y en fin será allí al propósito de la necesidad, si se ofreciere.

Por la misma razón, Felipe debía además mantener los escuadrones de galeras que defendían cada puerto mediterráneo de importancia.

Al igual que en sus anteriores documentos de consejo, Carlos veía a los franceses como la mayor amenaza potencial a la seguridad, dado que sus reyes habían «pasado muchos tratados de paz y tregua, los cuales nunca han guardado como es notorio, sino por el tiempo que no ha podido renovar guerra o ha querido esperar de hallar oportunidad de dañarme con disimulación». Sin duda, reflexionaba, continuarían sus esfuerzos por reconquistar los territorios y los derechos a los que él les había obligado a renunciar en virtud de los tratados de Madrid, Cambrai y entonces Crépy; pero Felipe debía mantenerse firme.

> Os debéis firmar en que las dichas renunciaciones queden siempre expresamente en su ser y fuerza, y en ninguna manera váis fuera desto, porque todo lo he quitado, y os verná y pertenecerá con buen derecho y sobrada razón. Y si afloxásedes en cosa alguna desto, sería abrir camino para tornar a poner todo en controversia […] Será mucho mejor, y lo que conviene, sostenerse con todo, que dar ocasión a ser forzado después defender el resto, y ponerlo en aventura de perderse. Si vuestros pasados han sostenido lo de Nápoles y Secilia, y también las tierras de Flandes contra los franceses con el ayuda de Dios, asimismo debéis fiar en Él que ayudará a guardarlos cuando los herederéis, y os pertenecerán con sobrado derecho, como dicho es.

Felipe debía también intentar obligar a los franceses a evacuar todos los territorios que habían ocupado, incluidos los de sus aliados (sobre todo el duque de Saboya), «de manera que todos vean y conozcan que habéis tenido cuidado tal cual conviene de vuestra seguridad y de vuestros aliados».

El emperador hacía un repaso más rápido a otros asuntos políticos contenciosos, reiterando varios puntos tratados en instrucciones anteriores. Su hijo debía «tener buena inteligencia con Portugal»; y «Ternéis cuidado de tener amistad con los ingleses, y de guardar los tractos hechos entre el padre difunto [Enrique VIII] del rey moderno [Eduardo VI] y mí, porque esto me importa y a todos los reinos y señoríos que yo os dexaré». Tenía que concertar con Escocia «concordia por lo que toca señaladamente a la seguridad de la contratación y navegación»; y mantener el tratado firmado con el entonces rey de Dinamarca «sin entrar en querella por lo que toca al rey Christiano [II]», el depuesto marido de su difunta hermana Isabel. De hecho, proseguía inmisericorde, Felipe debía asegurarse de que Cristián «no venga en libertad tal que pudiere renovar guerra ni hacer daños a los Estados de Flandes, como otras veces».

Por último, el emperador abordaba el tema de sus propios territorios. En Europa, el principal dilema al que se enfrentaba era si hacer partición o no de sus dominios. La idea no era nueva. En 1505, en las últimas voluntades de su padre, Carlos y Fernando habían sido nombrados coherederos, lo que implicaba que cada uno gobernaría parte de las tierras que él había adquirido; y una década más tarde, dado que las tierras austriacas «son bienes partibles», el portavoz de Cisneros ante Carlos daba por hecho que dado que «Dios le a dado tan gran sucesión, y espera otra, que reparta con este su hermano», una partición que tuvo lugar en 1521-1522.[44] Desde entonces, Carlos había adquirido nuevas e importantes tierras tanto en los Países Bajos como en el norte de Italia. Las primeras «están fortificadas, y aún se fortifican con los designios que he hecho hacer, y todos aquellos señoríos tienen la voluntad y fidelidad que se puede desear»; pero ¿podría Felipe gobernarlas con

eficacia cuando «no poder vos residir en el dicho [país], ni visitarlos muchas veces» debido a sus muchas obligaciones en otros lugares? Carlos no sabía qué decisión tomar:

> Siendo la cosa tan grande y de tanta importancia, se podrían dexar persuadir con el tiempo. Por este respecto no he querido tomar en ello resolución hasta vuestra venida, y que hayáis visto las dichas tierras, y sepáis la importancia dellas y los humores de allí, y que conozcáis y platiquéis al archiduque Maximiliano […] En fin, se determinará todo con vuestra venida, placiendo a Dios.

Carlos se detuvo a aconsejar de modo concreto sobre la América española. La principal preocupación de Felipe en este punto debía ser la defensa: «Debéis tener cuidado de mirar siempre si los dichos franceses querrán enviar armada hacía allí», y si lo intentaban, había que detenerles. Es más, «no debéis en ninguna manera hacer concierto con el dicho rey de Francia, con dar ni quitar cosa alguna de lo que ternéis y os pertenecerá». Incluso sin un desafío francés de por medio, dado que «no podéis ser presente especialmente en todos», era esencial mantener un control muy estrecho sobre todos los funcionarios de las colonias, «porque no haciéndolo sería dar ocasión a que los dichos virreyes o gobernadores fuesen más absolutos y a los vasallos de desesperarse». Por otra parte,

> Cuanto al gobierno de las Indias, es muy necesario que tengáis solicitud y cuidado de saber y entender cómo pasan las cosas de allí y de asegurarlas por el servicio de Dios y para que tengáis la obidencia que es razón, con la cual las dichas Indias serán gobernados en justicia y se tornen a poblar y rehacer; y para que se obvie a las opresiones de los conquistadores.

En particular, Felipe debía investigar «los repartimientos de los indios, sobre lo cual ha habido diversas informaciones y avisos». El emperador continuaba: «Como habréis entendido, la cosa es de mucha importancia para agora y para en lo venidero, y será bien que tengáis gran advertencia en la determinación que en esto hiciéredes». En realidad, se quedaba corto —mientras escribía estas instrucciones, el Perú estaba en plena revuelta—, pero la reticencia del emperador reflejaba no solo su vergüenza ante dicho «atrevimiento y temeridad» en un momento en el

que su «experiencia de reinar y gobernar en paz y en guerra» y «la grandeza de su estado, estaba en tanta autoridad y reputación», sino también la filosofía de gobierno que había desarrollado a lo largo de los 30 años anteriores. Según la brillante formulación de Horst Pietschmann:

> A Carlos V no le interesaba en primer lugar el carácter o la substancia de los problemas, sino la forma de resolverlos, respetando y guardando siempre la preeminencia del rey. Frente a la enorme cantidad de problemas, que se le enfrentaban, la única manera de gobernar era la de proceder por las vías institucionales establecidas y de buscar en cada momento de tener personas de confianza en la dirección de los asuntos de las instituciones establecidas.[45]

Asegurar la sucesión II: los Países Bajos

La supervivencia de la inmanejable herencia de Carlos, pese a los numerosos problemas y amenazas, reflejaba no solo la sabiduría de su filosofía política, sino también un notable grado de flexibilidad. Solo tres meses después de haber dejado trazado su Testamento político, ya realizó el primer cambio importante en respuesta a los temores de que, durante la ausencia de España tanto de Felipe como de María, «habrán de quedar grandes en el govierno, que sería cosa que se sentiera mucho» por parte de sus súbditos. Se negó a nombrar regente a su hija Juana, «por su poca edad» (13 años), o a «María por sí sola, porque en nynguna manera conuiene al bien de los negocios, ny jamás me pudo quadrar que muger entendiese en governación no siendo casada»; en cambio, «será cosa más convinyente que fuera allá [a España] el príncipe Maximiliano, my sobrino, a efectuar el matrymonio que se ha tratado» y a partir de entonces a ejercer como regente. Felipe debía permanecer en España hasta la llegada de Maximiliano, y entonces instruirle en «lo que os pareciera que devía ser advertido», así como presentarle a «los Grandes y otros caualleros que vinyesen a la corte, y los consejeros y minystros que con él huviesen de negociar».[46] El emperador realizó un segundo y notable cambio en agosto de 1548: decidió regresar a Bruselas y ordenó a su hijo que se

reuniera con él allí, en lugar de en Alemania. Dos meses después, tras obtener los impuestos de las Cortes de Castilla para costear la dote de María y los gastos de su viaje a los Países Bajos, e iniciar a Maximiliano en los misterios del gobierno, el príncipe y un numeroso séquito partieron hacia Barcelona, donde una flota de galeras le esperaba para trasladarle a Génova.

Dados los numerosos actos de agresión protagonizados en Italia el año anterior por el emperador y sus ministros, la perspectiva de la llegada del príncipe despertó temor a la par que entusiasmo. El duque de Urbino pidió que los veteranos españoles designados para escoltar al príncipe no viajaran a través de sus propiedades, y cuando don Álvaro de Sande (su comandante) se negó, los diplomáticos de Urbino «quisiéronme dar a entender que me estorbarían el paso». Esta amenaza por parte de un estado tan pequeño resultó demasiado para Sande y «creo que se sintieron de qué me reí». La conducta de Felipe a partir de su llegada tampoco suscitó mucha confianza. En Génova, apoyó a los partidarios de la construcción de una ciudadela y ofendió gravemente al duque de Ferrara y algunos otros cuando estos se presentaron con espléndidos regalos, porque «el príncipe no se mostró muy expresivo ante ninguno de ellos, a raíz de lo cual se ganó la reputación de insolente en toda Italia».[47] Felipe se mostró un poco más relajado a su llegada a Trento donde se reunió con un grupo de eminentes alemanes, tanto luteranos como católicos, liderados por Mauricio de Sajonia: sin dejarse impresionar ante su primer encuentro con protestantes, el príncipe compartió con ellos una larga comida y abundante bebida («la cena fue regozijada y bien a la alemana porque bevieron largamente»).[48] De allí viajó a través de Alemania con destino a Bruselas, donde el 1 de abril de 1549 Felipe volvió a encontrarse con su padre, al que llevaba seis años sin ver.

Aunque en su Testamento político Carlos prometía a su hijo que «se determinará todo con vuestra venida» respecto a quién sería su sucesor en los Países Bajos, posteriormente había convencido a la Dieta Imperial en Augsburgo para que reconociera las diecisiete provincias de los Países Bajos que él gobernaba, tanto las que había heredado como las que había adquirido, como un único Círculo Imperial *(Reichskreis)*.[49] Esta medida reforzó los poderes del gobierno central en Bruselas en dos aspectos importantes: eximía a los Países Bajos de las leyes del imperio, incluyendo los compromisos religiosos que habían permitido al luteranismo florecer en Alemania; y obligaba a los miembros alemanes de la Dieta a defender los Países Bajos en caso de que fueran atacados. Carlos tomó entonces la crucial (y finalmente desastrosa) decisión de que Felipe le sucedería en los Países Bajos al igual que en España, convenciendo a las asambleas representativas *(Staten)* de cada provincia para que reconocieran a su hijo como su legítimo heredero y acordaran que, sin perjuicio de sus privilegios específicos, en adelante todas seguirían los mismos protocolos de sucesión y elegirían al mismo soberano a fin de permanecer unidas para siempre. Para consolidar esta innovación, en el verano de 1549 él y Felipe hicieron un recorrido por las provincias más prósperas del sur —Flandes, Artois, Henao y Brabante— donde las autoridades locales juraron solemnemente aceptar a Felipe como su siguiente soberano. Por todas partes, padre e hijo iban encontrándose arcos triunfales y representaciones teatrales alegóricas con declaraciones exorbitantes. Algunos los comparaban con David y Salomón, o con Atlas y Hércules; otros subrayaban que, aunque les rodeaban enemigos poderosos, sus armas divinas y humanas les permitirían imponerse. Por su parte, Felipe hizo gala repetidamente de sus destrezas caballerescas, tomando parte en un Juego de Cañas en Gante, una justa en Amberes y fastuosas fiestas celebradas dentro y alrededor del palacio de

María de Hungría, en Binche, uno de los pocos hechos de la vida de Carlos que se sigue conmemorando, ya que cada Martes de Carnaval los hombres de la localidad (los «Gilles») desfilan por las calles de Binche vestidos con exóticos trajes inspirados en los que se llevaron durante aquellas fiestas.[50]

Los prolongados festejos dejaron exhausto a Carlos, que se quedó en Bruselas a recuperarse mientras el príncipe y María iban a visitar las principales provincias del norte. A su regreso, en noviembre de 1549, los representantes de los territorios adquiridos por el emperador se reunieron por primera vez con los de sus posesiones hereditarias en unos Estados Generales, y todos ratificaron su aceptación de la Pragmática Sanción sobre la sucesión. Felipe pasó los siete meses siguientes en Bruselas en banquetes, bailes, caza y justas, así como recibiendo instrucciones de su padre «sobre temas de importancia. El emperador mandó que fuera a su apartamento dos o tres horas al día, de las que parte las pasaban reunidos en Consejo y durante el resto le instruía a solas».[51]

Al mando de la Historia

En mayo de 1550, tras la solemne conmemoración del undécimo aniversario de la muerte de la emperatriz, Carlos y su hijo partieron de Bruselas para reunirse con la Dieta Imperial, y en Colonia la comitiva imperial subió a bordo de las barcazas que surcaban el Rin, «con ventanas de grueso cristal y asientos forrados con pieles, como los de cualquier casa», de modo que «no se sabía cuándo se movía o se estaba quieta».[52] Durante las dos semanas siguientes, mientras iban ascendiendo el río, «el emperador empleó su tiempo libre en escribir sobre sus viajes y campañas» en francés. Según su ayuda de cámara, Guillermo van Male, un humanista de Brujas, «el trabajo es admirablemente pulcro y elegante, y el estilo habla de un gran espíritu y elocuencia». De hecho, añadía Van Male en tono

condescendiente, «Yo nunca habría pensado que el emperador poseyera tales cualidades, porque él mismo me dijo que había aprendido poco de su educación y que se valía solo de sus pensamientos y sus obras».[53] Carlos continuó el proyecto tras llegar a Augsburgo. «No pasa un día —informaba un embajador — sin que el emperador pase dos o tres horas escribiendo de su puño y letra para inmortalizar sus hazañas, ayudado por Guillermo van Male». Al final, sus *Memorias* abarcaron 150 páginas manuscritas.[54]

¿Por qué se tomó Carlos este trabajo? En 1557, durante una de las visitas de Francisco de Borja a Yuste, el emperador le preguntó:

> Si le parecía que auía algún rastro de vanidad en escreuir el hombre sus propias hazañas. Porque le hazia saber, que él auía escrito todas las jornadas que auía hecho, y las causas y motiuos que auía tenido para emprenderlas; y que no le auía mouido apetito de gloria, ni de vanidad a escriuirlas, sino de que se supiesse la verdad.[55]

Tal vez esto explique la decisión del emperador de escribir sus *Memorias* en tercera persona y omitir muchos detalles personales, incluida toda su niñez. Aunque mencionaba su encuentro con Enrique VIII y con su abuelo Maximiliano en 1513, «en donde, entre otras cosas, se trató y concluyó [su] emancipación», el relato no empieza hasta que él fue «recibido por señor» por los Estados en enero de 1515. Finalizaba con su regreso de Alemania a Bruselas en el verano de 1548.[56] Desde el punto de vista del estilo, las *Memorias* se dividen en dos partes. Hasta la campaña de Güeldres, Carlos solo presenta poco más que un sucinto relato de los hechos en los que él había puesto empeño personal y ejercido correctamente sus deberes como soberano. Llega a hacer incluso un listado de la frecuencia con la que realizaba ciertas actividades: cuántas veces se había reunido con los reyes de Inglaterra y de Francia (3 veces con cada uno) y también con el Papa (con Clemente dos, con Pablo cuatro); cuántas había nombrado a su tía y a su hermana regentes de los

Países Bajos (3 en el caso de Margarita y 5 en el de María); visitado Inglaterra (en dos ocasiones); navegado el Atlántico (3 veces); llegado a España (6 veces); regresado a los Países Bajos (7 veces); entrado en Alemania (8 veces); cruzado el Mediterráneo (10 veces); y sufrido ataques de gota (17 veces desde 1528).[57]

Tanto el tempo como el contenido de las *Memorias* cambiaron de forma significativa cuando Carlos llegó al año 1543: en este punto pasó de ser un diario de viaje a un diario de campaña, dedicando el doble de espacio a los siguientes 5 años que a los 30 anteriores. Solo en contadas ocasiones Carlos mencionaba un hecho del periodo anterior que no se encontrara disponible en otro lugar (por ejemplo, que su emancipación fue decidida durante su encuentro con Enrique en 1513); pero, a partir de ahí, no solo ofreció un relato detallado de su papel en las campañas contra Francia y la Liga de Esmalcalda, sino que también expuso los motivos de varias de sus acciones (qué habría ocurrido si hubiera capturado el puente del Marne en Châlons en 1544), así como de sus enemigos (señalaba siete «faltas o yerros» cometidos por los líderes luteranos alemanes entre marzo de 1546 y abril de 1547 que, gracias al apoyo prestado por Dios a la causa imperial, condujeron a «su total ruina»).[58]

Estos cambios estilísticos formaban parte de una campaña más amplia protagonizada por parte de Carlos y su séquito para reescribir la historia a su favor. En 1548, mientras se hallaba en Augsburgo, llegó a manos de Carlos una copia de una autocomplaciente historia del emperador Maximiliano escrita por el historiador sevillano Pedro Mexía, y «leyéndolos él i su confessor, frai Domingo de Soto, y otros grandes personajes, se satisfizieron tanto» que Carlos encargó a Mexía escribir una crónica similar de su propio reinado.[59] Dos años después, Paolo Giovio, tal vez el historiador más célebre de su época, terminó su «historia universal» y envió a Carlos una copia del capítulo

correspondiente a la campaña de Túnez «para que pueda ser examinado y revisado con detenimiento por vuestra Majestad antes de que yo lo mande a la imprenta». Giovio prometía servilmente «cambiar, añadir y reducirlo conforme mejor juzgue la magnífica memoria y el impecable criterio de vuestra Majestad». Para gran sorpresa suya, el emperador se tomó la invitación al pie de la letra y le dio el manuscrito a don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga (un veterano de la campaña que había servido a Carlos como una especie de protocronista e intermediario con otros historiadores) para que lo evaluara. Según el embajador florentino en la corte de Carlos, «Su Majestad ambiciona tanto la gloria que le parece que Giovio ha restado valor a sus logros» y «continuamente trata de subestimarle». Carlos quería que sus hazañas «fueran más celebradas de lo que están», y Ávila envió a Giovio un listado de cambios que «resaltaban el abnegado valor del emperador y la forma en que él mismo se había expuesto al peligro», para garantizar que su «nombre y gloria no se vean ofuscados por las nieblas de la pasión». Dado que el libro iba a publicarse en Florencia, Ávila le pidió también al duque Cosme que «se asegurara de corregir los errores [de Giovio] y no permitir la publicación hasta que se hicieran los cambios pertinentes. Pero fue en vano: aunque Giovio rectificó unos cuantos errores fácticos, se negó a modificar el trato que le daba a Carlos.[60]

Carlos tuvo más éxito en sus esfuerzos por censurar otro libro de historia que en aquel momento también le provocó malestar: *Hispania Victrix. Primera y segunda parte de la Historia General de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido dende que se ganaron hasta el año de 1551*, de Francisco López de Gómara, publicado en Medina del Campo en agosto de 1553. No solo presentaba la conquista de México como casi únicamente obra de Hernán Cortés, sino que también culpaba a Carlos de no haber prestado atención a América: «pues mucho

más hubieran descubierto, subjectado y conuertido, si Vuestra Majestad no hubiera estado tan ocupado en otras guerras». Esta vez, Carlos se valió de Van Male (protegido de Ávila), el cual pidió a Pedro de la Gasca que le proporcionara una relación de los hechos principales en su pacificación del Perú, dirigida específicamente a corregir los errores de Gómara. Tres meses después, una real cédula decretó que «no conviene que el dicho libro se venda, ni lea, ni se impriman más libros dél, sino los que están impresos, se recojan y se traigan al nuestro Consejo Real de las Indias»; y funcionarios de la casa real interrogaron a cada librero sobre los ejemplares del libro que habían pasado por sus manos: «de quien las han habido y a quien les han vendido y a qué precio, porque así conviene al servicio de Su Magestad».[61]

Al propio Ávila no le fue muy bien con el asunto de las *Memorias* del emperador. Aunque Carlos cogió varios detalles de su *Comentario de la Guerra en Alemania* sin citar la fuente, este retrataba varios acontecimientos bajo una luz muy distinta, naturalmente, una luz bajo la cual él brillaba por encima de todo. Tal vez el caso más flagrante era el relativo al duque de Alba, que había desempeñado un papel decisivo en la derrota de los protestantes: Carlos se refería a él (cuando lo hacía) como «su general». Y aunque nombraba a los aliados cuyo apoyo él había sabido conseguir tan hábilmente —el conde de Buren y las tropas neerlandesas, el duque Octavio Farnesio y el contingente papal, el duque Mauricio de Sajonia y (si bien muy avanzado el relato) «el rey su hermano»—, la estrella siempre era Carlos.

Como apuntó Richard L. Kagan, «De hecho, Carlos presidió lo que hoy en día sería una agencia de publicidad» y, a partir de Mühlberg, el emperador y sus partidarios encargaron varias obras literarias y artísticas en las que el emperador aparecía representado como el indiscutible campeón de la cristiandad. Carlos mandó llamar a Tiziano a Augsburgo, donde comenzó a

trabajar en dos de sus retratos más memorables: como emperador victorioso en la guerra y sabio en la paz *(véanse láminas 26 y 28)*.[62] Poco después, Carlos convocó a Leone Leoni a Bruselas para encargarle una serie de esculturas heroicas (estatuas, bustos y relieves en bronce y en mármol), incluidas 7 de sí mismo, 3 tanto de Felipe como de la emperatriz, y 2 de su hermana María de Hungría. La más grande, una estatua de tamaño n atural del emperador con una armadura que podía quitarse dejando al descubierto su cuerpo desnudo, le representaba de pie y vigilante sobre sus enemigos derrotados, listo para volver a tomar las armas si era necesario *(véase lámina 30)*. Entretanto, María encargó a Willem de Pannemaker que tejiera una serie de grandes tapices diseñados por Vermeyen para conmemorar la victoriosa campaña de Túnez *(véase lámina 21)*; y el embajador de Carlos en Venecia supervisó la publicación del *Comentario* de Ávila, así como numerosos grabados de los recientes triunfos del emperador.[63] No todas las obras de propaganda eran por encargo: se fabricaron piezas de ajedrez y de damas con su imagen *(véase lámina 31)* (la popularidad de ambos juegos aumentó notablemente durante el reinado de Carlos).[64] En 1550, Leoni se topó con una «gema fantástica» que retrataba a César y a Augusto, y esto le dio la idea de crear un magnífico camafeo de ónix en cuyo reverso aparecía la emperatriz y en el anverso Felipe y Carlos, el emperador ataviado con una corona de laurel y su armadura de Mühlberg: de nuevo, un recordatorio de su exc elencia tanto en la guerra como en la paz, y de que había engendrado un sucesor digno de él *(véase lámina 32)*.[65]

Asegurar la sucesión III: Alemania

El emperador escribió sus *Memorias*, al menos en parte, para impresionar a su hermano. Varias veces hacía hincapié en cómo había apoyado a Fernando y promovido sus intereses, tanto de forma directa (consiguiendo que fuera elegido rey de Romanos;

enviando tropas y fondos para defender sus posesiones frente a los turcos) como indirectamente (obligando al Papa a convocar un concilio general con el principal propósito de llevar la paz a Alemania; derrotando a la Liga de Esmalcalda). Llegó incluso a ordenar a Van Male que preparara una versión en latín para su publicación, aunque esto nunca se materializó, tal vez debido a la hostilidad que le granjeó la cumbre familiar en Augsburgo, que Carlos convocó para tratar la sucesión de sus diversos dominios: en España, donde, si Carlos moría antes que su madre, Fernando podría enfrentarse a Felipe por el puesto de cosoberano de Castilla; en Italia, donde su investidura de Felipe como duque de Milán daba al traste con las esperanzas de Fernando de adquirir el territorio; en los Países Bajos, donde había renegado de su promesa de hacer a Maximiliano y a María sus sucesores; y, sobre todo, en el Sacro Imperio Romano.[66]

Jakob Sturm, de Estrasburgo, fue el primero en adivinar el gran proyecto de Carlos. En diciembre de 1547 informó desde la Dieta de Augsburgo que el emperador había emplazado al príncipe Felipe para que fuera a Alemania con la expresa intención de disponer su sucesión al trono imperial. Cuatro meses más tarde, el embajador veneciano retomó la historia, y en junio de 1548 el nuncio en Augsburgo declaraba no solo que «muchos sospechan que su Majestad quiere que su hijo sea elegido rey de Romanos y de este modo perpetuar la dignidad imperial en su familia», sino también que muchos se oponían a ello. Sin embargo, añadía con sarcasmo, «Su Majestad, procediendo con su acostumbrada autoridad y solemnidad, presta a esto poca atención». En efecto, continuaba, «mientras que antes solía recibir a los electores con gran ceremonia, ahora estos rara vez consiguen una audiencia, y si lo hacen, tienen que esperarle primero durante más de una hora en la antecámara». El nuncio también se hacía eco de un arrebato protagonizado por el archiduque Maximiliano durante una cena: «Que él era

un buen alemán, y que nunca iba a aceptar como emperador de Alemania a nadie que no fuera un verdadero alemán», rebelándose ante la idea de que «los españoles pretendan siquiera gobernar Alemania».[67]

Fernando al parecer hizo caso omiso de todo ello hasta la primavera de 1549, en que protestó a María sobre «algo que me parece completamente increíble»: esto es, los rumores de que «en la corte del príncipe Felipe, mi sobrino, y en el Imperio, algunos dicen abiertamente que mi señor el emperador había tratado conmigo la transferencia del puesto y título de rey de Romanos al príncipe». Él negaba que hubiera tenido lugar ninguna conversación al respecto y añadía: «No puedo creer que tal cosa se le haya pasado o vaya a pasar por la mente ni en sueños a su Majestad, porque le considero un buen hermano, y más que hermano, mi verdadero padre». Y apostillaba: «Tengo por seguro que nunca pensaría en hacer nada que causara tan grave daño a mi reputación». María tranquilizaba a su hermano diciendo que esas historias no eran más que meros rumores, si bien añadiendo en tono inquietante que «estoy absolutamente segura de que su Majestad no tomaría ninguna decisión sobre un tema así sin hablar con vos».[68]

El asunto quedó así durante casi un año, con Carlos, Felipe y María en los Países Bajos, Fernando en Austria y Maximiliano en España; pero justo antes de que el emperador y su hijo partieran hacia Alemania en mayo de 1550, María le escribió una carta a Fernando «en absoluta confianza, dirigida exclusivamente a vos, que debéis quemar después de leerla». En ella procedía a comunicarle «lo que he sabido de las intenciones de vuestro hermano y sobrino», añadiendo que se trataba de «algo que hubiera preferido contaros en persona, si hubiera sido posible». Y acto seguido pasaba a confirmarle todos los rumores cuya veracidad previamente le había negado. El príncipe Felipe, comenzaba diciendo,

> Muestra una gran inclinación por asumir la responsabilidad del imperio después de vos, con argumentos de gran alcance como que parece un paso esencial para mantener nuestra dinastía. El emperador ve razones a favor y en contra, y por tanto no tomará una decisión hasta reunirse con vos, para que podáis decidir juntos qué sería más beneficioso para nuestra dinastía y lo mejor para toda la Cristiandad.

También destacaba la necesidad de obtener la conformidad de Maximiliano, porque su oposición a Felipe «generaría una enemistad y rivalidad eterna que inevitablemente perjudicaría a los dos», y terminaba recordándole a Fernando lo mucho que Carlos había hecho por él, especialmente «el favor que os hizo apoyándoos antes que a su propio hijo como rey de Romanos».[69]

Era un argumento hábil, que obviamente contaba con las bendiciones de Carlos, pero a todas luces injusto respecto a Fernando, porque Carlos le había asegurado repetidas veces que Maximiliano sería su sucesor. Profundamente herido por la abrupta exigencia de su hermano, pero sin querer ofender a «su verdadero padre», Fernando sugirió que, en lugar de ello, Felipe y sus sucesores podían convertirse en vicario imperial (segundo de a bordo) en Italia —una razonable sugerencia que ofrecía a Felipe mucho más de lo que al final recibió—, pero Carlos lo rechazó y reiteró su exigencia de que Fernando persuadiera a los electores para que eligieran a Felipe y no a Maximiliano, su sucesor inmediato. Fernando preveía el desastre. «Espero que lleguemos a un arreglo sin discutir» la preelección de Felipe, le escribió preocupado a María:

> En mi opinión, eso sería lo mejor por muchas razones, entre ellas, una muy importante, y es que yo creo que sería imposible conseguirlo, y que proponerlo generaría hostilidad y resistencia, lo que por mi parte preferiría evitar. Si se propone, creo que te darás cuenta de que estoy en lo cierto: que sería mejor no haberlo propuesto nunca.[70]

Las relaciones entre los hermanos se deterioraron rápidamente hasta que, una noche de noviembre, Fernando anunció que los rumores de otra invasión otomana de Hungría

le obligarían a pedir ayuda a la Dieta Imperial una vez más. Carlos interrumpió a su hermano más de una vez, argumentando que Hungría no estaba en peligro y su situación no justificaba pedir ayuda a la Dieta, lo cual retrasaría y probablemente haría descarrilar su propia agenda; pero Fernando se mantuvo firme. Declaró que Dios, la conciencia y el honor, así como la necesidad de proteger sus propias posesiones, todo ello le obligaba a recurrir a la ayuda alemana para otra campaña en Hungría. También le recordaba a Carlos que su título imperial le hacía «jefe y protector» de la cristiandad contra el infiel, lo cual «es la razón por la que Dios os ha otorgado dicho poder». Esto enfureció a Carlos, que reprendió a su hermano por «justificar siempre todo lo que os place con ser una cuestión de conciencia y honor». También afirmaba que Fernando siempre se había quedado con la parte del león de todos los impuestos votados por la Dieta, «mientras yo no me llevo nada; y sin embargo lo seguís queriendo todo para vos. Al final —le dijo Carlos a Fernando—, tendremos que dejar claro quién es el emperador: vos o yo». Acto seguido amenazó con que, si su hermano seguía insistiendo en pedir fondos a la Dieta, él se opondría abiertamente a ello, a lo que Fernando respondió saliendo hecho una furia de la habitación.[71]

Tras comunicar estos desagradables intercambios a María, Carlos se quejaba de que «nada de lo que el difunto rey de Francia [Francisco] me hizo en su día» le había afectado «tanto como la forma en que me trata el rey nuestro hermano. Lo que más siento», seguía diciendo, es que «cuando estamos juntos no veo ninguna señal de arrepentimiento ni vergüenza en él. Por tanto, no me queda más salida que confiar en Dios y suplicarle que infunda sensatez y sabiduría en mi hermano, y a mí me conceda fuerza y paciencia». Sus súplicas fueron en vano. Los

hermanos se negaron a hablarse y (según los embajadores venecianos) «muchos príncipes dicen que preferirían llegar a un acuerdo con el sultán antes que elegir al príncipe de España».[72]

Carlos volvió a llamar María a Augsburgo donde, tras semanas de acalorada discusión, esta logró que se alcanzara un acuerdo en marzo de 1551. La sucesión imperial se alternaría entre las dos ramas de la familia: Fernando sería el sucesor al título imperial, pero prometía delegar los poderes imperiales sobre Italia en Felipe y conseguir la elección de su sobrino como rey de Romanos; luego, como emperador, Felipe garantizaría la elección de Maximiliano como su sucesor, y mientras estuviera ausente de Alemania nombraría a Maximiliano como regente. El príncipe se comprometía además a apoyar a Fernando y a Maximiliano en el Imperio y en Hungría; a no intervenir en el gobierno del Imperio salvo que así se lo pidiera Fernando; y a casarse con una de las hijas de Fernando.[73]

Aunque Maximiliano dio su consentimiento verbal a este Pacto de Familia a regañadientes, se negó a firmarlo, quejándose de que «la forma habitual de proceder de su tío consistía siempre en creerse superior a todos y atar bien corto a sus socios para tenerles controlados»; y aunque Fernando firmó el acuerdo, no por ello dejó de estar resentido. Algunos años después recordaba que le había advertido a Carlos de «los inconvenientes, alteraciones y tumultos que podían suceder de ello en el Imperio, y que no se saldría con ello», pero cuando el emperador insistió «por cumplir con su voluntad, hubimos de hacer lo que se hizo; y que poco tiempo después se conoció haber sido yo mejor propheta en lo que dixe de lo que quisiéramos porque, avisados los príncipes de Alemania de nuestro designio, tomaron […] las armas [contra] Su Magestad».[74]

El Pacto de Familia ponía en peligro todos los logros alcanzados con tanto esfuerzo por Carlos desde Mühlberg. Como el embajador francés Charles de Marillac comentaba con satisfacción, «en lugar de seguir adelante con sus victorias», el emperador «desperdició un año entero en la Dieta de Augsburgo» y luego pasó dos años en los Países Bajos, «lo que dio a los alemanes tiempo para reflexionar sobre su situación», de modo que cuando Carlos regresó en 1550, «se encontró con que, si antes no era más que un grupo de alemanes los que estaban en su contra, ahora también los católicos, y todos en general, habían dejado de tenerle el afecto que antes le tenían». Su colega inglés estaba de acuerdo. Para el verano de 1551 había «pocos príncipes en todo el imperio», pero «alguna ofensa grave les ha hecho el emperador. Y no cabe duda de que su hermano Fernando, su sobrino Maximiliano… se sienten profundamente heridos por ella».[75]

Tanto Carlos como su hijo parecían ajenos a todo esto. Casi 40 años después, cuando un secretario envió a Felipe algunos documentos que alababan la piedad de su difunto tío, el rey respondió con entusiasmo: «Yo conocí al emperador Fernando, que casi un año estuvimos en Agusan [Augsburgo] de Alemaña, el de 51, con el emperador mi señor que aya gloria, y le trate mucho porque nos aveníamos muy bien; y fuýmos en aquel tiempo muchas vezes acá juntos él y yo». En mayo de 1551, Felipe abandonó Augsburgo para retomar su regencia en España, y al poco tiempo partió también Carlos; tal vez, especulaba un embajador, porque se sintió como todos «los padres, y se fue de esa casa en la que tanto tiempo su hijo y él habían pasado juntos, quedando ahora separados». No volverían a verse hasta pasados cuatro años, y para entonces el mundo Habsburgo se había transformado.[76]

15. Las últimas campañas del emperador, 1551-1554

El emperador y la unidad de la cristiandad

Tras dejar a su padre en Augsburgo, Felipe viajó hacia el sur para retomar su regencia en España; pero se detuvo en Trento para ser testigo de uno de los logros más notables de Carlos: la segunda sesión del Concilio general de la Iglesia. El asesinato de Pedro Luis Farnesio en 1547 había envenenado las relaciones entre su padre, Pablo III, y el emperador, e impedido cualquier acuerdo para una nueva convocatoria del Concilio de Trento. Pero el Papa murió dos años más tarde, y casi inmediatamente después de su elección en febrero de 1550, Julio III declaró que el concilio general podía volver a celebrarse, bien en Trento o «aún más adelante en Alemania, si aquel lugar pareciesse incómodo» al emperador. Carlos no cabía en sí de contento: Julio no podía haber hecho cosa «que más grata nos fuesse», informó a su embajador en Roma, al tiempo que se apresuraba para aprovechar la nueva oportunidad de alcanzar las metas religiosas que tanto tiempo venía persiguiendo. Si bien no pudo resistirse a resaltar que, dado que «las oppiniones en Alemania son muy differentes y varias», y esto complicaba una reconciliación que «pudiera hauer lugar algunos años ha, quando las oppiniones estauan circumscriptas en pocos puntos, y los herrores no tan divulgados», insistía en que los protestantes alemanes «han de ser oydos en qualquier cosa que quieran proponer» a fin de que más adelante «no pueden recusar al concilio con color que no serán oýdos».[1] Por este motivo se enfureció tanto al descubrir que la Bula por la que se convocaba el Concilio no mencionaba a los protestantes por su nombre, y redactó una protesta firmada ante notario, con el príncipe Felipe, Perrenot y el duque de Alba como testigos. Por aquel entonces la mantuvo en secreto (una técnica que su hijo utilizaría más adelante en su contra), y lo que hizo fue enviar

cartas a todos los prelados y selectos teólogos de sus dominios ordenándoles asistir al Concilio. Gracias a estos esfuerzos, los súbditos de Carlos constituyeron más de la mitad de los participantes, sumando prelados, teólogos, observadores laicos y diplomáticos. Don Francisco de Toledo, el embajador imperial, supo aprovechar tan bien esta ventaja numérica que (según el Papa) corría un chiste por Roma que decía que «el Concilio de Trento era en realidad el Concilio de Toledo».[2]

En un principio, el emperador aceptó la exigencia de Julio de que el Consejo debía solucionar, en primer lugar, las cuestiones de doctrina pendientes, dado que muchos católicos anhelaban una clarificación de lo que era ortodoxia y lo que era herejía, pero este insistió en que en aquel momento (a diferencia de lo ocurrido en la primera sesión) el Consejo debía también prestar atención a ciertos abusos reformistas «para euitar y remediar los escándolos nascidos en la iglesia, pues de otra manera sería dar fundamento a los herrores y que los hereges perseuerassen en ellos». Y continuaba diciendo: «como no es de nuestra mente que se disminuya la autoridad de Su Sanctidad… así tampoco es justo que Su Sanctidad dexe de uenir en lo honesto, y que se uerá conuenir para el remedio de los abusos, como en cosa que los de la Germania arman y fundan sus maldades». En noviembre de 1551, poco después de escribir esto, Carlos y un reducido séquito viajaron a Innsbruck, a menos de 200 kilómetros de Trento, en parte para asegurarse de que la asamblea ponía remedio al menos a algunas «cosas que escandilizan los fieles con el abuso dellos… por lo que somos obligados con Dios, como por justificarnos con todo el mundo, y que se uea que no ha quedado por no solicitarlo y acordarlo».[3]

A principios de 1552, llegaron a Trento teólogos de algunos estados protestantes alemanes. El emperador consideraba su participación «el único remedio para los males que la iglesia padesce», y trabajó incansablemente para garantizar que fueran

escuchados. Por eso se indignó tanto cuando Julio se negó, amenazando con suspender el Concilio si los protestantes hablaban. «No conuiene hablar en suspensión», manifestó encolerizado a don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, su embajador en Roma, ni que «tal cosa proponga ni consienta, porque sería euidentemente contra su reputación, que está conjuncta con el seruicio de Dios, pues todo el fin de Su Magestad ua endereçado a Él», haciendo una clara equiparación entre él y Dios. El emperador continuaba su mensaje pasivo-agresivo insistiendo en que su embajador se lo transmitiera personalmente al Papa:

> Y quando por parte de Su Sanctidad y sus ministros otra cosa se hiziesse y algún disturbio sucediesse, es conueniente que se entienda por quién queda el remedio, y que no ha sido por culpa de Su Magestad, quedando con este descargo y justificación acerca de Dios y del mundo.

Julio no se dejó impresionar lo más mínimo. «Estamos seguros de que su Majestad es admirablemente cabal en todas sus apreciaciones y de que solo le guía la buena voluntad para con nos», informó a su legado en Trento, pero «debe respetar como todos los demás el poder que Dios nos ha otorgado directamente a nos».[4]

Aunque justificadamente orgulloso de su éxito al conseguir que al menos algunos gobernantes luteranos asistieran al Concilio de Trento, Carlos no las tenía todas consigo. «Como estas cosas sean dependientes del tienpo y de las occasiones —le recordaba a Mendoza a finales de febrero de 1552—, assí también será menester tomar deliberación conforme a ello y a lo que se offrescerá». Mendoza debía por tanto «dexar siempre algún asidero por donde se pueda tornar a enhilar la negoçiación; avisándonos a menudo de lo que entenderéis deste negocio… para que de vn tiempo a otro, segund el subcesso de las otras cosas, os podamos corresponder». Lo que Carlos no podía sospechar era que pocas semanas después, «otras cosas» —en forma de un ejército protestante alemán— no solo obligarían

a los que habían asistido al Concilio de Trento a huir, frustrando así el último intento significativo de reconciliar a luteranos y católicos, sino que también le obligaría a él a escapar a Innsbruck para que no le capturaran sus propios súbditos.[5]

Némesis

En 1553, Roger Ascham, un enviado inglés en la corte de Carlos, comentaba con sorpresa cómo el emperador, «estando en paz con todo el mundo» tres años antes, «llegó a tener en poco tiempo tantos enemigos que no sabía por cuál empezar», y atribuía este llamativo cambio a la

> Gran confusión de alianzas, disensiones, expolios, guerras, diversos cambios de la fortuna y muy graves contratiempos; añadiéndose a todos estos desastres la ingratitud, traición, perfidia, lujuria, avaricia, ambición, tiranía y enemistad con Dios, así como la extralimitación en la libertad, la violación de la ley, el profanamiento de la religión y el desprecio a Dios mismo.[6]

En cuanto a los asuntos internacionales, los «desastres» comenzaron en marzo de 1550 cuando los regentes de Eduardo VI de Inglaterra, deseosos de conseguir la paz en el exterior, acordaron devolver Boulogne a Francia, retirar todas las tropas inglesas de Escocia y permitir a María, reina de Escocia, casarse con el heredero del trono francés. Al conocer la noticia, el emperador se quedó «muy pensativo, pareciendo sentirse preocupado», porque «esta paz se había resuelto sin él y de forma contraria a lo que esperaba, por lo cual se le antoja que su reputación ha quedado gravemente manchada, como en efecto así ha sido, tanto en Alemania como en Italia». Y, aún más importante, la paz con Inglaterra afianzaba el flanco occidental de Francia, mientras Enrique II de Francia urdía la venganza por los cuatro años que permaneció encarcelado como rehén en España en la década de 1520 y por las humillantes condiciones de la paz de Crépy.[7]

Casi de inmediato, Carlos debilitó aún más su posición al autorizar un ataque sobre algunas ciudades portuarias del norte de África recientemente capturadas por Dragut, un corsario bárbaro que se ganaba la vida asaltando los barcos procedentes de las ciudades Habsburgo de Nápoles y Sicilia. Cuando en septiembre de 1550 llegó la noticia de que los puertos se habían rendido, la corte imperial reaccionó con «extraordinaria alegría» y celebró un torneo en el que participó el príncipe Felipe. Pero el derrotado Dragut zarpó hacia Estambul y solicitó la ayuda del sultán contra lo que él afirmaba había sido una manifiesta agresión Habsburgo. Carlos escribió varias cartas al sultán pidiéndole —casi suplicándole— que estas acciones no fueran interpretadas como contravenciones de la tregua acordada entre ambos tres años antes; pero dado que se negó a devolver sus conquistas, en 1551 Dragut y una enorme flota otomana partieron hacia el oeste y tomaron el importante puesto de avanzada cristiano de Trípoli bajo las condiciones negociadas por el embajador francés ante el sultán (que viajaba a bordo de la flota turca).[8]

Ascham consideró la agresión de Carlos en el Mediterráneo un error catastrófico, porque «una vez declarado el turco abierto enemigo del emperador, muchos hombres mezquinos cobraron valor para lanzarse a buscar remedio a sus propios agravios, estando Francia siempre dispuesta a alentar y ayudar a quienquiera que tuviera motivos de sentirse ofendido por el emperador».[9] Entre ellos se encontraba Octavio Farnesio, duque de Parma y yerno de Carlos, el cual ya había perdido la esperanza de recuperar Piacenza, conquistada por Ferrante Gonzaga, gobernador de Lombardía. A principios de 1551, Octavio pidió ayuda a Francia, a raíz de lo cual Julio III le declaró rebelde y proclamó que «nuestra causa es la misma que la de su majestad imperial en todas las cosas». Octavio se vengó firmando un tratado que ponía sus posesiones bajo la protección

de Francia, al poco de lo cual las tropas de Enrique arrasaron parte de los Estados Pontificios y ocuparon varios baluartes en el Piamonte. Gonzaga suplicó al emperador que le enviara enseguida refuerzos desde Alemania.[10]

Carlos se sintió encantado de complacerle. Como explicó a su hermano, «es imposible para mí mantener por más tiempo las tropas españolas que actualmente guardan las fortalezas en Wurtemberg, dado lo que añaden a la ya insoportable carga de mis gastos». De manera que, pese a las protestas de Fernando, en octubre de 1551 las guarniciones españolas establecidas allí cruzaron los Alpes para sitiar Parma, a las que pronto siguieron muchos de los veteranos alemanes del emperador.[11] Esto acabó resultando otro error catastrófico, porque varios Estados protestantes del norte de Alemania mantuvieron el desafío pese a la victoria de Carlos en Mühlberg. A principios de 1550, el duque de Mecklenburgo y algunos de sus vecinos formaron una liga «para la defensa de la libertad de los príncipes y de la fe luterana», mientras la ciudad de Magdeburgo se negaba de plano a aceptar el *Interim*. Las imprentas de la ciudad publicaron casi 150 libros y panfletos para justificar su desafío, ganándose la ciudad el título (si bien solo entre los protestantes) de «Cancillería de nuestro Señor». Aunque Mauricio de Sajonia reclutó un ejército en nombre de Carlos para sitiar Magdeburgo, sus esfuerzos resultaron más bien tibios.[12]

Carlos subestimó la importancia de estos hechos, en parte porque continuó en Bruselas y tan solo llegó a Augsburgo, donde había convocado otra Dieta Imperial el 8 de julio de 1550. Afortunadamente para él, Enrique II también subestimó la importancia de estos acontecimientos durante algún tiempo. «Hay pocas personas en Alemania en las que podamos confiar —se lamentaba—, y veo escasas posibilidades de mejorar la situación debido a las divisiones existentes entre ellos, y al hecho de que sus corazones están tan debilitados que no veo forma de

que se pongan de acuerdo en algo». El rey vislumbraba solo dos rayos de esperanza: el primero era «la discordia» entre Carlos y su hermano «sobre la sucesión imperial, que podía de alguna forma desatar problemas, aunque veo escasa ocasión para esto, ya que creo que el emperador cuida tanto de sus asuntos que no alimentará ningún conflicto allí»; el segundo era la llegada a Francia, en agosto de 1550, de un enviado secreto de Mauricio de Sajonia.[13]

El nuevo elector albergaba varias quejas. Como otros protestantes alemanes, Mauricio se sentía amenazado por el Concilio de Trento nuevamente convocado; y aunque, a petición del emperador, envió representantes, insistieron en que todas las decisiones previas (tomadas en su ausencia) fueran consideradas inválidas. Naturalmente, Carlos se negó a escucharles. El plan de que Felipe fuera elegido rey de Romanos también desagradaba a Mauricio, que, junto con los restantes electores, creía que preparar con adelanto la sucesión imperial —como había ocurrido en 1530-1531— menoscababa su carácter electivo. Una vez más, Carlos se negó a escuchar. Por último, y lo más irritante, fue la continuación del riguroso confinamiento del suegro de Mauricio, Felipe de Hesse.[14]

Al principio, Mauricio trató de conseguir la liberación del landgrave cultivando la amistad de los parientes de Carlos. En 1549 visitó Praga, donde, según Fernando, «las disputas pendientes entre esta Corona de Bohemia y la Casa de Sajonia se resolvieron muy ventajosamente para nosotros, con gran satisfacción por mi parte». El nuevo elector también había salido de caza y de juerga con el príncipe Felipe de España, y le pidió que solicitara «a su padre la liberación del landgrave», pero Carlos se negó. Ascham consideraba esto otro error grave:

> Un hombre sabio diría que negarle al príncipe esta petición no fue precisamente la acción más prudente que el emperador llevó a cabo en su vida; ya que si el príncipe hubiera liberado a los dos príncipes [Felipe de Hesse y Juan

Federico de Sajonia] de su cautividad, se habría ganado tal favor en toda Alemania, que sin duda habría sido nombrado coadjutor con el rey de Romanos, su tío, y después emperador.[15]

El príncipe estaba desperdiciando su tiempo. En febrero de 1550 la cancillería de Carlos redactó unas declaraciones secretas condenando a Juan Federico «a prisión para el resto de su vida», y al landgrave a «10 años de prisión permanente», lo que Carlos mismo tachó para aumentarla a 15 años, que equivalía en realidad a una condena de por vida, dado que el prisionero tenía entonces 46 años.[16]

Aunque el landgrave al parecer no llegó a tener conocimiento de esta declaración, en diciembre de 1550 orquestó un plan para escapar de prisión con la ayuda de algunos conspiradores en Francia, Alemania y los Países Bajos, lo que culminó en un tiroteo con sus guardias españoles. Aunque fracasó, este desafío a «nuestra jurisdicción en nuestras provincias patrimoniales, y el intento de matar al capitán de los guardias y los que con él estaban» enfureció tanto al emperador que ordenó a sus funcionarios amenazar al landgrave con que, «si no os dice la verdad voluntariamente, le haremos decirla por la fuerza». La estrategia funcionó —el landgrave rompió a llorar y dio los nombres de sus socios (muchos de los cuales pronto se reunieron con él en prisión)—, tras lo cual Carlos ordenó su traslado a una celda sin ventana, privándole además de dinero, sirvientes y todo contacto con el mundo exterior. También Mauricio concluyó entonces que Carlos nunca liberaría a su suegro, y firmó por tanto un acuerdo secreto con el duque de Mecklenburgo y sus aliados, comprometiéndose a conseguir la liberación del landgrave y «defender las libertades de Alemania», en caso necesario, mediante una alianza con Francia.[17]

En octubre de 1551, justo cuando las guarniciones españolas se desplazaban de Alemania a Italia, Mauricio y sus aliados firmaron un «tratado de confederación y alianza» secreto con el

rey de Francia «contra el emperador Carlos V, para conservar los privilegios y libertades de los electores, príncipes y estados del Imperio», y frustrar los esfuerzos de Carlos por reducirles a la «bestial, insufrible y eterna servidumbre que ha instaurado en España y el resto de lugares». Enrique II prometió un estipendio mensual a un ejército confederado para luchar por la libertad alemana; además, prometió capturar las ciudades alemanas francófonas de Metz, Toul y Verdún, en Lorena, y «provocar incendios por todos los Países Bajos para que el enemigo los tenga que apagar, obligándole de este modo a dividir sus fuerzas». A cambio, los príncipes alemanes prometieron ayudar a Enrique a recuperar todos los territorios que Francia había rendido a Carlos y promover su elección como próximo emperador.[18]

Pensamiento grupal

Esta conspiración tan numerosa resultó imposible de mantener en secreto, y muchos de los ministros de Carlos advirtieron varias veces de ella a la corte, pero sorprendentemente nadie hizo caso. Parte del problema residió en una mentalidad que en una época posterior se denominaría «pensamiento grupal»: la creación de una falsa apariencia de unanimidad entre los encargados de tomar decisiones desalentando cualquier expresión de discrepancia a la vez que la discusión se canaliza procurando minimizar el desacuerdo. «El emperador —apuntó Ascham— tiene muchos frentes abiertos, todos ellos capaces por sí solos de darle trabajo más que suficiente; el turco por mar y tierra; el francés pisándole los talones por todas partes, en Madelburgo, etcétera; y sin embargo —proseguía diciendo—, cegado por una excesivamente buena opinión sobre su propia sabiduría, siendo de su gusto solo lo que él decía, y censurando con facilidad cualquier consejo procedente de otros (que a menudo deviene en obstinación, la cual a su vez tan gran daño causa a todas las mentes

privilegiadas)», Carlos se dejó engañar. El nuncio Camaiani coincidía con Ascham: «Aunque el emperador es un gran y bienintencionado hombre, con la conciencia clara y una mente brillante, muchas veces hace lo que sus ministros quieren que haga, y no lo que él piensa».[19]

Algunos opinaban que el emperador estaba perdiendo facultades. «Encuentro a su Majestad más apático de lo normal», se quejaba Perrenot a María de Hungría, la hermana del emperador, nada más llegar a Innsbruck:

> A todas las cosas pierde su Majestad la esperanza de encontrar solución, respondiendo a todo lo que se le propone con que debe encontrarse el remedio menos malo para cada problema… Cuando se le sugiere que deberíamos congraciarnos con los ingleses, los venecianos, los príncipes alemanes y el resto, y granjearnos la simpatía de la gente, parece esperar tan poco de ello, y tenerles en tan baja estima, que no me he atrevido a hablar con él en cinco días. Tenemos muchos [aquí] que desean que se les conceda audiencia… pero él no quiere escucharles.

El nuncio era uno de los que esperaban en vano una audiencia, quejándose de que «Su Majestad ha ido de caza a Baviera», por lo que «tengo que tratar todos los asuntos verbalmente» con Perrenot.[20] Otros consideraban que Perrenot, y no Carlos, era el problema. En opinión de Ferrante Gonzaga, Los Cobos (fallecido en 1547) y Granvela (fallecido en 1550) eran ministros «que comprendían la importancia de no faltar nunca al respeto a los ministros de su Majestad»; pero Perrenot había formulado 23 críticas concretas respecto a su conducta como gobernador de Milán, incluida su captura de Piacenza («que él considera la causa de todos los reveses») y su fracaso al no hacerse con Parma («que ha costado un millón y medio de ducados de oro»), por lo que «en este momento, ni aunque yo fuera César o Aníbal, estaría satisfecho conmigo».[21]

La profunda dedicación de Perrenot a los asuntos de Italia llevó a dejar de lado a Alemania, especialmente la potencial amenaza que representaba Mauricio de Sajonia. «Aunque no

confío mucho en su buena voluntad», informaba a María (una de las personas que había advertido de una conspiración contra Carlos):

> No creo que [Mauricio] se atreviera a actuar abiertamente contra su Majestad porque… tiene demasiado miedo de asumir tan gran empresa, es demasiado pobre para correr con grandes gastos, y demasiado impopular en Sajonia. Además, teme que pudiéramos liberar al duque Juan Federico, el cual, pese a lo arruinado que está, todavía podría —gracias a su popularidad en la zona— desbancarle [a Mauricio].[22]

María respondió recalcando que «tenemos muchos enemigos y personas que nos desean el mal, pero pocos amigos y personas que nos deseen el bien», y repitiendo que «todo el mundo está de acuerdo en que el elector Mauricio tiene contactos en Francia» así como «también en Alemania con todos aquellos que son hostiles a su Majestad». Entretanto, Francia e Inglaterra se habían reconciliado. Por tanto, le instaba a dirigirse hacia el norte, desde Augsburgo al centro de Alemania, para poder manejar mejor estas amenazas.[23] No obstante, una vez más, Carlos se negó a hacer caso: en su lugar, él y sus principales consejeros se dirigieron hacia el sur, a Innsbruck, para supervisar el asedio de Parma y el Concilio de Trento, quedando de este modo aún más aislados de los hechos que acaecían en Francia y Alemania. Además, según Ascham, Carlos se las había arreglado para ofender a muchos de sus vasallos alemanes. A modo de ejemplo, Ascham citaba el *Comentario* sobre la guerra de Esmalcalda recientemente publicado por don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, que menospreciaba o criticaba el comportamiento de muchos príncipes alemanes, especialmente el elector Federico del Palatinado (que se quejó en persona a Carlos del retrato que de él aparecía en el libro), el margrave Alberto Alcibíades de Brandeburgo (que se enfureció tanto que desafió a Ávila a un duelo) y el duque de Bavaria (que se hizo «más amigo de los príncipes confederados de lo que tal vez había sido nunca»). Aunque un cortesano podía «complacer en aquel momento a su

príncipe —reflexionaba Ascham—, también podía por ventura herirle al final como lo hizo Luis de Ávila al emperador su señor escribiendo este libro», porque el emperador más tarde carecería «de los corazones y las manos de sus amigos cuando más los necesitaba».[24]

El «pensamiento grupal» continuó caracterizando a la corte imperial después del traslado a Innsbruck. El día de Año Nuevo de 1552, Perrenot no dio importancia a la información de un corresponsal de que se habían visto convoys cargados de oro francés dirigiéndose a Alemania» mientras «en lo referente a la liga entre Sajonia, Brandeburgo, Hesse, Mecklenburgo y Pomerania, le prometo a su señoría que eso no es nada *(che non è niente)*». Tres semanas más tarde, Perrenot volvió a no hacer caso de los rumores de conspiraciones y alianzas extranjeras, así como a la noticia de que Mauricio se negaba a desmovilizar a su ejército después de la capitulación de Magdeburgo porque, como declaró con arrogancia, el elector no tenía motivo para romper con el emperador e, incluso si lo hiciera, ni Mauricio ni sus presuntos aliados «tienen la inteligencia ni los fondos» necesarios para financiar una rebelión que pueda tener éxito. Hasta el 26 de febrero de 1552, Carlos no detectó «nada grave que reprobar» en la conducta de Mauricio y «no veía motivos para proceder contra él»; pero, ese mismo día, en Bruselas, María encontró una prueba irrefutable del complot: unas cartas interceptadas de Mauricio a sus aliados alemanes, que contenían detalles de esta conspiración y algunos encargos de reclutar tropas dispuestas a luchar «contra cualquier enemigo». María envió la correspondencia a su hermano mediante un mensajero urgente.[25]

Al fin, esto deshizo el encantamiento. Carlos firmó cartas urgentes para las ciudades y príncipes de Alemania instándoles a rechazar las propuestas de los confederados, y pidió a Fernando que actuara de mediador entre él y los «rebeldes», ofreciéndose a

apaciguar a Mauricio mediante la liberación del landgrave y la promesa de pagar todas las deudas pendientes con los demás príncipes rebeldes. Se trataba de una promesa falsa, porque su erario estaba agotado. «¡El diablo ha traído esta guerra a Parma! —se lamentaba a su hermana—. Me ha arruinado, porque he gastado todo el dinero que ha llegado de América en financiarla, y ahora no queda casi nada».[26] Nada podía detener el avance hacia el sur de dos ejércitos luteranos, uno comandado por Mauricio y el otro por Alberto Alcibíades: casi todas las localidades por las que iban pasando les abrieron las puertas de par en par, y en cada una de ellas los príncipes volvieron a poner en sus cargos a los magistrados y a los predicadores protestantes que Carlos había destituido cuatro años antes. Ambos entraron triunfantes en Augsburgo en abril de 1552, del mismo modo que Metz abrió sus puertas al francés y reconoció a Enrique II, «alojándole en la ciudad», como «protector y defensor de la libertad alemana».[27]

El emperador se encontraba entonces arruinado y aislado. Como más adelante explicaría tristemente a su hermana, «no tengo ni un céntimo, ni a nadie que me lo quiera prestar, ni un hombre que parezca dispuesto a ponerse de mi parte». Incluso desconfiaba de la lealtad de su hermano: «Viendo que este malestar es tan generalizado y considerando que la noticia de los presentes acontecimientos que nos ha proporcionado [Fernando] ha sido tan vaga y que ni nos ha ofrecido ayuda ni consejo sobre lo que deberíamos hacer —una acusación sumamente injusta—, empezamos a preguntarnos si él pudiera tener algún entendimiento secreto con los autores de esta conspiración y que por eso se muestre menos dispuesto a ayudarnos en los que nos afecta».[28] Por otra parte, Innsbruck quedaba lejos tanto de España como de los Países Bajos, principales sedes de poder de Carlos, lo que hacía difícil que le llegaran refuerzos. Suplicó a su hijo que le enviara dinero y

tropas desde España, pero manifestó su confusión acerca de adónde enviarlos. El avance del ejército francés en Alemania le dejaba aislado de los Países Bajos, pero reunirse con Fernando en Viena le ponía en una situación de obligación con su hermano y por tanto podía poner en peligro las ganancias prometidas por el pacto de familia. De manera que el emperador de medio mundo concluía a su pesar que la única manera de estar a salvo era permanecer en Innsbruck, aunque se sentía tan inseguro incluso allí que envió a su hijo el texto de las *Memorias* «que yo hize en romance quando venimos por el Rin», añadiendo «para que por acá no ande en peligro de perderse, os la embío, para que agáys que allá sea guardada y no abierta».[29]

La caída de Augsburgo empeoró de manera drástica la situación de Carlos. Al enterarse de la noticia, este analizó su difícil situación en beneficio de Fernando: «Si me quedo aquí más tiempo, es seguro que una mañana vendrán a mi cama a capturarme», predecía, pero si huía a través de los Alpes, «estoy convencido de que toda Italia se rebelaría de inmediato, y los Países Bajos quedarían a la merced de Francia. […] Esto sería —concluía amargamente el emperador— la mayor humillación y desgracia que ningún príncipe haya sufrido jamás». Por tanto,

> Confiando en Dios y poniéndome en sus manos, he decidido que prefiero que me tomen por un viejo loco a perderlo todo a mi avanzada edad sin hacer todo lo que pueda y, quizás, más de lo que mis dolencias y mis achaques aconsejan que debería hacer. Viendo la situación en la que me encuentro en este momento, y los obstáculos ya mencionados, y considerando que no me queda otra opción que o sufrir una gran humillación o ponerme en grave peligro, he elegido el camino del peligro, porque de este modo el remedio estará en manos de Dios. No me quedaré aquí esperando a ser humillado.

Declaró su intención de abandonar Innsbruck en secreto con la idea de llegar a los Países Bajos, donde podría organizar una contraofensiva.

> Si Dios quiere que salga airoso, mejor; y si dispone lo contrario, prefiero que mis días acaben con la muerte o en cautividad, haciendo lo que pueda, que vivir más tiempo y cómodamente. Sea Dios quien disponga lo mejor para su servicio.[30]

Como en Argel una década antes, la confianza depositada por Carlos en la providencia resultó equivocada. Aunque consiguió salir de su palacio sin que nadie se diera cuenta, aún no había recorrido 80 kilómetros en dirección a los Países Bajos cuando se enteró de que las fuerzas de Mauricio le habían bloqueado el camino. Así pues, regresó temeroso a Innsbruck y redobló sus súplicas para que le enviaran ayuda desde España. Dándose cuenta de que la intención de Mauricio «será para venir donde estuuiere nuestra persona, con propósito de hazernos desamparar lo de Alemaña», rogó a Felipe que le enviara «syn perder hora ni puncto de tiempo» tantos soldados españoles como fuera posible «y sobre todo ternéis special cuydado de lo que toca a la prouisión del dinero, pues véys y conoscéis lo que va a nuestra honrra, reputaçión y conseruaçión de los stados que Dios nos ha dado y hauemos adquerido»; el uso del «nos» constituía una vez más un nada sutil recordatorio de que lo que Carlos perdiera lo perdería también Felipe.[31] El emperador decidió entonces tragarse su orgullo y buscar refugio en Viena, dando por hecho que su hermano le protegería, pero se quejaba de que Fernando «repite en muchas cartas que yo no debería acudir a él bajo ninguna circunstancia, porque eso sería la ruina para él y sus asuntos, y allí él no puede prestarme ayuda de ningún tipo». El pacto de familia que le habían impuesto el año anterior dejaba a Fernando pocos incentivos para luchar por la herencia del príncipe Felipe.[32]

Fernando, en cambio, trataba de permanecer neutral. Primero viajó al cuartel general de Mauricio para saber qué era lo que quería, y luego a Innsbruck para averiguar qué concesiones estaba dispuesto a hacer Carlos; pero la mejor oferta del emperador consistía en liberar al landgrave de Hesse dos semanas después de que el ejército rebelde se retirara, y presentar a la Dieta Imperial un acuerdo religioso permanente en el que los católicos salían favorecidos. Mauricio y su ejército

continuaron por tanto su avance, y lograron abrirse un paso alpino y acercarse a Innsbruck. La *Historia* de Prudencio de Sandoval trataba de recrear la escena del 19 de mayo cuando Carlos escuchó las alarmantes noticias: «Aún no uvo lugar de recoger la recámara y ropa del emperador; y el emperador salió a media noche, y aún dizen que salía él por una puerta, y la gente de Mauricio… entravan por otra, tan apretada estuvo la cosa».[33]

Sandoval pudo haber exagerado algo, pero la humillación de Carlos no podía ser mayor: aquella noche tuvo que huir a través del paso de Brenner, a 50 kilómetros de distancia, para encontrarse fuera de peligro. «Cabalgamos casi toda aquella noche bajo el viento y la lluvia, y en la más absoluta oscuridad que se haya visto», se lamentaba el embajador de Ferrara; e incluso cuando la partida imperial llegó por fin a «una pequeña e incómoda aldea», necesitaron requisar «un par de sábanas en las que su Majestad pudiera dormir, porque su equipaje aún no había llegado».[34] El conde Stroppiana, embajador de Saboya, tras quejarse de las incomodidades, comentó con asombro que «Su Majestad ha puesto en libertad a Juan Federico, al que nombró su capitán general contra Mauricio». Cinco días y 300 kilómetros más tarde, «con la gota y en litera», Carlos y los descontentos diplomáticos llegaron a la —comparativamente— segura localidad de Villach, una remota población de la provincia austriaca de Carintia, en la que pasarían los siguientes dos meses.[35]

Stroppiana se dio cuenta inmediatamente del dilema estratégico al que se enfrentaba Carlos en ese momento. Necesitaba no solo vengar «el desastre de su huida de Innsbruck» recuperando el control sobre Alemania, sino también «responder a la audacia y las ganancias conseguidas por los franceses»; o de otro modo, «se expone al gran peligro de que le echen tanto de Alemania como de sus tierras hereditarias». Todavía peor, si Enrique II «moviliza contra el emperador todos

los recursos de Francia, y una buena parte de los de Alemania, Polonia y los turcos, y genera problemas en Italia, puede perder tanto Italia como los Países Bajos. Su única salida —concluía secamente Stroppiana— es castrar al gallo francés por lo sano y convertirle en capón».[36] Carlos estaba de acuerdo con este análisis, pero necesitaba ganar tiempo: envió de nuevo a su hermano a negociar con Mauricio con instrucciones de demorar las cosas hasta que llegaran los soldados y el dinero de España. Sin embargo, la amenaza de la intervención francesa llevó a Fernando a desobedecer, pero en cambio ofreció importantes concesiones: la libertad de culto permanente para todos los gobernantes luteranos y sus súbditos; la liberación inmediata del landgrave de Hesse; la dispensa para los príncipes alemanes de la obligación de prestar servicio en contra de Francia; y una promesa de que todas las reclamaciones políticas contra el emperador se resolverían mediante una asamblea de gobernantes confederados. Fernando llegó a prometer incluso que, si Carlos no cumplía estos términos, él y su hijo Maximiliano le declararían la guerra. En una nota ológrafa que acompañaba estas concesiones, «vuestro más humilde y obediente hermano» advertía a Carlos de que, a menos que este estuviera dispuesto a librar una guerra sin cuartel, debía aceptar tal cual las condiciones de los confederados.[37]

Carlos apenas podía dar crédito cuando leyó estos documentos, y redactó una encolerizada respuesta a su hermano. Aunque, admitía, «no es mi intención declarar la guerra a los protestantes, ni tampoco dispongo ahora de los medios para hacerlo», encontraba sus demandas —especialmente la de conceder la tolerancia permanente a los luteranos— «desorbitada».

> No puedo aceptar la brida que quieren imponerme en este respecto… Tendría que prometer no actuar contra la herejía de ahora en adelante, aunque se presentaran momentos y ocasiones en las que mi conciencia me obligara a

> hacerlo… Como ya os he escrito y dicho en muchas ocasiones, nunca consentiré, por nada del mundo, hacer ninguna cosa en contra de mi deber y de mi conciencia.

Señalaba también que muchos gobernantes alemanes no estaban representados en Passau, de manera que las concesiones religiosas que le exigían «anularían las decisiones tomadas en las últimas dos Dietas sin la participación de quienes se ven afectados por ellas. Esto es algo que ni puedo ni debo hacer, especialmente cuando se trata de algo de tamaña importancia para ellos». Por encima de todo, continuaba Carlos, «echaría absolutamente por tierra el Interim, y todo lo que con tanto esfuerzo y coste se ha conseguido en asuntos religiosos». No era, afirmaba, cuestión de orgullo, «porque eso lo sobrellevaría sin problema con tal de que hubiera paz… El problema es que, aparte de la humillación que podría acarrear, supondría una carga sobre mi conciencia que no puedo asumir. Por tanto, no puedo aceptar el tratado».[38]

En lugar de ello, Carlos acordó «comprometerme con todas las garantías que deseen que en asuntos de religión aceptaré lo que quiera que se determine en la próxima Dieta». También accedía a la mayoría de las concesiones políticas específicas que le solicitaban, pero urgía de nuevo a su hermano a que prolongara las deliberaciones todo lo posible, dado que «el tiempo supone la mayor ventaja para nosotros: tiempo para debilitar a nuestros enemigos y para que mis fuerzas puedan reunirse». Si la dilación no fuera posible, autorizaba a Fernando a aceptar los términos establecidos, solo

> Con esta condición que te pongo ahora para referencia futura: que no deseo ni me creo obligado a cumplir ninguna concesión más allá de las arriba indicadas. Y en este sentido, cuanto más desorbitada sea, mejor; porque mi intención es comunicar a la próxima Dieta la malicia [de los confederados] y las razones por las que no me considero obligado [mediante el consentimiento actual] dada la coacción ejercida.

En el caso de que Fernando y Maximiliano se vieran obligados a «aceptar el tratado con esta condición secreta», Carlos les ordenaba que firmaran un compromiso secreto parecido por el que, contrariamente a lo que estaban a punto de jurar, ninguno de los dos le declararía nunca la guerra. En caso de que Fernando dudara de la autenticidad de este singular documento —que utilizaba exactamente la misma treta que Francisco I empleó antes de firmar el Tratado de Madrid—, el emperador añadía una posdata ológrafa en la que decía que, aunque estaba escrita de puño y letra de Perrenot, «podéis estar seguros de que he ordenado, revisado y corregido todo, de modo que no contiene nada que no sea completamente conforme a mis deseos».

Esto ponía a Fernando en una tesitura insostenible: si no conseguía convencer al emperador de que aceptara el tratado, o tenía que declararle la guerra a su hermano o bien los confederados se la declaraban a él. Por otra parte, las tropas otomanas habían empezado a avanzar hacia la Hungría Habsburgo. El atribulado rey de Romanos por tanto cabalgó desde los cuarteles de los confederados de Passau hasta Villach para convencer a su hermano de que aceptara el tratado. Fracasó. Carlos continuó insistiendo en que solo concedería tolerancia para los protestantes hasta que la siguiente Dieta alcanzara un acuerdo permanente, y que solo trataría el tema de sus supuestas ofensas contra la «libertad alemana» en una Dieta completa. Fernando regresó apesadumbrado a Passau el 11 de julio, pero para entonces el emperador sabía que el equilibrio de poder había cambiado en su favor: el duque de Alba se aproximaba a la cabeza de «hasta cinco mill infantes» españoles junto con «dos millones en moneda labrada de contado y plata por labrar», traídos desde el Perú por La Gasca, y «muchos cauallеros que se an mouido, con yntençãón de gastar sus haciendas siruiendo a Su Magestad». El nuncio era consciente

de que «ahora Su Majestad puede no solo defenderse sino atacar a sus enemigos y obtener venganza», mientras que un exultante Carlos se jactaba de que: «Por nada en el mundo, y aun cuando se pierda todo lo que poseo yo, y lo que posee él [Fernando], jamás haré algo que sea contra mi deber y mi conciencia».[39]

El emperador contraataca

Según un miembro del séquito de Carlos —que lo escribió el 28 de julio de 1552—, «La llegada del duque de Alua con los españoles y dinero nos ha animado y alegrado harto, que estauamos todos muy marchitos. Ahora se entiende cada día en consejo y se tienen luengos y a menudo en la cámara del duque». La llegada de refuerzos fortalecía también la posición negociadora de Fernando y, una semana más tarde en Passau, él y Mauricio llegaron a un acuerdo provisional: Fernando prometía un perdón incondicional para todos los que se le habían opuesto, la liberación inmediata de Felipe de Hesse y Juan Federico de Sajonia, y la convocatoria de una Dieta Imperial para encontrar una solución definitiva a la cuestión religiosa y reparar todos los presuntos abusos de poder llevados a cabo por el emperador y sus representantes desde Mühlberg. A cambio, los confederados acordaban desmantelar sus tropas en diez días o enviarlas a defender Hungría. Mauricio se dispuso casi de inmediato a conducir a sus tropas a luchar contra los turcos y Carlos volvió a Innsbruck «a caballo, mostrándose más robusto de lo habitual, con el arcabuz sobre la silla». Desde allí fue a Augsburgo, donde congregó a sus tropas el 20 de agosto. El emperador, que tan solo un mes antes parecía «viejo y cargado de muchas enfermedades» e incapaz de «atender a sus tiempos a lo que mucho conviene e importa por querer ser él solo su solo gouierno y providencia», estaba en ese momento al mando de 68.000 soldados en Alemania, más otros 41.000 en los Países Bajos y 24.000 en el norte de Italia.[40] ¿Qué iba a hacer con ellos?

Una posibilidad era emprender una campaña en Italia, donde el exitoso desafío de Parma había puesto en entredicho la capacidad de Carlos de imponer su voluntad, pero en julio de 1552 Venecia rechazó la oferta de alianza de Francia, lo que llevó a casi todos los demás gobernantes italianos a mantener también la neutralidad. Solo la República de Siena hizo caso omiso dejando a un lado toda cautela —los ciudadanos de su capital echaron a la guarnición española al grito de «Francia, libertad y victoria»—, pero Carlos decidió que sus ministros en Italia eran lo suficientemente fuertes para evitar que el «contagio» se extendiera a otras partes de la península y, en cambio, anunció que «Nos hauemos resuelto en atender por agora principalmente al remedio de lo de Alemaña, de cuya pacificación depende la mayor parte del buen subcesso de nuestros negocios».[41]

Esta decisión condujo a la mayor catástrofe estratégica del reinado de Carlos. Afortunadamente para los historiadores, la abundancia de fuentes disponibles —sobre todo, la correspondencia del propio emperador y la de los embajadores que le acompañaban— permite reconstruir el camino del emperador hacia el desastre.

Aunque el Tratado de Passau había restituido la paz en la mayor parte de Alemania, Carlos seguía enfrentado a dos importantes enemigos: Alberto Alcibíades de Brandeburgo, que rechazó la paz de Passau, tomó Tréveris y arrasó con 12.000 hombres las tierras católicas adyacentes, aparte de amenazar el ducado Habsburgo de Luxemburgo; y los franceses, que habían instalado una poderosa guarnición en Metz. El ejército imperial avanzó entonces hacia el oeste desde Augsburgo en dos divisiones: Carlos, vestido con su armadura completa, cabalgaba al frente del contingente principal, que se alojaba cada noche en los cuarteles dejados esa misma mañana por la vanguardia del duque de Alba. El nuncio Camaiani informaba, con una mezcla

de admiración e irritación, que él no era capaz de adivinar su objetivo. El 11 de septiembre el nuncio comprendió que Carlos se proponía cruzar el Rin en Estrasburgo, aunque seguía sin estar seguro de con qué objetivo final. Aunque «casi todos los cortesanos de aquí creen que su Majestad intenta hacer lo posible por recuperar Metz de las manos de los franceses», al nuncio le preocupaban los altos riesgos que implicaba una campaña a esas alturas tan avanzadas del año, cuando los largos periodos de lluvia y heladas eran inevitables. No obstante, reconocía que reconquistar Metz y neutralizar a Alberto Alcibíades «elevará la reputación de su Majestad», especialmente si él participaba en persona.[42] Carlos ya había llegado a la misma conclusión, y comunicaba a su hijo que «Aunque hay dificultades, por ser el tiempo tan adelante y otras yncomodidades que suele hauer en cosas tan grandes, esperamos en Dios lo terná todo de su mano y lo traerá y reducirá en buen subçesso. Y a lo menos por nuestra parte no se dexará de hazer todo lo possible, auenturando siempre que conuiniere y fuere razón nuestra persona».[43]

Pese a su aparente confianza en un milagro, Carlos albergaba recelos. En junio ya predijo que el francés establecería «un campo mediano cerca de la frontera de Luxemburgh para sostener contra los nuestros mientras se acaba la fortificación de Metz»; pero tres meses más tarde, tal vez recordando su propia experiencia en Ingolstadt, le preocupaba que «una vez terminen las fortificaciones que ahora están construyendo [en torno a Metz], podemos abandonar toda esperanza de encontrar la manera de recuperarlo». Es más, le confiaba a su hermana María, «si la ciudad continúa en manos francesas, podrán valerse de ella como camino para llegar a Alemania y hasta el Rin» y también podría «servirles de paso franco entre los Países Bajos y Borgoña». El tiempo, por tanto, era un factor clave. Carlos acabó admitiendo que la falta de provisiones, lo avanzado de la

estación y el tamaño y los recursos de la guarnición francesa, así como su propia escasez de dinero, significaba que «no podemos organizar un bloqueo que les haga morir de hambre y les obligue a rendirse». De manera que le pidió a María que consultara con «personas que conozcan el lugar y lo hayan visto recientemente» para asesorar sobre si «el sitio se podía conquistar». «En caso negativo, dime qué opinan de que el ejército que comando se disponga a causar el mayor daño posible a nuestros enemigos en lo que queda de temporada de campaña». También le ordenaba enviar zapadores así como herramientas para cavar trincheras («dado que algunas se rompen con el uso, y a veces es necesario poner a los soldados a cavar»); todos los artilleros que pudiera mandarle («ya que uno siempre necesita expertos cuando se trata de la artillería»); e ingenieros («dado que si tengo que construir maquinaria de asalto, necesitaré buenos ingenieros tanto para explicarles a los demás lo que deben hacer como para diseñar la maquinaria de asedio y supervisar su construcción»).[44]

Dada la larga lista de inconvenientes que su hermano enumeraba, María, como cabía esperar, le aconsejó que se olvidara de Metz y atacara algún lugar cercano a los Países Bajos y a unos cuarteles de invierno más seguros. Igual de predeciblemente Carlos le replicó echando mano de su retórica providencialista, de hecho, utilizó prácticamente las mismas palabras que había utilizado para justificar su perseverancia en la campaña de Argel una década antes. «Por lo que yo veo, no me queda otra vía de actuación, porque si abandono esta empresa tendré que desmantelar mi ejército después de todo el dinero que he gastado sin conseguir nada. Por tanto, he decidido gastar aún más, y esperar lo que Dios tenga a bien darnos, en lugar de abandonar sin esperar a ver lo que la fortuna nos tiene reservado».[45]

Su decisión parece especialmente imprudente a la vista de la evaluación militar efectuada por el nuncio Camaiani: «En cuestión numérica, el ejército del emperador es igual al de cualquier otra empresa», admitía,

> Pero en cuanto a la condición y calidad de los soldados, la mayoría de la infantería alemana es muy pobre [*brutissima gente*]: están escasamente armados y carecen de experiencia militar. La infantería española incluye a los excelentes veteranos que prestaron servicio durante el asedio de Parma, pero la mayoría de los llegados desde España son también muy pobres [*brutissima*] y entre ellos hay muchos que están enfermos… La caballería es inferior en número a la de nuestro enemigo.

Camaiani añadía que «si el emperador consigue algo este año con este ejército, se lo deberá más a su habitual buena fortuna que a ninguna otra cosa».[46]

Durante algún tiempo, la fortuna favoreció de nuevo a Carlos. En los Países Bajos, sus tropas capturaron Hesdin, obligando a Enrique II a reubicar soldados y recursos de la frontera oriental en la frontera occidental de su reino. En Alemania, Alba convenció a Alberto Alcibíades para que aceptara el Tratado de Passau y se uniera a él en el asedio de Metz. Carlos lamentó la necesidad de aliarse con el odioso y autoproclamado «comecuras» [*Pfaffenfresser*] —«Holgáramos de no hazerlo, por poderle castigar como merecía»—, pero, aunque muy a su pesar, desoyó el mandato de su conciencia porque sin las tropas de Alberto Alcibíades, «no se acabará acá de sitiar esta plaça según la grandeza del sitio della, de modo que no quedasse abierta y le entrasse socorro todas las vezes que quisiesen».[47]

«El mejor asedio jamás realizado»

Los imperialistas comenzaron a cavar trincheras en torno a Metz el 23 de octubre de 1552, pero el emperador no se pudo quedar a verlo. «Anoche el dolor de la gota fue tal que hoy he tenido que estar en cama —se quejaba a María— y mañana partiré de aquí hacia Thionville [30 kilómetros al norte], donde puedo vivir con menos incomodidades que en el campamento y

recuperarme más rápido».[48] Los soldados que sitiaban Metz padecieron bastante más que «incomodidades». Durante el verano, la guarnición francesa había construido gruesos terraplenes apuntalados por bastiones y demolido todos los edificios situados extramuros, erigiendo así una «fortaleza artillada». Esto preocupó al conde Bossu, comandante del contingente de los Países Bajos en el ejército imperial. «Temo que Metz sea difícil de tomar», advirtió, no solo por el tamaño de la guarnición y las nuevas fortificaciones, sino también porque los defensores habían reunido grandes cantidades de alimento y munición: «No conozco a nadie que haya visto u oído que una ciudad con defensas como estas se haya tomado antes por asalto». Un mes más tarde, Bossu se lamentaba de «las salidas que hacen cada día los defensores, combatientes aguerridos y conocedores de su oficio» y que a veces amenazaban las trincheras de los sitiadores.[49]

Después de un mes en punto muerto, Carlos empezó a temer que «no subcediendo esto bien, se tractaría de mi reputación, como si me hallase presente estando tan cerca, y que con mi presencia se prevenía a algunas cosas». De modo que abandonó su lecho de enfermo en Thionville y cabalgó rumbo al sur, llegando al campamento frente a Metz con un «feliz y alegre semblante». El 22 de noviembre, acompañado por Alba y Alberto Alcibíades, «recorrió a caballo las trincheras y las baterías de artillería, luciendo buen aspecto sobre su montura», y al día siguiente entró en las trincheras para dirigir un bombardeo tan feroz «que se podía oír el estruendo de los cañones más allá de Estrasburgo», a 200 kilómetros de distancia.[50] Sin embargo, aunque su artillería consiguió demoler setenta pies de cortina de muralla en una semana, sus tropas se negaron a lanzarse al asalto porque los cañones de los defensores situados a cada lado de la brecha permanecían intactos. A continuación, «para evitar tener que lamentarse por no hacer

todo lo posible para salir airoso de esta empresa», Carlos hizo explotar minas de pólvora situadas al pie de las murallas, pero al igual que las descargas de artillería, tampoco sirvieron para nada. Algunos consideraron esto un esfuerzo baldío, «porque Metz no se puede conquistar a base de minas», y culparon al emperador «de su renuencia a cambiar de idea, que podría llamarse obstinación». Pasada una semana, Carlos regresó a Thionville. Entonces, según el embajador veneciano, «tanto la corte como el ejército empezaron a abandonar la más mínima esperanza que hubieran podido tener de conquistar Metz».[51]

Una década después, el soldado y escritor francés Pierre de Bourdeille, señor de Brantôme, escribía que consideraba el intento del emperador de tomar Metz «el mejor asedio jamás realizado», pero los hombres que habían luchado en las trincheras no lo veían así. «Los soldados no podían soportar el frío, que los mata como a moscas; y el resto huyen todo lo lejos que pueden, porque no encuentran ni comida ni forraje», decía el embajador saboyano, mientras que su colega inglés afirmaba que «Nunca había pasado tanto frío como el que ha hecho estas navidades aquí». Incluso veinte años más tarde, Perrenot todavía «sentía en sus piernas el frío que pasé a las puertas de Metz».[52] Carlos también sufría. Desde su lecho de enfermo en Thionville, se quejaba amargamente a María de que «Como tan poco que estoy empezando a pensar que un hombre no puede morir de hambre. Deberías saber que he perdido toda la grasa que tenía, y que carezco de la fuerza necesaria para los menesteres *[mestier]* que actualmente me ocupan», esto es, la guerra. A continuación, se lamentaba de que «Oigo misa en el lecho y me levanto solo para comer, el frío y la debilidad me obligan a volver a retirarme después de las 4 o las 5». Mientras permanecía en cama, escuchaba a su chambelán, Guillermo van Male, que le leía en voz alta pasajes de obras clásicas, sobre todo de *La guerra de los judíos*, de Josefo (una historia repleta de

asedios exitosos), y del Antiguo Testamento, especialmente del libro de Daniel y los Salmos (llenos de ejemplos de valor y triunfos finalmente alcanzados en circunstancias muy adversas). Carlos acabó recopilando un «libro de las flores que de los salmos se ha sacado», que La Gasca, entonces obispo, consideraba «muy bien escogidas y de mucha devoción, siendo escogidas por Su Majestad y de su santa y devota intención».[53]

Evidentemente, no fue suficiente: mientras que el principal ejército del emperador permanecía impotente a las puertas de Metz, los franceses sitiaron Hesdin. Esto acabó por inclinar la balanza para Carlos: «Señora, mi buena hermana —escribió a María—, las acciones francesas contra Hesdin pueden tener importantes consecuencias, y tras haber intentado todo lo posible contra esta ciudad [Metz] sin que nada indique que podamos llegar a tomarla, a fin de que las enfermedades no se cobren la vida de más hombres para nada, y poder acudir en ayuda de Hesdin… he decidido finalmente levantar este asedio». Alba ocultó hábilmente la retirada hasta que, a las 11 de la noche del día de Año Nuevo de 1553, el ejército imperial abandonó silenciosamente las trincheras.[54]

Según su embajador veneciano, el asedio había «costado las vidas de 25.000 soldados, sin contar las de muchachos, mujeres, comerciantes y otras personas, y 25.000 caballos»; y Stroppiana informó de que «la mortalidad en el bando imperial fue mucho mayor de la declarada: no quedaron cortesanos, porque todos estaban muertos o muriéndose». Al menos 600 soldados más fueron abandonados a merced de los franceses porque estaban demasiado enfermos o heridos para ser trasladados, mientras que Alba también tuvo que dejar allí «armadura, cañones, picas, espadas y otras armas, una infinita cantidad de equipaje y la mayoría de sus tiendas», aparte de lanzar otros 30 cañones con sus armones al río en su retirada.[55] Carlos provocó entonces una grave discusión entre sus ministros al ordenarles «que, dado que

él carecía de dinero para pagar a las tropas alemanas, el duque [de Alba] debía calmarles con palabras, prometiéndoles que el pago se efectuaría en Tréveris. El duque replicó que él no sabía hacer milagros, y que su Majestad era el que debía apaciguarles, alegando que otros ministros —se refería a Perrenot— le habían aconsejado continuar con el asedio de Metz sin proporcionar —como habría debido hacerse— el dinero y demás materiales necesarios… Esto suscitó un gran debate entre los ministros»; y mientras ellos reñían, los franceses reconquistaron Hesdin.[56]

Nadir

Todos los planes de Carlos habían fracasado. Parma, Siena y Metz le habían desafiado con éxito; había perdido Hesdin; y había renovado la tolerancia para con los luteranos de Alemania. Además, su excepcional y prolongada movilización de tropas había supuesto la ruina para sus finanzas. James Tracy ha calculado que los contratos de préstamo firmados por la Hacienda de Castilla a lo largo de 1552 sumaban «el total más cuantioso, con diferencia, de todos los años del reinado de Carlos» —3,7 millones de ducados—, mientras que los «siguientes totales más altos correspondieron a 1553»: 2,2 millones. En los Países Bajos, el gasto de la tesorería se disparó de 1,3 millones de libras en 1550 a casi seis millones en 1552, e incluso más en 1553, sumando también el total más cuantioso del reinado.[57]

El emperador también había arruinado su salud. El día de Nochebuena de 1552, Van Male informó de que su señor constantemente «se quejaba de problemas intestinales y diarrea», y, sin embargo, seguía insistiendo en beber «cerveza helada que dejaba toda la noche fuera, expuesta al frío. Lleva algún tiempo siendo adicto a estos excesos y no los va a dejar». Van Male advertía de que «nadie, ni siquiera alguien fuerte y con buena salud, podría sobrevivir a beber cerveza helada antes del

amanecer en invierno, y no digamos alguien de su edad, con la salud minada por la enfermedad, los viajes y el duro trabajo»; pero no valió de nada. El chambelán también se quejaba de que Carlos no paraba de «devorar ostras —de todas las formas, crudas, cocidas y fritas— y casi todo tipo de pescado de mar», pese a que «cada día, antes de que amanezca, le oigo gemir y suspirar de dolor». Una semana después, aunque «su estómago y sus hemorroides van mejor», uno de sus médicos comentaba que Carlos había perdido el apetito «y subsiste a base de huevos y sopas que le preparamos». Tras una audiencia en enero de 1553, el embajador Richard Morison escribió que nunca había visto a Carlos con «el rostro tan apagado, que nunca había sentido su mano tan flaca, pálida y menguada, y sus ojos que solían estar llenos de vida aun cuando todo lo demás se había rendido a la enfermedad, estaban cansados y sin brillo, y su mirada parecía tan cercana a la muerte como jamás he visto».[58]

El regreso a Bruselas le llevó al emperador más de un mes, cuando antes solía recorrer esa distancia en una semana, y entró en la ciudad tumbado «en una litera abierta, con los ojos mirando siempre al cielo». Según Stroppiana, «Su Majestad está muy débil, y no le apetece ni comer ni beber. Sufre grandes dolores, sin padecer una enfermedad concreta. Su estado me tiene muy preocupado».[59]

Carlos ansiaba venganza. En febrero de 1553 se presentó ante los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos para pedirles que votaran a favor de nuevos impuestos por valor de 1,5 millones de ducados, pero primero pronunció una diatriba contra la perfidia francesa. El rey Enrique había ocupado partes de Lorena «a fin de tomarlas y reducirlas a la misma cruel servidumbre en la que tenía al resto de su reino»; había fomentado la rebelión en Alemania; y, sobre todo, había animado a los turcos a atacar tanto en el Mediterráneo como en Hungría. Exhausto por el esfuerzo, Carlos se retiró a sus

aposentos en el palacio de Coudenberg, donde pasó los siguientes cuatro meses (según el embajador veneciano) «quejándose de todo» y de todos.[60] Desterró de su corte a uno de sus ministros veteranos, Louis de Praet, «porque le hablaba de negocios». Incluso se puso fuera de sí cuando Antoine Perrenot se lamentó de haber recibido gran oprobio público y poca recompensa por sus muchos servicios, y solicitó un puesto lucrativo. Tras comentar enojado que «ya has presentado algunas de estas quejas antes», el emperador empezó a refutarlas una por una.

> En cuanto a lo que decís de que otros han recibido recompensas por servicios y vos no, dada la cantidad de cosas de las que os ocupáis, si yo tuviera que recompensaros por cada una, no estaría a mi alcance satisfaceros… Y en cuanto al oprobio que mencionáis, yo tengo ya bastantes con los que dirigen a mi persona: ocuparme de los de los demás sería demasiado para mí.

En cualquier caso, concluía Carlos bruscamente, «Ningún honor ni favor está libre de envidias y es mejor ser envidiado que compadecido».[61]

Pocos días más tarde, el emperador ordenó a su hijo que volviera a los Países Bajos a fin de «ganar reputación, dándoos a conocer para que el mundo y los enemigos vean que en vos no ternán la oportunidad que quizá piensan de emprender cosas nuevas». El emperador creía que la mejor manera de conseguirlo era que Felipe en persona encabezara una victoriosa campaña contra los franceses, pero dado que los Países Bajos no podían pagar más:

> No solamente sería necesaria vuestra venida, más aún que fuese con tal provisión de dinero que con ello se pudiese dar a estos Estados releuante socorro, lo qual sería único remedio para lo que se ofresce y euitar que en lugar desto no fuésedes forçado, de luego en llegando, pedirles otras ayudas, que estando tan imposibilitados como están, es verísimil que no solamente no os cobrarían amor, mas sentirían (como los pueblos lo suelen hazer) los trabajos que les daríades doblamente.

Carlos proponía, por tanto, una serie de medidas desesperadas para recaudar dinero en España, «pues la necesidad es tan extrema». Autorizó la venta de hidalguías por 2.000 ducados cada una (excepto para los descendientes de judíos, moros y comuneros); solicitó permiso al Papa para vender más propiedades eclesiásticas; e incluso permitió el debate sobre «lo que se podría sacar de los repartimientos de la Indias».

Entretanto, declaraba Carlos, planeaba «voluer a la Germania a hazer una Dieta… si mi salud y la disposición de los negocios lo sufriesen, y que esto fuese por el fin de junio». Desde aquí viajaría «este otoño primero a Italia y desde allí a España».

> Y holgara mucho teneros aquí antes de mi partida, así por poderos hablar sobre estas cosas que se me ofrecen, y entender de vos más por menudo a boca lo que no se puede por escripto, y el estado presente de las cosas de esos reinos, como por no dexar estos Estados en tales tiempos sin presentia de uno de nosotros, y para que entretanto que yo estuviera en la Germania pudiéredes emplearos en lo que por aquí se ofreciera.[62]

Carlos volvía a continuación a microgestionar la vida sexual de su hijo, que entonces tenía 26 años, como había hecho una década antes: «pareciéndome que es cosa muy conueniente y necesaria que a cabo de tanto tiempo como ha que falleció la princesa [María Manuela], que haya gloria, os tornéys a casar, así por la edad que tenéis y lo de la subcesión, que espero en Dios os dará». Una vez más, una prima volvía a parecer la candidatura perfecta: María, hija de la hermana de Carlos, Leonor, y del rey Manuel de Portugal, una princesa adulta e inteligente que aportaría una gran dote «de contado», con la perspectiva de otras posteriores. Sin embargo, «una cosa parece que pone gran dificultad en este negocio»: como parte del pacto familiar alcanzado en Augsburgo, Felipe había prometido casarse con una de las hijas de Fernando. Aunque Carlos podía romper y, de hecho, había roto solemnes promesas cuando le convenía, esta vez le preocupaba la posibilidad de que

> El rey [Fernando] quisiese pretender que todo lo que se hizo, así en lo uno como lo otro, sea debaxo de una misma condición, arrimándose al matrimonio de una de sus hijas. Mas como el término del cumplimiento desto está puesto para quando estáis elegido [rey de Romanos], y es cosa de que hay al presente poca esperança entretanto que lo de acá [Alemania] está tan alterado como agora, demás de que, no aclarándose, no me determinaría en aconsejaros aceptásedes el Imperio, aunque se os diese.

De modo que Carlos aconsejaba a su hijo dar un ultimátum a Fernando:

> Que os halláis en edad [para casarse], que así por razón della como por satisfazer a nuestros súbditos, no os conuiene estar atado ni impedido, y que porque vuestro casamiento con una de sus hijas está por el tractado condicionado para el tiempo de vuestra elección, se le requiere y pide procure el efecto dello, o os dexe libre para poderos casar donde os plugiere.

Dado que «no se vee que en otra parte (fuera de las hijas del dicho rey [Fernando]) pudiésedes hallar cosa conueniente», el emperador instaba a Felipe a concluir las negociaciones con Lisboa lo antes posible para que él pudiera consumar el matrimonio antes de dejar a su esposa como regente y viajar a los Países Bajos.[63] En junio de 1553, Felipe obedientemente envió a su confidente, Ruy Gómez de Silva, a ultimar con su tía (y exsuegra) Catalina y su marido, el rey Juan III, las condiciones del matrimonio.

Mientras tanto, la presión francesa obligó a Carlos a librar otra campaña en los Países Bajos en lugar de desplazarse a Alemania como en un principio era su intención. Esta vez salió victorioso. Primero envió a un general experimentado, el conde de Roeulx, a tomar Thérouanne: un enclave francés sólidamente fortificado situado en los Países Bajos. Consciente de que «a menos que libremos una guerra cruel, jamás lograremos nuestro objetivo», durante el asedio de tres semanas a Thérouanne la artillería de Roeulx efectuó una media de 800 disparos al día (comparada con la de 300 al día contra Metz) e hizo explotar cinco minas de pólvora para forzar a la desconcertada guarnición a capitular. Antes incluso de su rendición en junio

de 1553, el emperador había decretado que la ciudad fuera «saqueada de inmediato y arrasada por completo. No solo se destruirán los edificios civiles, sino también las iglesias, monasterios y hospitales. No debe quedar en pie ni un vestigio de sus murallas». Cumplió su palabra. «En cuanto el emperador supo la noticia» de la caída de Thérouanne (informaba François de Rabutin, un comentarista francés hostil), «se sintió tan satisfecho como si se tratara de Constantinopla y su imperio», y durante los siguientes dos meses utilizó más minas de pólvora para que la ciudad quedara devastada. Incluso hoy, aunque han crecido árboles a lo largo de las líneas donde estuvieron las fortificaciones anteriores a 1553, dentro de ellas solo hay campo: de la ciudad y su catedral no queda ni rastro.[64] Los vencedores entonces pusieron sitio a Hesdin y, según Rabutin, «cada hora, día y noche, mantuvieron el ataque más feroz que nadie recuerda». Cuando la guarnición se rindió, los imperialistas recurrieron de nuevo a las minas para no dejar rastro de la ciudad.[65]

Entonces llegó la noticia de que Enrique II en persona había sitiado Cambrai. Carlos estuvo a la altura de las circunstancias, y el 3 de junio apareció en público para asistir a una procesión religiosa. Según Perrenot, «cada día intenta hablar en voz más alta y vigorosa y hace todo lo que puede para mostrarse más atractivo y animado» [*più bella et vivace*]. Cuando concedió al nuncio su primera audiencia desde Metz, el diplomático observó que «aunque su rostro está algo pálido, lleva muchos años siendo así»; además «tenía los ojos vivaces y brillantes» y «escucha y habla con la misma atención y solemnidad de siempre».[66] El temperamento imperial tampoco había cambiado: en agosto el nuncio informaba de que «el profundo odio que siente Carlos hacia el rey de Francia, y el miedo a que por falta de un buen liderazgo su ejército pueda sufrir algún infortunio», le había llevado a decidir saltar él mismo al campo

«aun cuando sea duro para su cuerpo, ya que no ha salido de su pequeña habitación en siete meses enteros». Al mes siguiente, a la cabeza de su ejército, obligaba al rey Enrique a rendirse.[67]

Los sorprendentes acontecimientos al otro lado del Canal eclipsaron estos sucesos. Eduardo VI, rey de Inglaterra e Irlanda, moría el 6 de julio de 1553, y aunque (a instancias de sus consejeros) había firmado un «Plan» por el que nombraba para sucederle en el trono a su prima protestante lady Juana Grey, esta encontró pocos apoyos. Tras algunos días de incertidumbre, la hermanastra católica de Eduardo, María Tudor, derrotó a los partidarios de Juana y accedió al trono. Casi de inmediato, la nueva reina, de 37 años y soltera, recurrió a Carlos, su primo y antiguo prometido, en busca de consejo. El emperador, con la colaboración de su hermana, María de Hungría, y Perrenot, aprovechó hábilmente esta oportunidad caída del cielo: afirmando que carecía de la energía y el entusiasmo para casarse él mismo con la reina María, Carlos ofrecía en cambio la mano de su hijo. Él había calculado cuidadosamente las ventajas: esto permitiría a Felipe gobernar tanto España como los Países Bajos con eficacia, aun sin convertirse en rey de Romanos, a la vez que proporcionaría a María un «marido que pudiese gouernar la guerra y supplir a otras cosas que son impertinentes a mujeres», como la invasión de Escocia, que «quedaría sometida al reino de Inglaterra» y una campaña para «recuperar Guyena de las manos en las que ahora injustamente se encuentra, y quizá incluso del reino de Francia». Por otra parte, la creación de un nuevo estado angloneerlandés que sería gobernado por el heredero de Felipe y María garantizaría permanentemente el dominio Habsburgo del Canal y del mar del Norte, para así «mantener a raya a los franceses y obligarles a entrar en razón».[68]

En un principio, María Tudor sentía poco entusiasmo por el matrimonio. Pocos días después de acceder al trono, le dijo al embajador de Carlos, Simon Renard, que ella siempre había

sido soltera y que nunca había experimentado el amor. Como mujer, continuaba María, no tenía ningún deseo de cambiar su estado civil, pero como reina reconocía que, por el bien de su reino, tanto el matrimonio como el nacimiento de un hijo eran esenciales en aquel momento. Mientras hablaba de estos asuntos tan ajenos para ella con Renard, se reía con sonrojo, y expresó su esperanza de que quien fuera que Carlos «propusiera y le ofreciera [como marido], fuera católico; que le diera la oportunidad de conocerle primero; y que no fuera demasiado joven». Cuando el nombre de Felipe salió en la conversación como posible pretendiente, María dijo tener entendido que él ya estaba prometido con María de Portugal, que él era doce años más joven que ella y que, «además, Su Alteza querría permanecer en España y gobernar sus otros dominios». Carlos se apresuró a responder a cada una de estas preocupaciones. «Su deseo de ver a su futuro marido» con antelación «sería difícil de satisfacer», porque «ningún príncipe del mismo rango que ella se arriesgará a ir allí y ser rechazado». En lugar de ello, le envió un favorecido retrato de su pretendiente pintado por Tiziano en Augsburgo tres años atrás, y le aseguró que, tuviera su sede en España o en los Países Bajos, una vez casada con Felipe ella residiría a menudo en Inglaterra.[69]

A punto estuvo de ser demasiado tarde. Un cortesano ya había salido de la corte de Felipe llevando una carta en la que se concretaban las condiciones de su contrato matrimonial con María de Portugal cuando llegó el correo de Carlos con el mensaje urgente en el que le ordenaba casarse con María Tudor. El príncipe mandó llamar a su mensajero de vuelta, de manera que la carta no llegó nunca a su destino, y cedió plenos poderes a su padre para que negociara un «matrimonio inglés» en su nombre.[70] Los encargados de llevar a cabo las duras negociaciones fueron el Consejo Privado inglés y los enviados de Carlos, encabezados por Renard, que solo consiguió

convencerles «representándole los provechos que al mismo reyno de Inglaterra podrían suceder si con tener hijos se viniessen a juntar estos estados [Flandes] con aquel reyno». En octubre de 1553, Renard notificó triunfante a Felipe que María Tudor se había decidido a casarse con él, de manera que «sería recomendable que su Alteza se pusiera a practicar el francés o el latín».[71]

El emperador estaba a favor de consolidar la unión «por palabras de presente», lo que lo haría efectivo de inmediato, pero los ingleses preferían «por palabras de futuro», de modo que «el casamiento se tracte y solenize en persona de ambos, y que en presencia del pueblo prometáys de obseruar y guardar los tractados y capitulaciones». Carlos, por tanto, ordenó a su hijo que firmara y enviara «dos poderes, conforme a essas minutas, para que se usse dellos lo que fuere neçessario, porque no se pierda tiempo y se prevenga a lo uno y lo otro».[72] Una vez más, el príncipe obedeció, pero con importantes reservas. El 4 de enero, formalizó ante notario un escrito en el que declaraba que «el aprobará y otorgará y jurará los dichos artículos a fin que el dicho su casamiento con la dicha sereníssima reyna de Inglaterra aya effecto, y no para quedar y estar obligado él ni sus vienes ni sus herederos y subcesores a la guarda ni aprobación de alguno de ellos, en especial de los en que encargare su conçiençia».[73]

El príncipe no tenía mucha más opción que aceptar los términos matrimoniales que le ofrecían los ingleses porque entonces ya había roto los puentes tanto con Fernando como con María de Portugal, pero el emperador juzgaba ambas promesas rotas con su habitual indiferencia. Cuando un enviado portugués llegó a Bruselas «apuntando su descontentamiento y la causa que tenía, hauiendo passado tan adelante la plática del matrimonio, *le replicamos el necessario*, *sin querer justificar ni*

ahondar la materia, en lo del cumplimiento de la dote ni en lo demás». Carlos aconsejó a su hijo que hiciera lo mismo, *«porque quando estas cosas son passadas, lo mejor es dissimular»*.[74]

Mientras tanto, desde Bruselas, en diciembre de 1553, el secretario de Estado Francisco de Eraso (cuya constante presencia junto al emperador hacía que conociera bien los deseos de su señor) advirtió a Felipe de la precaria situación a la que se enfrentaba. Carlos parecía entonces determinado a «dexar del todo los negocios, y verdaderamente su propósito es yr a essos reinos» de España, aunque «ay señales mortales de que si dios dispusiesse de Su Magestad, estando Vuestra Alteza ausente de aquí, esto correría peligro». El propio Carlos alertaba a su hijo de su deteriorada salud: «Yo he tenido estos días passados algún açidente y me conmençó a venir el dolor de la gotta, de manera que ha ydo en crecimiento y quedo con más dolor del que querría en todo el lado ezquierdo, y alguno, aunque más moderado, en el braço derecho».[75] A las pocas semanas volvía a disculparse: «Por hauer cinco semanas que estoy en la cama de la gotta y otras accidentes con harto trabajo, no he podido entender en los negocios», y le decía a su hijo

> Bien conozco que para todo conuernía que estouiesse yo allá [en España], antes que vos saliéssedes dellos, y sería mayor contentamiento para mí, según lo mucho que lo desseo. Pero ni mis indispociones darían lugar agora, ni aunque estuuiessen para ello se podría poner el armada en orden tan presto… Y por esto me paresce bien lo que después de vos llegado, hauiendo comunicado y asentado las cosas de acá y la orden que allá se deuía tener, podría yrme. Y así pienso, plaziendo a Nuestro Señor, esforçarme quanto fuere possible para hazerlo por agosto o septiembre [de 1554].[76]

Otro fallecimiento de un miembro de la realeza parecía favorecer este escenario. En enero de 1554 el príncipe Juan, heredero al trono de Portugal, murió en un accidente a caballo, dejando a su esposa de diecinueve años, Juana, hermana de Felipe, en avanzado estado de gestación. Ruy Gómez enseguida se percató de la oportunidad: «La princesa quedava de parto y si

la cosa no sale a luz —especulaba cruelmente— no se van poniendo mal los negocios de Su Alteza, concluyéndose lo de Ynglaterra», porque entonces ella podría regresar a España a servir como regente. Pocos días más tarde, «la cosa», Dom Sebastião, «[salió] a luz»; no obstante, cuando (sin consultar con Carlos) Felipe pidió a su hermana que abandonara a su hijo en Portugal y regresara a Castilla, Juana estuvo de acuerdo.[77]

La prolongada ausencia del emperador, y su preocupación por otros asuntos, había permitido al príncipe tomar muchas decisiones por iniciativa propia desde su regreso a España en 1551 procedente de Alemania. Como un noble expresó con bastante crudeza: «Suplico a Vuestra Alteza me mande responder al memorial que le di en Madrid, que todos sabemos que sin consulta de Alemania —esto es, sin consultar a Carlos— [Vuestra Alteza] puede despachar todas las cosas».[78] Felipe entonces demostró lo cierto de esta afirmación de forma espectacular. El emperador se oponía tajantemente al nombramiento de Juana como regente —«conocéis que la princesa es más altiva y entonces ovo tales desórdenes», advertía a Felipe— a pesar de lo cual el príncipe siguió adelante y pasó varios días con su hermana (como escuetamente informó a su padre) para «comunicalle algunas cosas que converná advertilla» antes de que tomara posesión como regente. Tras salirse con la suya en este tema fundamental, Felipe seleccionó personalmente al Consejo asesor de Juana, ignorando de nuevo deliberadamente las candidaturas y sugerencias de su padre. Por último, emitió unas instrucciones para su hermana por las cuales, aunque decían transmitir «la orden que Su Magestad e yo desseamos», ignoraban o invalidaban explícitamente las directrices de Carlos. Juana, «no firme sino por mano de los secretarios que quedan señalados» por su hermano, debía

enviarle copia de toda la correspondencia con Carlos y también consultarle antes de tomar ninguna decisión importante relativa a España, la Italia o la América españolas.[79]

Al fin, el 13 de julio de 1554, con las arcas llenas de lingotes para financiar otra campaña en los Países Bajos, y al mando de una flota lo bastante grande como para disuadir cualquier intento enemigo de interceptarle, Felipe partió de España para casarse con María Tudor y a continuación tomar el relevo de Carlos en los Países Bajos. Después de todos los retrasos, la flota tardó solo siete días en llegar de La Coruña a Southampton, donde le esperaban tanto enviados ingleses como de los Países Bajos. Los ingleses le transmitieron los saludos y le entregaron los regalos de su futura esposa; los flamencos traían consigo la renuncia de Carlos a su título sobre Nápoles en favor de su hijo, que de este modo se convertía en rey por derecho propio en la víspera de su boda. Aparte de esto, un mensajero especial traía para María «un tapiz que contaba la conquista de Túnez [en 1535], que es uno de los trabajos de artesanía más hermosos que se hayan hecho en nuestra época».[80]

Se trataba de gestos gentiles del emperador, que también envió a su hijo una copia del nuevo testamento que había hecho. Este documento, escrito en español, aunque firmado en Bruselas, ofrece una visión fascinante de las preocupaciones del emperador cuando su reinado ya iba tocando a su fin.[81] Primero venían las habituales disposiciones piadosas: que debían decirse 30.000 misas en el transcurso de un año por el descanso de su alma y que su cuerpo debía ser trasladado a Granada y enterrado en la capilla real junto al de su mujer, su padre y los Reyes Católicos. Esta vez no hacía referencia ni a Brujas ni a Dijon, como en sus anteriores testamentos: un indicador de la medida en que España había desplazado a los Países Bajos y a Borgoña en su visión imperial. Instaba a Felipe a defender siempre la justicia, a proteger a las viudas y los huérfanos, a venerar a la

Iglesia católica y «especialmente le encargo que favorezca y haga favorecer al santo oficio de la inquisición». A continuación, enumeraba una serie de obligaciones. Debía depositarse una suma de 30.000 ducados en la fortaleza de Simancas dentro de un cofre cerrado del que solo él tuviera llave, para financiar tres causas caritativas muy afectas a su corazón: rescatar a los «cristianos captivos en tierras de infieles… preferiendo los que ovieren sido captivos en armadas nuestras donde nos ayamos hallado presente», proveer dotes para vírgenes pobres y socorrer a los necesitados. Carlos encargaba a su hijo pagar las dotes prometidas a sus hijas María y Juana (que nunca se pagaron); repartir el dinero restante entre ellas según el testamento de su madre (igualmente nunca pagado); y, para que «nuestra ánima sea descargada», su heredero debía pagar no solo todas las deudas pendientes de Carlos, sino también las de su padre, su tía Margarita y sus cuatro abuelos (una obligación que el propio Carlos no había cumplido), además de asignar 10.000 ducados que «se distribuyan en obras pías por el ánima de su alteza», la reina Juana, que aún vivía recluida en Tordesillas y con la que Felipe debía gobernar conjuntamente «según y por la orden que yo le e hecho y hago». También, el joven rey debía respetar una importante cláusula del tratado de matrimonio recién firmado con Inglaterra: su hijo con María Manuela, don Carlos, «nuestro nieto, sea apartado y escluido de la sucesión de los dichos estados» de Flandes. Además, Felipe debía mantener y defender Milán, tanto porque cada vez «el dicho estado a sido en poder de quien no a tenido otros señoríos» se había desatado la guerra en Italia, como porque de «lo mucho que la sustentación del dicho estado a costado a nuestros reynos de la corona de Castilla y Aragón, y los muchos vasallos y súbditos nuestros de todas partes que sobre la defensa dél an muerto y derramado su sangre». En cambio, Felipe tenía que hacer «mirar y con diligencia examinar y averiguar llana y synceramente si de

justicia y razón sea obligado a restituir» el reino de Navarra «o en otra manera satisfazer o recompensar a persona alguna». Por último, era necesario que «honrre y favorezca» a su hija ilegítima Margarita de Parma (aunque Felipe «no sea obligado a hazer con ella más sino fuere de su libre voluntad»).

Aunque tenía una extensión de 49 páginas, el testamento de Carlos no decía nada sobre sus otros dos hijos ilegítimos vivos: Tadea, que en aquel momento era monja en Italia, y Jerónimo (o Gerónimo, más adelante llamado don Juan de Austria). Pero el mismo día el emperador escribió y firmó un codicilo aparte estipulando que «No ha de abrir esta mi cédula otro que el príncipe mi hijo» (o, si este muriera primero, su nieto don Carlos). Carlos ni siquiera revelaba el paradero del muchacho: «Hijo o nieto —escribió en la cédula—, si no tuviéredes razón de donde está este Jerónimo», uno de sus ayudas de cámara se lo diría todo. Carlos prefería que el chico «tomase hábito en alguna religión de frailes reformados», pero «queriendo él más seguir la vida y estado seglar, es mi voluntad y mando que se le den de renta, por vía ordinaria, en cada un año, de veynte a treinta mil ducados», el equivalente a los ingresos de un conde o de un marqués, un pago generoso que cargaba a Felipe con otra obligación financiera más (aparte de tener un medio hermano que constituía un recordatorio permanente de la incontinencia de su padre a la edad de 46 años con una sirvienta de 19).[82] Al mes siguiente, Carlos envió a Felipe «una escritura general en Latín (que está junto con mi último testamento) que le embie por la qual le hago donación de todos mis estados y señoríos para que lo adminystre y tenga como cosa suya propia desde el día de la data».[83]

La última campaña del emperador

Al igual que con los anteriores testamentos y codicilos, Carlos actuó por temor a una muerte inminente, esta vez en campaña. Según el embajador inglés en la corte imperial, que escribía el 4 de junio (dos días antes de que Carlos firmara su testamento): «El emperador se encuentra en muy buen estado físico y es capaz de caminar dos o tres horas al día», mientras que una semana después, «en estos cuatro años no ha estado nunca tan sano como ahora», tan «sano» que cuando «se puso su armadura se dio cuenta de que el peto y un jubón de ante le estaban más apretados de lo normal, al menos en tres dedos, así que está más fornido que antes». Para final del mes, «el emperador ya puede ponerse solo la armadura y sale a montar a caballo por su parque a veces hasta tres horas seguidas».[84]

Carlos no tenía previsto luchar en otra campaña, pero Enrique II invadió los Países Bajos en persona y capturó la recién construida fortaleza de Mariembourg «que en esta coyuntura ha sido de harto daño e inconveniente, por estar en parte y sitio que más fácilmente pueden ofender las tierras deste estado de Bravante, donde por aquella parte no hay ninguna fuerte que se lo puedan impedir. Y haviendo mirado y platicado en lo que se debe hazer», informaba a su hijo, aunque sus fuerzas de campo eran inferiores a las francesas, había decidido ponerse personalmente al mando, y esperaba que Felipe se uniera a él. «Determininaríades venir a hallaros conmigo —añadía fríamente el emperador—, haviendo celebrado y consumido antes todas cosas vuestro matrimonio, con la bendición de Nuestro Señor, y estando con la reyna [María Tudor] seis u ocho días».[85]

El 7 de julio de 1554 dejaba Bruselas en su litera abierta, acompañado de sus principales nobles y aclamado a su paso por los ciudadanos. «Mientras se iba, dijo que, si el francés quería luchar, él estaba dispuesto a acabar la guerra» de un solo golpe. En esto, y en el hecho de asumir personalmente el mando de su

ejército, el emperador desafió a «su Consejo y a otros», que habían intentado disuadirle destacando «la potencia del enemigo, la incapacidad actual de su ejército para hacerle frente, el peligro de que esto acarreara una ruptura de relaciones entre él y su ciudad [Bruselas] y los riesgos para él mismo, su patrimonio y para todos estos países» caso de salir derrotado. Sus argumentos fueron en vano: «Sin embargo, no hubo remedio y se impuso la voluntad de Carlos, que les ordenó ponerse en marcha *sans plus replique*». El embajador inglés, sir John Mason, temía lo peor: recordando que la obstinación de Carlos «a menudo le había puesto en graves dificultades, especialmente, por tierra, en la ocasión de Metz, y por mar, en Argel», predecía que «esta empresa es más peligrosa que aquellas dos».[86]

En un principio, el pesimismo de Mason pareció justificado. Carlos no podía impedir la captura francesa de varias plazas «construidas por completo *à l'antiqua*, sin ningún tipo de defensas como las que requieren las guerras de hoy en día», incluyendo Binche, donde redujeron a cenizas el lujoso palacio de María de Hungría.[87] Poco después, algunas unidades españolas se amotinaron, pero Carlos consiguió dar un giro a la situación cabalgando con audacia hacia sus tropas. «Según su costumbre, estrechó la mano de todos sus coroneles y capitanes alemanes y saludó con la cabeza al resto»; a continuación, se acercó a los amotinados y escuchó con atención sus quejas, tras lo cual les dijo:

> Soldados míos [*Soldati miei*], no es apropiada la forma indisciplinada en que os aproximáis a mí, porque os deshonra a vosotros, a vuestros capitanes y a vuestra nación, y en mal lugar os deja ante mí. Me disgusta vuestra injusticia conmigo, pero si alguna vez vuelve a suceder algo parecido en el futuro, hacédmelo saber a través de vuestro coronel o capitanes. Yo nunca dejaré de impartir justicia. Y seré un buen emperador y un buen rey para vosotros. Y por el daño que decís se os ha causado, yo tomaré las medidas necesarias para averiguar lo ocurrido y no dejaré de castigar a quienes lo hicieron.

«A lo que los amotinados respondieron con el grito "Larga vida a nuestro rey" y volvieron a sus obligaciones». A partir de entonces Carlos «durmió en el campamento» entre sus soldados y «se paseaba por él a caballo, al cuidado de todo».[88]

La suerte del César inclinó entonces la balanza. Como Perrenot recordaba a un embajador extranjero, «el emperador, con tantos reinos, incluido el Perú», podría «en algunos momentos estar apurado de dinero», pero siempre podría superar al rey de Francia «que no posee más que un reino».[89] Sin duda, el dinero traído por la flota de su hijo para abastecer y reforzar a su ejército permitía a Carlos exigir a los franceses que se retiraran de Binche, y salir en su persecución con «tal celeridad» que «superó en velocidad la razón de la guerra y recorrió XXI millas en un día; pese a lo cual nunca pudo darles alcance». El 4 de agosto, el frustrado emperador convocó un Consejo de Guerra para decidir «lo que se podía hazer con nuestro exército, estando en el ser y termino en qué están. Y se tocó en entrar en Francia y hazer los daños que han hecho en estas tierras y de procurar de aver alguna plaza o tomar sitio conveniente». Pero ¿dónde? Tras considerar varias alternativas, Carlos admitió renuentemente ante su hijo, «no se pudo tomar resolución en ningún dellas por depender de lo que los enemigos harían». El único punto sobre el que él y sus consejeros estuvieron de acuerdo es que ahora «en ninguna manera» debía Felipe dejar Inglaterra y reunirse con su padre, porque «antes podría perder reputación que ganarla… importando tanto en la primera jornada la adquiera, dando a conocer al mundo lo que es razón». Su hijo obtuvo permiso para quedarse con su nueva esposa durante más de «seis u ocho días».[90]

Una semana después, los franceses sitiaron Renty, otra ciudad que carecía de «las defensas que requieren las guerras de hoy en día», con la esperanza de que Carlos se arriesgara a entrar en

batalla para liberarla, pero, en lugar de eso, avanzó hábilmente sin exponer a sus tropas a un ataque, mientras Renty continuaba su resistencia. El 14 de agosto, Enrique decidió, muy a su pesar, que «nuestro ejército no podía quedarse un día más, por falta de forraje para los caballos» y de víveres para los soldados. Así pues, se retiró «al amparo de la noche, y de la espesa niebla que había a la mañana siguiente» con «gran pérdida para su reputación, porque habían tenido que abandonar su ataque [sobre Renty] y no se habían atrevido a esperar más el momento que tanto se habían jactado de buscar», es decir, una batalla. Su retirada tan solo terminó una vez volvieron a entrar en Francia.[91]

Mason no tenía duda de lo que significaba este resultado y del papel personal que Carlos había desempeñado en su consecución. «El emperador en estos nueve o diez días persiguiendo a su enemigo ha demostrado una gran valentía y no menos habilidad en la guerra; pero más aún» en perseguir y desafiar al ejército francés «contra el Consejo y los convincentes argumentos de todos sus capitanes, lo cual, de no haberlo hecho así, sin duda habría acarreado un fracaso [devastador] que se habría recordado durante mucho tiempo. Solo gracias a su sabiduría y su irreductible valor», el enemigo había sido repelido contundentemente». En cambio, los franceses no habían conseguido nada «en este viaje, aparte de la quema y saqueo de los bienes de tanta gente pobre, tan fácil de hacer como de ser vengado».[92]

Carlos, como siempre, atribuyó su éxito a la intervención divina. Mientras contemplaba la retirada, le escribió a su hijo (que todavía se encontraba en Inglaterra): «Hijo: Dios ha guiado esto como suele hazer todas mis otras cosas, y si algún yerro ha avido, ha sido nuestro; e todavía lo ha remediado mejor que sperávamos que se pudiera remediar sino pusiera la mano en

ello, bendito Él sea por todo». Su carta de aquel mismo día al duque de Alba (que también se hallaba en Inglaterra como asesor de Felipe) fue más sincera:

> Duque: bien podréis jusgar en lo que me e visto de ver, que por nuestra culpa perdíamos la merced que Dios nos hazía. Él ha sido tan bueno que donde algunos hablauan en que nos retirássemos ayer, lo qual no podía ser sin gran peligro, Él ha hecho retirar los enemigos, e Renti (que teníamos por perdida) ha sido socorrida.

Ahora, continuaba Carlos, sus días en el campo de batalla habían tocado a su fin: «Aunque por ahora tengo más salud de la que pensaua, no la tengo tal que he menester para pasar mucho tales trances que los del año pasado y déste. Presto me determinaré de lo que adelante se ha de hazer, de lo qual auisaré luego al rey mi hijo».[93] Al día siguiente, le dijo a su hermana: «Me encuentro en tal estado que temo desmoronarme por completo», por lo que «necesito evitar pisar el campo de batalla lo más posible». El 17 de agosto dejó a su ejército por última vez, y dos semanas después informó a su hijo de que «a plazido a Nuestro Señor de traer a tan buen término y en que sea rrecuperado parte de lo pasado y de la reputación que se avía perdido», y dado que Felipe ahora «está tan cerca»:

> Visto que a algunos años que tenía presupuesto rretirarme y apartarme, y que no sperava otra cosa sino que el [príncipe] touiese más cumplida hedad y curso en los negocios, asi por mi ynclinación et yndispusiociones tan pesadas y continuas, como por conosçer que no puedo cumplir con lo que devo a mi consciencia y al bien común de nuestros súbditos y vasallos, y que antes sería inpedimento para todo, me determiné y rresolvi ponerlo en obra y acabare los pocos días que me quedan con ayuda y fauor de dios en seruicio suyo más desocupadamente.

Carlos esperaba que la transmisión de poderes pudiera tener lugar en enero de 1555, momento en el que «podernos yr juntos, y ver y holgarme algunos días», preferiblemente con María, «en la parte donde paresciere, y dándoles mi bendición dexaros y seguir mi viaje».[94] Todo sonaba demasiado bonito para ser verdad. Y lo era.

16. Un retiro agitado, 1555-1558

La diarquía

El 9 de octubre de 1554, Carlos volvió de su campaña triunfante a Bruselas y pasó por «la calle mayor en su litera —según sir John Mason, el embajador inglés—, para no poco contento de los que le contemplaban después de los esfuerzos pasados en tan grave aprieto». Al poco tiempo salió de caza, y durante una audiencia celebrada un mes después, Mason le encontró

> Sentado a la mesa con aspecto muy animado. Su rostro, que solía estar más hinchado de lo que debería, ha recobrado su aspecto más natural; su color ha mejorado mucho; sus brazos respondían, a pesar del último ataque de gota que había sufrido… Estaba muy animado, con un vigor que hacía tiempo no veía en él.

Durante una audiencia celebrada el día de Nochebuena, Mason volvió a encontrar al emperador «en buen estado y de un humor mejor al que le he visto en estos diez años». Tras alegrarse de que Inglaterra hubiera aceptado una vez más la autoridad papal, Carlos «inició un gran discurso sobre la diferencia entre gobernar con rigor y gobernar de manera que el príncipe y sus súbditos *puedan comprenderse y apreciarse mutuamente*».[1]

Obviamente, Carlos creía que su hijo no alcanzaría este nivel. Poco después de que Felipe hubiera llegado a Inglaterra, un cortesano refería (con pícaro aire de complacencia) que

> Entretiene muy bien a la reina, y sabe muy bien pasar lo que no es bueno en ella para la sensibilidad de la carne; y tiénela tan contenta que cierto estando el otro día ellos dos a solas, casi le decía ella amores, y él respondía por los consonantes. Cuanto al trato que hace a estos señores, es tal que ellos mismos dicen que nunca han tenido rey en Inglaterra que tan presto les haya ganado los ánimos a todos.

El secretario de Estado Eraso, que recibió esta noticia «en loor de nuestro amo», la compartió con Carlos, quien la escuchó «con extraño contentamiento», y «daba muchas gracias a Dios

por la merced que en todo le hacía», antes de añadir maliciosamente «¡Que verdaderamente el rey se ha mudado mucho!».[2] La confianza en las habilidades sociales y políticas de su hijo eran hasta tal punto bajas que en septiembre envió a Eraso a Inglaterra con instrucciones de decirle a Felipe que, aunque «nunca acabo de dar gracias a Dios de que esté tan contento y satisfecho a la sereníssima reyna», había escuchado quejas de que su hijo rara vez consultaba con sus súbditos ingleses, y «como veen españoles entran y salen tan continuamente, diz que tiene mala satisfacción». Las críticas de Carlos no amainaron hasta diciembre de 1554, fecha en la que su nuera María anunció que estaba embarazada e insistía en que su marido se quedara con ella para apoyarla cuando llegaran los trabajos del parto, así como para supervisar la reimposición del culto católico a sus súbditos.[3]

Entretanto, Felipe bombardeaba a sus ministros en España e Italia con órdenes y cartas, y dado que Carlos hacía lo mismo (según el embajador veneciano en Bruselas), «todas las personas que tienen algún asunto que tratar se quejan de que no pueden obtener decisiones de los ministros del emperador ni del rey porque ya no saben a quién obedecer».[4] Sobre todo, Felipe también pretendía ganarle la partida a su padre en un tema político importante: terminar la guerra con Francia. En esto contaba con la estrecha colaboración de Reginald Pole, el «cardenal de Inglaterra», facultado por Julio III para promover la paz, así como para reconciliar a Inglaterra con Roma. En noviembre de 1554 Felipe informó a su padre de que (gracias a los esfuerzos de Pole) un enviado francés acababa de llegar a Londres con una petición de que Inglaterra actuara de mediadora en el conflicto entre Francia y el emperador. Afirmando (poco plausiblemente) que «no huuo lugar para que la reyna y yo pudiéssemos consultar a Vuestra Magestad», el rey anunciaba que él y María se unirían a Pole como mediadores,

empezando de inmediato la preparación de un «centro de reunión» especial cerca de Calais, «con tiendas adornadas con ricos tapices para cada país en mitad de un campo» donde los comisionados de ambas partes se reunirían con Pole, en representación del Papa, y con una delegación inglesa, en representación de Felipe y María.[5]

Aún no habían hecho muchos progresos cuando la muerte de Julio en marzo de 1555 puso en grave peligro esta iniciativa de paz. El colegio de cardenales eligió para sucederle a Gian Pietro Caraffa, un enemigo declarado no solo de Carlos, cuyo gobierno sobre su Nápoles natal consideraba corrupto y tiránico, sino también de Pole, a quien consideraba demasiado blando con la herejía. La noticia de la elección de Pablo IV llegó a la conferencia de paz el 2 de junio; cuatro días después partió la delegación francesa. El nuevo Papa alardeaba de que las «posesiones de los Habsburgo eran como una casa vieja, a la que, si le quitas una sola piedra, se derrumba»; y empezó a coordinar un ataque francés contra Carlos asistido por la flota otomana y varios estados italianos hostiles.[6]

El largo adiós

Desde el verano de 1553, el emperador había vivido en una casita en el parque que rodeaba el palacio real de Bruselas: un conjunto de estancias «a las que se accedía mediante una escalera de 10 o 12 peldaños», con «una antecámara» que «da a su salón de visitas y su dormitorio, ninguna de ambas habitaciones mayor de 24 pies cuadrados» (algo más de dos metros cuadrados) y un pasillo que iba de su habitación a la pequeña capilla donde rezaba. Era, afirmaba el nuncio, «una casa ni mejor ni más grande que la celda de un cartujo», con su escudo de armas y su lema «Plus Oultre» como único adorno, expuesto con prominencia en las paredes y en unos medallones que había en cada ventana. Aunque Carlos veía a pocas personas, un

visitante extranjero señaló que «siempre estaba al tanto y mantenía la autoridad sobre los asuntos públicos, aconsejado por el obispo de Arras [Perrenot], que es el que transmite sus recomendaciones a su hijo y a su Consejo».[7] Pese a haber instalado varias estufas, la gota del emperador se intensificó cuando bajaron las temperaturas, dejándole «muy dolorido» durante el invierno. El 1 de abril de 1555 recibió en audiencia a Mason «tumbado en la cama», y pocos días más tarde, mientras se despedía de Ferrante Gonzaga, que le había servido fielmente durante un cuarto de siglo, se echó a llorar y le confesó que sus achaques le tenían ya «cansado de todo, mientras le mostraba sus manos agarrotadas por la gota, y le decía que estaba pasando el peor momento de su vida». Para el día de San Jorge (23 de abril) se había recuperado un poco, y pudo celebrar su pertenencia a la Orden de la Jarretera «muy solemnemente en su sala de audiencias», reflexionando sobre «la antigüedad de la orden, y el largo tiempo que había disfrutado de ella, siendo en ese momento su miembro más anciano, tras llevar al menos 43 años como caballero» de ella. Mason predecía que «con este tiempo propio de la estación… es probable que cada día vaya mejorando de salud más aún».[8]

Pero esta previsión resultó ser demasiado optimista. Un visitante de Portugal informó de que «los dientes del emperador tenían un aspecto horrible, estaban negros»; mientras que fray Cipriano de Huerga, un profesor de la Universidad Complutense, preguntaba retóricamente, «¿Quién a mudado nuestro César de tal manera que los que le vimos en España, según nos dizen, apenas agora le podríamos conocer?», añadiendo:

> ¿Quién ha sembrado antes de tiempo aquel rostro y imperial cabeça de canas? ¿Quién pudo arar tan presto de rugas aquella cara y cubrió los alegres ojos de nubes de tristeza? ¿Quién descarnó aquellos dientes y echó los muy pesados grillos de la gota a los ligeros pies y a las valerosas manos?

Fray Cipriano no tenía duda: el agotamiento del emperador era consecuencia de «querer curar aquel atajo de ovejas que Dios tenía en Alemania, aplicando el hierro y el fuego y la medicina de palabra de Dios».[9] Un boceto realizado en ese momento muestra a un hombre prematuramente envejecido, cuyos ojos hundidos se pierden ausentes en la distancia. Solo tenía 55 años.

Mientras Carlos esperaba con ansia el nacimiento de su nieto, para que Felipe pudiera salir de Inglaterra y reunirse con él, de vez en cuando daba un paseo por el parque real a lomos de una mula (ya no podía manejar un caballo) y a veces se paraba a observar los animales exóticos del zoo que había al lado, como había hecho de niño. Rara vez hablaba con nadie, excepto con Perrenot, sus hermanas María y Leonor, y los sirvientes de la casa. No obstante, en aquella primavera se resolvieron dos problemas espinosos. En España, su madre la reina Juana había muerto en abril de 1555, a la edad de 75 años. Aunque Carlos juró llevar luto por ella durante el resto de su vida, por fin se había convertido en el único soberano de España y Sicilia, y Felipe ya no tendría que compartir este título, como preveía el testamento del emperador.[10] Mientras, en Alemania, la muerte de Mauricio de Sajonia por causa de las heridas recibidas cuando derrotó a las fuerzas de Alberto Alcibíades de Brandeburgo redujo la temperatura política y facilitó un acuerdo en relación con las divisiones religiosas existentes. Carlos, sin embargo, no quiso participar en este proceso. En 1552 había aprobado de mala gana la tolerancia hacia los luteranos hasta la siguiente reunión de la Dieta Imperial; ahora informaba a Fernando de que, aunque «Dios sabe que el celo y el afecto que siento hacia el Sacro Imperio Romano y la Nación Alemana, el interés que me tomo por apoyaros y defender nuestra casa de Austria, y la colindancia de mis estados patrimoniales, todo ello me lleva a desear encontrar remedio a los problemas de Alemania e implicarme yo mismo en ello», no

obstante seguía albergando «reservas respecto al acuerdo religioso». Por tanto, facultaba a su hermano a convocar la Dieta Imperial en Augsburgo «como si yo estuviera en España, sin invocar mi nombre ni mi autoridad expresamente». En septiembre de 1555, al enterarse de que la Dieta había acordado que los gobernantes seglares podían practicar legalmente el catolicismo o el luteranismo, e imponerlo a sus vasallos (el principio más tarde conocido como *«cuius regio, eius religio»*), Carlos volvía a citar «la renuencia que siempre he sentido a implicarme más en esta cuestión religiosa», y delegaba por tanto la decisión, como había hecho en ocasiones anteriores, «en vos y vuestros ministros, que os encontráis allí». Una semana después, Fernando firmaba la Paz Religiosa de Augsburgo, que puso fin a las guerras en Alemania durante una generación.[11]

Para entonces ya había quedado claro que, pese a las afirmaciones en contrario de María Tudor, esta no estaba embarazada, y el 8 de septiembre, Felipe regresó a Bruselas, dirigiéndose directamente en su caballo a la casita del emperador, donde su padre «le abrazó y le besó con tanto cariño que se le saltaron las lágrimas». No se habían visto desde hacía cuatro años. Carlos «instó a todos sus ministros a informar [a Felipe] de todos los asuntos públicos tratados desde que él había salido de Augsburgo [1551] hasta el momento presente»; y los dos monarcas pasaron cada «mañana y tarde juntos, dos horas seguidas cada vez», a veces sentados frente a una mesa «con una bandeja de documentos delante», mientras planeaban la transmisión de poderes. Dos semanas después, Carlos firmó una proclama anunciando que cedería todos sus territorios en los Países Bajos a Felipe, y ordenando a la asamblea representativa de cada provincia que eligiera «un número importante de diputados» para que se reunieran en Bruselas y participaran en el proceso.[12]

Como un mal presagio de futuro, el emperador tuvo que retrasar la ceremonia porque dos provincias se negaron a enviar a sus representantes, basándose en que para que la transmisión de poderes fuera válida solo podía tener lugar dentro de sus fronteras, en tanto que otras dos sencillamente se limitaron a no enviar a nadie; pero, finalmente, unos 1.000 miembros de la élite de los Países Bajos se reunieron en el que sería el más numeroso y diverso encuentro de los Estados Generales hasta la fecha. Antes de dirigirse a esta gran asamblea, Carlos convocó a los caballeros del Toisón de Oro en Bruselas y anunció su intención de ceder a su hijo no solo sus posesiones en los Países Bajos, sino también su puesto como «Jefe y Soberano» de la Orden. Asimismo, invitó a los caballeros a transferir su obediencia a Felipe, y mandaba a su hijo consultarles y seguir su consejo siempre (un sabio consejo que el rey ignoraría).[13]

El viernes 25 de octubre, a las dos y media de la tarde, Carlos montó en su mula y fue desde la casita hasta el palacio de Bruselas. Una hora más tarde entraba en el gran salón por última vez, apoyado por un lado en un bastón y por el otro en el príncipe de Orange, seguido por María, Felipe y los caballeros del Toisón de Oro. Vestía «un jubón de sencillo paño negro, el birrete que llevan los abogados y la doble insignia del Toisón» *(véase la lámina 33)*. En señal de respeto, «todos los representantes se pusieron en pie cuando entró la comitiva real» y a continuación un consejero explicó por qué el emperador había decidido abdicar y retirarse a España. Una vez uno de los delegados dio la gentil réplica, Carlos se puso de pie con dificultad, «y tras una pausa para concentrarse», y «puestos sus antojos, mirando en un papel que tenía en la mano en el que había escritas siete caras», se dirigió a sus súbditos.[14]

Con un encomiable sentido histórico, comenzó por señalar que «Varios de ustedes recordarán cómo, hace cuarenta años, el día de la Epifanía, el emperador [Maximiliano] mi abuelo tuvo a

bien emanciparme cuando solo tenía quince años, en este mismo lugar y casi a la misma hora que yo les estoy hablando ahora». A continuación, proporcionó una cronología de todos sus viajes desde entonces:

> Nueve viajes a Alemania, seis a España, siete a Italia, diez a los Países Bajos, cuatro a Francia (tanto en la paz como en la guerra), dos a Inglaterra y dos a África, lo que suman cuarenta en total… Para ello, tuve que cruzar el Mediterráneo ocho veces y el Atlántico tres, sin contar el viaje que tengo previsto hacer ahora, con la bendición de Dios, con el que sumarán cuatro, y doce en total.

Carlos procedió entonces a enumerar sus campañas «en defensa de estos estados y de mis otros reinos», así como «para la preservación del imperio y en beneficio de la religión». Pero, ahora,

> No sintiéndose con la fuerza que el gobierno de tantos estados requería, y sabiendo que su hijo era capaz de soportar sus gravosas obligaciones, deseaba dejar el recuerdo de su propia vida al servicio de Dios y ceder estos estados, como él había hecho y otros harían después, al rey.

En este momento, «su corazón pareció sobrecogido por la pena, y los sollozos le impidieron hablar, mientras las lágrimas corrían por sus mejillas»; quizá, pensaba el embajador inglés, «provocadas por el hecho de que todos los que ante él se encontraban estaban igual que él, siendo mi opinión que no hubo ningún hombre en toda la asamblea» que durante «esta alocución no derramara abundantes lágrimas». Finalmente, tras recobrar la compostura, volvió a ponerse las gafas y, mirando las notas que tenía en la mano, dijo: «Mi vista y mi memoria no son ya lo que eran, y cada vez me siento más débil y más inseguro para desempeñar las tareas necesarias para protegeros a vosotros y a este país. Esta es la principal razón por la que he decidido regresar a España, no porque allí pueda vivir más, que eso solo está en manos de Dios». Carlos concluía apremiando a todos a defender la fe católica como la única religión, «para saber los inconvenientes que acarrea desviarse de ella, les instaba a aprender de lo ocurrido a los vecinos», y a obedecer a su hijo «como su señor natural».[15]

La hora y media que el emperador tuvo que estar de pie para pronunciar el discurso le dejó agotado y, mientras se derrumbaba en su silla, Felipe se levantó y (en español) rogó a su padre que se quedara y gobernara un poco más tiempo para que él pudiera «aprender de él en la práctica las cualidades que para este gobierno son tan necesarias». Luego él también se sentó, y volviéndose hacia la asamblea, pronunció las únicas palabras en francés de las que ha quedado constancia: «Caballeros, aunque entiendo bien el francés todavía no lo hablo con la fluidez necesaria para dirigirme a ustedes. El arzobispo de Arras [Perrenot] les transmitirá lo que quiero decir».[16] El hecho de que Felipe no supiera hablar las lenguas de sus súbditos, así como su decisión de sentarse mientras se dirigía a ellos, en lugar de permanecer de pie como exigía el protocolo borgoñón, provocó una decepción innecesaria, que Perrenot hizo lo que pudo por disipar, subrayando reiteradamente que el rey no había querido que su padre abdicara y asegurando a la audiencia que Felipe permanecería en el norte de Europa todo el tiempo que fuera necesario para garantizar la paz y la prosperidad. A partir de ese momento volvería, como su padre, cada vez que fuera necesario (una sabia promesa que el rey no mantendría). La ceremonia terminó con la lectura por parte de Carlos de la proclamación oficial por la que todos los poderes quedaban transferidos a su hijo, que finalizaba con la lapidaria frase: «Por tanto quedan anulada, en virtud de nuestro poder absoluto y plenario, toda ley, constitución o tradición que pudiera contradecirlo o impedirlo, porque así nos place». El emperador ordenaba a continuación que se rompieran sus sellos personales, al igual que él había roto los de su predecesor durante su emancipación, celebrada en aquella misma sala cuarenta años antes. Y con ello «acabose este acto tan principal entre las seis y las siete. Y luego se fue el emperador a su casilla por el parque» *(véase lámina 34)*.[17]

Pese a toda la pompa y la emoción, la ceremonia de Bruselas solo transfería los territorios y títulos del emperador en los Países Bajos. Su intención era viajar a España antes de ce der sus derechos sobre Castilla y Aragón y todos sus dominios de ultramar (las Américas, Cerdeña y Sicilia), pero en noviembre «el emperador sufrió tal acceso de gota» que «ya no era capaz ni de comer con sus propias manos», y «guarda cama por la fiebre». Al mes siguiente, según Perrenot, aunque los documentos para la transferencia estaban preparados, Carlos no pudo firmarlos, pues «el emperador tiene la mano vendada».[18] Al fin, el día de Año Nuevo de 1556, Carlos remontó. Confesó y comulgó, y dos semanas después convocó a su hijo y a un reducido grupo de cortesanos a su casita, donde les «habló durante casi una hora»,

> Diciendo primero que agradecía a Dios encontrarse por fin en condiciones de cumplir sus obligaciones, para con él y sus vasallos, hacer sus renuncias… Sabía que por muchos sitios habían corrido rumores por haber tardado tanto en llevar sus intenciones a efecto; pero que, no obstante, para cumplir con su determinación, prefería que le culparan de lentitud que de hacer cualquier cosa con indebida premura… Así, cuando abdicó de la soberanía de estas provincias, volvió a narrar en el mismo orden y una por una todas las expediciones y empresas que había llevado a cabo en su vida, mostrando cuántas de ellas habían obedecido más a la necesidad que a la inclinación, y encomendaba al rey a sus fieles y valientes vasallos, exhortándole a hacerles justicia y a honrarles como merecen.[19]

También hizo entrega a su hijo de una caja que contenía «muchos testamentos tanto en latín como en castellano y muchas instrucciones», y acto seguido firmó las actas de abdicación para Castilla y sus dominios de ultramar, luego para la Corona de Aragón, y por último para Sicilia. Carlos también firmó una renuncia a su título imperial, pero a petición de Fernando no la hizo pública. En lugar de ello, nombró a Felipe vicario general en Italia.[20]

Los ánimos de Carlos seguían reviviendo. Tres días después de su ceremonia de abdicación, el embajador Federico Badoero informó de que «hacía mucho tiempo que no parecía tan alegre,

dio en diversas ocasiones gracias a Dios, pues, tras renunciar a todos sus estados, Él le había hecho experimentar el descanso mental que tanto ansiaba» y «contó chascarrillos a sus chambelanes, les preguntó cómo se dirigirían a él en el futuro», para concluir que, una vez dejara de ser emperador «se conformaba con que le llamaran don Carlos de Austria». Asimismo, aseguraba a su sobrino y yerno Maximiliano que «Quedo mejor, y muy contento con aver acabado de renunciar» a todos sus títulos, porque eso le dejaba «libre para myrar y asentar las cosas de mi conçiencia».[21] En marzo, Badoero encontró al emperador «en muy buen estado físico, y con más alegría en la mirada y en los movimientos de la que le había visto nunca hasta ahora». También estaba más locuaz. Carlos le dijo:

> «Respecto a mi renuncia al poder, la hice por mi propia voluntad, con la intención de alcanzar un deseo que abrigo hace mucho tiempo, y estoy muy satisfecho de ella; porque la edad y la enfermedad me han debilitado, y llegó el momento de que mi hijo no posponga más las responsabilidades de gobierno. En ningún momento he deseado soportar estas cargas, y llevaba tiempo esperando dar este paso. Los hombres pueden ver ahora hasta qué punto era cierto lo que muchos han dicho, que yo deseaba convertirme en el monarca del mundo. Este pensamiento, se lo aseguro, nunca estuvo en mi mente, ni habría estado, aun si hubiera podido alcanzarse mediante palabras en lugar de hechos». A continuación, levantó las manos paralizadas por la gota, y tras una pausa, continuó: «Lo único en lo que pienso ahora es en cómo pasar lo que me queda de vida lo más libre que pueda de preocupaciones y dolores; y mi deseo es retirarme a algún lugar donde pueda terminarla al servicio de Dios».[22]

Una delegación francesa encabezada por el almirante Gaspard de Coligny, enviada para ratificar la tregua finalmente firmada entre los monarcas beligerantes, esboza también un vívido retrato de Carlos en aquel momento. La misión no arrancó bien, debido a que ambas partes se insultaron deliberadamente la una a la otra. Poco diplomáticament e, el séquito de Coligny «incluía a los hijos del difunto Cesare Fregoso», en tanto que Felipe decoró el gran salón del palacio de Bruselas donde les recibió con tapices de Van Orley en los que se celebraba la

derrota francesa de Pavía, «el paisaje panorámico más monumental concebido en el siglo XVI» (y por tanto imposible de ignorar), en el cual se «mostraba la historia de la captura del difunto gran rey Francisco» *(véase lámina 13)*. Los delegados franceses probablemente sintieron alivio cuando entraron en la casita de Carlos, donde el emperador les recibió sentado, debido a la gota, y vestido solo «con la túnica corta a la altura de las rodillas que llevan los ciudadanos, hecha de sarga florentina, un jubón de estilo alemán y un sombrero». El almirante Coligny empezó por entregarle una carta personal de Enrique II, pero dado que estaba «sellada con más seguridad que las cartas normales», los dedos artríticos de Carlos no pudieron abrirla y este tuvo que dársela de mala gana a Perrenot. A continuación, levantó la vista, «y con una benévola sonrisa, dijo "¿Cómo me ve, lord almirante? ¿Le parezco un valiente caballero listo para participar en una justa y romper una lanza, cuando no soy siquiera capaz de abrir una carta?"». Pero luego se reanudaron los insultos. Carlos comentó que «He oído que vuestro rey ha empezado a echar canas», añadiendo, «parece que fue ayer cuando estuvo en España como joven príncipe, sin un pelo aún en la barba», una insensible e innecesaria referencia a los años en los que Enrique había permanecido prisionero. Acto seguido, al avistar al famoso bufón francés, Brusquet, Carlos preguntó: «¿Se acuerda de la Batalla de las Espuelas?» (la derrota de un ejército francés en Guinegate en 1514). Esta vez erró el tiro. «Oh, sí, señor —replicó Brusquet—, la recuerdo muy bien: fue cuando usted consiguió esos preciosos rubíes y granates que se esconden en sus dedos», refiriéndose a las atrofiadas manos de Carlos. En ese momento «todos los presentes rompieron a reír, y el emperador dijo: "En adelante tendré buen cuidado de recordar la lección que acabo de aprender de vos: no burlarme jamás de nadie que parezca tonto"».[23]

Según escribió Badoero en mayo, Carlos «se encuentra en el mejor estado físico que ha tenido en bastante tiempo», en tanto que un mes más tarde Mason diría que «El emperador monta en una mula con más ánimo que el que ha mostrado estos últimos siete años sentado en una silla».[24] No obstante, Carlos siguió posponiendo sus planes de viaje: primero, se quejó de que carecía de dinero para pagar los atrasos salariales que debía a los miembros de su casa que no le acompañarían; luego, que el tiempo en el Canal y el mar del Norte sería demasiado peligroso; a continuación, llegaron rumores de que el papa Pablo planeaba derrocar a Carlos y a su hermano porque en la pasada Dieta este último «había accedido a que Alemania podía vivir conforme a las Confesiones [luteranas] de Augsburgo, y el emperador lo había aprobado». Al enterarse de esto, Carlos «explotó en un violento ataque de ira» y «cada día, sin esperar a la hora fijada para la reunión», mandaba reunir al Consejo de Estado «en su presencia, dedicando todo su discurso a los asuntos papales, siempre en un tono muy indignado», diciendo a sus ministros que «Hay que hacer esto y lo otro» [*bisogna far così e così*], añadiendo siempre un ejemplo tomado de lo que él mismo había vivido con papas anteriores y cómo se había comportado siempre con ellos (comparaciones un tanto siniestras, dado que sus tropas habían saqueado Roma dos veces).[25]

Fernando y Maximiliano también se las arreglaron para retrasar la partida de Carlos. En noviembre de 1555 él les había dicho a ambos que «sería un gran consuelo para mí» verles en Bruselas «y tratar de los asuntos antes de emprender mi viaje a España». Aunque Fernando declinó la invitación, Maximiliano y su esposa, la hija de Carlos, María, sí la aceptaron, pero, igual que el propio emperador, la falta de dinero aplazó su viaje y no llegaron a Bruselas hasta el 18 de julio de 1556.[26] Durante los siguientes días estos se reunieron con Carlos varias veces para

debatir sobre su abdicación como emperador, persuadiéndole de que permitiera a Fernando que eligiera el mejor momento y lugar para convocar a los electores con el fin de reconocer a su sucesor. Hasta entonces, Carlos continuaría reinando, si bien no gobernando, como emperador. Al día siguiente, partió de Bruselas y «se le vio llorar, y volverse varias veces mientras se iba, para mirar las conocidas murallas que dejaba atrás para siempre».[27]

Carlos no viajó solo. Aunque había reducido el personal de su casa de 750 a solo 150 personas, despidiendo a muchos y transfiriendo a otros al servicio de su hijo o de su hermano, sus dos hermanas habían decidido acompañarle. Leonor quería, sobre todo, volver a ver a su hija María, a la que había abandonado al dejar Portugal treinta años antes, y por tanto deseaba volver a España («que, según sus palabras, le gusta más que los Países Bajos»). Por otra parte, dado que María había estado muy unida a su hermana mayor durante la década que habían pasado juntas en los Países Bajos, temía que cuando Leonor se marchara «se encontraría sola en una tierra que tendría que volver a conocer empezando de cero, viviendo de una forma muy diferente a la que estoy acostumbrada». Aunque ella nunca antes había estado en España, María pidió y recibió permiso para acompañarle a él y a Leonor.[28] Los tres fueron a Gante, donde el día 28 de agosto Carlos se despidió de Felipe, Perrenot y sus ministros en los Países Bajos, y concedió una última audiencia a una selección de diplomáticos extranjeros, empezando por el enviado florentino. Aunque le «resultó difícil hablar», el emperador declaró categóricamente: «Embajador, puede estar seguro de que, si el rey mi hijo no puede resolver los problemas del mundo, yo tampoco podría hacerlo aunque me quedara aquí». Él atribuía todos estos «problemas» a la

«hipocresía y malvada naturaleza del Papa», añadiendo con sufici encia (si bien erróneamente) que «como el Papa es anciano, no puede vivir mucho tiempo más».[29]

Luego Carlos y sus hermanas viajaron primero en litera y después en una barcaza a Flesinga, en Zelanda, donde una flota de más de 50 naves les estaba esperando. El emperador salió de su embarcación «sujetado por debajo de los dos brazos», y algunos espectadores afirmaron «no haber visto nunca un príncipe con una cara tan pálida, tan delgado y débil, con las manos deformadas [*croisées*], la voz tan tenue y quebrada que parecía que de él solo quedaba su espíritu». Al igual que en su primer viaje a España cuatro décadas atrás, los vientos adversos obligaron a Carlos a recorrer Walcheren en una pequeña carreta; pero el 13 de septiembre, subió a bordo de su nave insignia, ocupando un camarote especial de cinco metros cuadrados, seguido por veinte cortesanos cada uno de los cuales tenía su propio camarote (entre ellos Guillaume van Male, «que le lee diversas cosas», y Juanelo Turriano, «con los relojes que fabricó para él»); pero otra tormenta les obligó a desembarcar al poco tiempo. La noticia hizo que Felipe acudiera a caballo a Zelanda, y aunque el emperador volvió a embarcar el día 16, Felipe pudo «hablar durante una hora y media» con su padre antes de que «un esquife le llevara de vuelta a Flesinga». Al día siguiente, la flota imperial volvió a hacerse a la mar. Felipe permaneció en Zelanda por si se producían más retrasos, pero esta vez el viento condujo a Carlos y a su flota hacia el mar del Norte. Nunca más volvería a ver a su hijo ni regresaría a su país natal.[30]

El último viaje

El destino final elegido por el emperador, un pequeño palacio anexo al monasterio jerónimo de Yuste, en la sierra de Gredos, dejó perplejo a don Miguel de Unamuno cuando este fue a

visitar el lugar en 1908, por caminos que eran «malos, escarpados y pedregosos»:

> ¿Qué le llevó al nieto de los Reyes Católicos, al poderoso Habsburgo, al monarca más poderoso y afortunado del mundo en un tiempo, a ir a enterrarse en aquel escondido repliegue de las estribaciones de Gredos? ¿Por qué escogió para morir aquella plegadura de verdor y de soledad?[31]

El propio Carlos ofreció tres versiones alternativas de cómo había llegado a esta decisión. Cuando fue a visitarle a Yuste quien hubo sido miembro de su corte, Francisco de Borja, y tras lamentar profundamente la decisión del futuro santo de ingresar en la orden jesuita, el emperador le preguntó:

> «¿Acordáysos que os dije el año de 1542 en Monçón que auía de retirarme, y hazer lo que he hecho?».
>
> «Muy bien me acuerdo, Señor», dixo el Padre Francisco.
>
> «Pues sabed cierto», dixo el emperador, «que no lo he dicho a nadie sino a vos y a fulano», nombrándole otro cauallero principal.

Según fray José de Sigüenza, historiador de la orden jerónima, Carlos no solo tomó la decisión de «retirarme» en 1542, sino que también fue entonces cuando envió «a considerer la casa, el sitio, el cielo, la disposición del monasterio de S. Gerónimo de Iuste, hombres doctos y prudentes, y le lleuaron entera relación de todo».[32]

Antes de dejar Bruselas, el emperador ofrecía una explicación alternativa de su decisión de retirarse. «Poniéndose la mano en el pecho», Carlos juró ante una selecta audiencia de familiares y nobles «que desde sus victorias sobre el duque de Sajonia y el landgrave de Hesse [en 1547] llevaba pensando en hacer esta renuncia», y que fue entonces cuando había empezado a redactar los documentos necesarios, que siempre llevaba consigo; pero no hizo nada más hasta 1554, cuando «encontrándose en el campo, en Renty, había decidido entrar en batalla con el rey de Francia». Fue entonces cuando se dio cuenta de que

> Si la batalla hubiera tenido lugar, y por desgracia la hubiera perdido, como bien podría haber ocurrido teniendo en cuenta la inferioridad de sus fuerzas comparadas con las del rey, él habría sido asesinado o hecho prisionero, no habría habido otra opción. Entonces, si hubiera sido asesinado, su hijo le habría sucedido como heredero de todos sus estados; y, si hubiera quedado en manos del enemigo, lo que más le preocupaba es que [Felipe] no tuviera que pagar su rescate como soberano, sino solamente como caballero particular y padre suyo.[33]

A principios de 1558, Carlos dio otra versión más de su decisión de retirarse a un convento a un embajador portugués que pasó varios días en Yuste. Repetía que lo había pensado seriamente «tras el fin de la guerra alemana» en 1547, «admitiendo que debería haberlo hecho entonces porque de este modo su reputación no se habría visto mermada, a diferencia de lo que ocurre en este momento debido a los hechos que siguieron»; pero, añadía, la primera vez que se había planteado la abdicación había sido tras su victoriosa campaña de Túnez en 1535, si bien entonces no hizo nada por ser su hijo demasiado pequeño.[34]

Cada una de estas versiones es creíble, de hecho, dada su familiaridad con *El caballero determinado*, que también se retiró a un monasterio, y el deseo de su abuelo Maximiliano de abdicar, puede que el emperador hubiera decidido desprenderse de su carga incluso antes, aunque cualesquiera que fuesen sus íntimos pensamientos e intenciones, Carlos no actuó hasta junio de 1553, cuando firmó una cédula para pagar al padre general de la orden jerónima 3.000 ducados «para que los distribuya en algunas cosas que le habemos ordenado y mandado». Una nota ológrafa a su hijo aclaraba que este pago era «con el objeto de que, al lado del monasterio de Yuste, se le fabricara una casa suficiente para poder vivir con la servidumbre y criados más indispensables en clase de persona particular».[35] El emperador también ordenó a su hijo que inspeccionara el convento en persona antes de partir para Inglaterra. Felipe cumplió su deseo en mayo de 1554, dando su aprobación; e inmediatamente

después «se començaron a traer y aparejar materiales para la obra del quarto que su magestad mandó hacer en Yuste». Luis de Vega, el principal arquitecto español al servicio del emperador, visitó entonces el convento y dibujó los planos en los que se mostraba que «dentro del monasterio hay un dormitorio de novicios, que es una pieza grande, entre los dos claustros, que repartiéndose de la manera que aquí va señalado, se hace en él una sala y cuadra y recámara, y dende la cama se podrá ver el altar mayor de la yglesia» (la misma configuración que más adelante caracterizaría el aposento de Felipe en El Escorial). El emperador dio el visto bueno.[36]

Carlos ya había comenzado a recopilar los objetos que tenía previsto llevarse. En 1551 emplazó a Tiziano para que abandonara Venecia de nuevo y se reuniera con él en Augsburgo, donde le encargó un enorme cuadro titulado *La Trinidad* (posteriormente conocido como el *Juizio Final*), el cual, según el pintor, Carlos «pretendía colgar detrás del altar de un monasterio en el que había decidido terminar sus días». En el inventario de las pinturas seleccionadas para su último viaje, *La Trinidad* encabezaba la lista *(véase lámina 35)*.[37] Carlos encargó otros cuadros, y copias de cuadros, a varios artistas de los Países Bajos. Por ejemplo, en 1555 pagó a Jan Vermeyen para hacer un *Dieu de Pitié* exactamente igual que el pintado por Tiziano, que fue entregado puntualmente a su chambelán, sumándose así a otras 24 pinturas religiosas y retratos de sus parientes favoritos: la emperatriz y Felipe (pintado por Tiziano), su nuera María Tudor (pintado por Antonio Moro), sus nietos por parte de María y Maximiliano, y varios retratos de él mismo en distintas edades de su vida.[38] Carlos también especificó los relojes que deseaba llevar con él, incluido uno llamado «el Planetario», diseñado por Juanelo Turriano, «redonda, con casi dos pies de diámetro, y sube algo menos», que muestra «todos los movimientos de los planetas y todo lo que sabemos sobre

astrología». A ello se unía «un rrelox llamado el Portal, que tiene cinco muestras», «otro rrelox llamado el Espejo, con su muestra de las oras del día y de la noche» y «tres rreloxes redondos pequeños para traer en los pechos».[39]

El inventario de «objetos de plata y bañados en oro y otros bienes» que acompañarían a «Su Majestad en su viaje» comenzaba con los contenidos de su «Capilla Privada»: un cáliz y otros artículos necesarios para celebrar la Misa, las vestiduras del sacerdote, frontales de altar, misales y libros litúrgicos, cruces y crucifijos (incluida «una cruz bañada en oro con un crucifijo, con Nuestra Señora y San Juan a cada lado, y en la mitad del pie del crucifijo las armas de su Majestad»). A continuación, se enumeraban los artículos domésticos, desde «dos pequeños jarrones de plata de la cámara de su Majestad que se usan para poner flores» hasta «un orinal de plata [*ung pispot d'argent*]», y otros utensilios de oro y plata utilizados por sus barberos, sus boticarios, sus cocineros y los encargados de servirle las comidas.[40]

Al igual que en 1517, cuando por primera vez viajó a España, Carlos seleccionó varios volúmenes de su biblioteca para el viaje, pero esta vez la mayoría impresos, no manuscritos: una edición francesa y otra española de *El caballero determinado*; *Comentarios,* tanto de Julio César como de Luis de Ávila (tal vez para ayudarle en la revisión de sus *Memorias*); el descomunal *Astronomicum Caesareum*, de Pedro Apiano; misales, libros de salmos y biblias (incluida una en francés); devocionarios y libros de teología, así como varios mapas y planos de ciudades de gran tamaño (a menudo de lugares que había visitado) para colgar en las paredes. No llevó consigo muchos manuscritos, aparte de los Estatutos de la Orden del Toisón de Oro, ilustrados por Simon Bening y otros entre 1531 y 1547, donde se mostraban los escudos de armas de 214 caballeros, pasados y presentes. En total solo se llevó 50 volúmenes, embalados en una sola caja.[41]

Antes de su partida, Carlos también dedicó muchas horas a su preparación espiritual. Según un monje de Yuste: «Por espacio de un año antes que el emperador dexasse los estados de Flandes, y se viniesse a España, mandó juntar cinco letrados theólogos y juristas, con quien comunicó todos sus negocios, dudas y escrúpulos que tenía». Carlos reveló el contenido de estos «negocios» poco después de llegar a España, cuando fray Juan Regla, el jerónimo que había elegido como su confesor, protestó:

> «Señor, no me siento sufficiente, ni tengo las partes que convienen para servir a Vuestra Magestad…». Entonces le dixo Su Magestad: «Mirad Fray Juan, no ay que temer, porque, con cinco letrados que tuve en Flandes un año entero, quedé libre y sin escrúpulo: agora no abrá más de lo que se ofreciere cada dia». Con esto, al padre fray Juan Regla se le quitaron los escrúpulos, y el emperador le cobro más afición.[42]

En 1556, al igual que en 1517, la llegada de Carlos cogió a muchos españoles por sorpresa. Cuando la noticia llegó a Yuste, el padre general de los jerónimos «[ha] holgado mucho, porque se confundan muchos incrédulos, que siempre han tenido por cosa de burla esta venida». El gobierno central sintió aparentemente lo mismo, porque pese a las cartas de Felipe del 23 de julio y el 11 de agosto confirmando que el emperador iba a embarcar «con el primer buen tiempo que hiciere», cuando desembarcó en Laredo el 28 de septiembre no encontró nada dispuesto ni prácticamente a nadie para recibirle. «Su Majestad está bien mohino del mucho descuido que ha habido en no haberse proveído muchas cosas», escribió su secretario, Martín de Gaztelú: ni siquiera «un clérigo que le diga misa», o «un par de médicos» o «un oficial con correos para servir». Sobre todo, «no se le ha scripto una carta, ni enviado a saber cómo viene», por todo lo cual «discanta y dice otras cosas bien sangrientes».[43] Para empeorar aún más las cosas, no paraba de llover. Cuando Luis Quijada, que servía como mayordomo mayor de la casa del emperador, llegó a Laredo el 5 de octubre, encontró a todo el

mundo «bien descontentísimos y desganados, y ningún sabe qué ha de ser de sí». Dados los «malos caminos y peores alojamientos», y la dificultad de encontrar provisiones en tierras que rara vez producían excedentes, Quijada dividió el séquito real de manera que «solo yo camino con Su Majestad» en su litera, con solo un «alcalde y cinco alguaciles». Ellos iban un día de viaje por delante del resto, y (refunfuñaba) «Yo lleva mayor vergüenza del mundo de ver los pocos que somos», añadiendo que «cuando me veo con tantas varas de justicia, creo que bamos presos, él o yo».[44] Pese a todo, el 13 de octubre llegaron a Burgos, donde Carlos descansó durante tres días, y una semana más tarde entró en Valladolid, acompañado de su nieto y tocayo don Carlos, entonces de 11 años de edad, con quien se encontraba por primera vez.

El último viaje de Carlos a España se pareció al primero en otra cosa más: también en esta ocasión se produjeron hechos cruciales durante su recorrido. El 19 de septiembre de 1556, mientras el emperador surcaba las aguas de Dover, en Roma el Papa profería una diatriba sobre la perfidia de la Casa de Austria y sus partidarios. Recordaba cómo la ayuda militar de Pablo III había «convertido al emperador en el dueño de Alemania» y cómo, «para recompensar al Papa, él había hecho asesinar a su hijo y le había robado una ciudad» (en referencia al asesinato de Pedro Luis Farnesio y la captura de Piacenza). Remontándose más atrás aún (Pablo tenía muy buena memoria para las ofensas), denunció «la solución adoptada por el Consejo Imperial cuando la secta luterana se rebeló por primera vez, de que debía ser apoyada porque eso convertiría al emperador en el dueño de Roma». Un mes después, justo antes de que Carlos hiciera su entrada en Valladolid, el Papa le acusó públicamente ante los embajadores venecianos de «diabólico *(indiavolato)*, desalmado *(senza anima)*, sediento de la sangre de los cristianos, cismático, nacido para destruir el mundo». Ya entrado en calor,

describía cómo Carlos había arruinado todos los estados en los que gobernaba —los Países Bajos, Milán, España y especialmente Nápoles— antes de predecir que «cuando nos devore a nosotros, vosotros los venecianos seréis la ensalada *(una insalata a costoro)* […] No os engañéis: estos imperialistas quieren […] convertirse en los dueños de Italia» y en última instancia del mundo.[45]

A Carlos no le importó lo más mínimo. Una vez Quijada llegó a Laredo y trató de poner al día de las noticias a su señor, comentó con asombro que «viene tan recatado de tratar, ni que le hablen negocio, que ni lo quiere oir ni entender»; y aunque mientras permaneció en Valladolid Carlos trató de algunos asuntos con el secretario de Estado Juan Vázquez de Molina, sobrino y sucesor de Los Cobos, así como con su hija Juana la regente, el 4 de noviembre se despidió de ellos y de sus hermanas y nieto, prohibiendo a todos, salvo a un séquito de unas 100 personas, que le acompañaran en adelante. Tras pasar Simancas y pernoctar en Medina del Campo, abandonó el camino de postas (lo que significaba que a los correos del gobierno les sería mucho más difícil localizarle) y exclamó: «¡Gracias a Nuestro Señor que de aquí adelante ya no tendremos visitaciones ni ocasión de estos recibimientos!». También siguió negándose a tratar de asuntos públicos. «En lo de los negocios que decis quisiéredes darnos cuenta —le informó secamente a un ministro—, cuando hecimos dejación de nuestros reynos, la hice también dellos»; y sus cartas empezaron a versar desde entonces sobre cosas que habían pasado «en mi tiempo», queriendo decir que daba por terminado su gobierno.[46]

El retiro, al fin

Carlos no podía no obstante ignorar el frío. A medida que se iba aproximando el invierno, «ya comenzaba a sentirse algo de frio por las noches y, por cuanto, en los lugares en que paraba,

no había cheminea, se llevaba a la mano una buena estufa de hierro, procurando que el mozo que cuidaba de ella, se adelantase a la posada y calentase la cámara». Cuando Juana le envió «dos colchas de pluma forradas de ricos tafetanes» recibidas de América, «agradaron al emperador tanto por su delicadeza y poco peso, que mandó se le hiciessen de lo mismo batas y camisas para su cámara interior».[47] Carlos también sufría de otras maneras. Según Quijada, el «camino» hacia el interior de las montañas de Gredos era «el peor que yo he caminado jamás», hasta el punto que «no podían las acemilas caminar con la litera sin notable peligro de despeñarse». Por tanto, durante tres leguas los labradores del lugar «le trujeron a hombros». En un momento dado, Carlos gritó «¡Ya no pasaré otro Puerto!», pero finalmente llegó al castillo de los condes de Oropesa, en Jarandilla, a solo catorce kilómetros de Yuste. Allí se quedó, porque su palacio en el convento todavía no estaba preparado.[48]

Después de pasar solo una noche en Jarandilla, Carlos se quejó de su aposento e insistió en trasladarse a otro «que tiene pegado con su cámara un corredorcillo abrigado donde vate el sol todo el día, y se está la mayor parte dél allí, de donde tiene bien larga y alegre vista de huertas y verdura», no porque fuera a ver mucho el sol, ya que «nunca la niebla se ha quitado» (de hecho, no «se viesen los hombres a 20 pasos»). Quijada se quejaba de que «hace aquí un muy buen frio y húmido harto» tras el cual llovió sin parar durante 27 días, «y cae aquí más agua en una hora que allá [Valladolid] en un día». Por si fuera poco, la comida era escasa y cara, por todo lo cual, según el secretario Gaztelú, «Su Majestad tiene salud y todos los demás gran descontentamiento de esta tierra».[49]

Durante los cuatro meses que pasó en Jarandilla, Gaztelú y Quijada no dejaron de quejarse de la lluvia, el aburrimiento y las exigencias por parte de su maestro de «comidas reconstituyentes» producidas en otras zonas de España, perdices,

ostras crudas, sausisas, aceitunas, granadas y anchovas, y las nocivas consecuencias que con frecuencia se derivaban de su excesiva autoindulgencia. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell apenas exageraba ligeramente en *The cloister life of the emperor Charles V* al escribir que

> [Quijada] nunca acusaba recibo de los manjares llegados de Valladolid sin añadir alguna pesimista premonición del consiguiente daño que provocarían, y a la vez que cursaba un pedido, a veces dejaba entrever que sería mucho mejor si no se encontraran los medios para ejecutarlo. Si el emperador hacía una comida copiosa sin encontrarse peor por ello, el mayordomo comentaba jubiloso el hecho; […] y se interponía entre su señor y un pastel de anguila igual que en otros tiempos se hubiera lanzado entre la persona imperial y la punta de una lanza mora.

Pero se «interponía» en vano: durante las navidades de 1556 el emperador sufrió un grave ataque de gota y pasó dos semanas en cama. Su mano derecha entonces «solo se sirve para limpiarse los dientes».[50]

Finalmente, el 3 de febrero de 1557, tras despedir y dar permiso al resto de sus sirvientes para volver a casa, Carlos viajó en su litera hasta Yuste acompañado por 51 sirvientes y ocho mulas. Después de atender a misa, se encontró con los 38 monjes que allí habitaban e hicieron un recorrido por el convento; luego entró en su aposento, construido en el ala sur del convento, donde tenía previsto pasar el resto de su vida.

El hecho de que el emperador muriera solo diecinueve meses después de su llegada ha distorsionado nuestra visión de Yuste. Charles Clifford, un viajero inglés que pasó «dos días y dos noches en aquel solitario e inhóspito lugar» en el año 1858, y tomó las primeras fotografías del monasterio, lo hizo porque era

> El último lugar de descanso del gran monarca, quien aquí pudo aislarse de las tareas distractoras del gobierno activo, en riguroso encierro monástico, con el fin de prepararse para el final que su menguante salud indicaba claramente no tardaría en poner el cierre a su larga y brillante carrera.

Este es un clásico ejemplo de «sesgo retrospectivo». Como Antonio Perla nos recuerda: «Carlos V proyectó un palacio para su retiro, no para su muerte; un lugar de recreo rodeado de plantas, lagunas artificiales y animales diversos».[51]

Al poco de la llegada del emperador se iniciaron obras para la ampliación y mejora del palacio. Aunque no ha sobrevivido ningún plano, y pese a que el enclave ya estaba en ruinas en el siglo XIX, los cambios fundamentales pueden reconstruirse a partir de los relatos llegados hasta nosotros combinados con un detallado bosquejo realizado en 1567, cuando el nuevo edificio aún estaba intacto *(véase lámina 36)*. Los constructores añadieron dos alas enteras: el piso inferior del ala este contenía las cocinas imperiales (un incendio había dañado gravemente las antiguas), con nuevas habitaciones para Quijada en el piso superior; el piso de abajo del ala sur se distribuía entre la botica y el repostero del emperador, con alojamiento para sus médicos y otro personal arriba. Fuera, Carlos mandó construir una «ermetilla llamada Belén», donde de vez en cuando iba a relajarse «a dos tiros de ballesta» de su palacio; y una rampa desde su residencia en la planta superior a los jardines y los estanques de abajo, que también fueron remozados.

> Al mediodía de los aposentos están dos cubos muy bien puestos, entre las cuales y al pie de ellos, sale una fuente que cae en un estanque de azulejos, donde para su majestad había tencas. Está todo el edificio rodeado de ventanas, que es una de las cosas que más le adornan y hermosean; y por todas ellas entran limones, cidras o naranjas, con que se recrean los ánimos de los que las ven. Al oriente de este cuarto está un gran patio, con una fuente en medio de él; y todo él es un jardín de limones, cidras y naranjas, y de muchas hierbas y flores, que su majestad mandó en el plantar.[52]

Antes de que diera comienzo su primer invierno en Yuste, los obreros también instalaron en las estancias imperiales una «estufa» traída especialmente desde Alemania. Tenía un diseño espectacular —las descripciones del edificio mencionan «doce cruces de hierro para las ventanas de la estufa para detener los

vidrios», «una tabla de nogal para la estufa para poner Su Majestad los libros», y «una mesita para la estufa de Su Majestad»—, y el 27 de diciembre de 1557, Quijada informaba de que «la estufa es acabada, y puestas sus vidrieras, y como esté enjuta, se meterá Su Majestad en ella». Dentro de ella pasó la mayoría de los días del invierno. Carlos supervisó todas las reformas internas y externas en persona. «Su Magestad —escribió Quijada— da priesa par que se haga su estufa, porque no le satisfice chiminea. También quiere hacer un oratorio muy bueno en su aposento bajo; y en esto, y en hacer un jardín en alto, y en que se le traya allí una fuente, pasa su tiempo».[53]

Quijada se encargaba de que la botica estuviera siempre bien surtida de hierbas, bálsamos, ungüentos, «piedras» y otros objetos a los que se atribuían poderes curativos (como un «unicornio») o capaces de aliviar los problemas de salud del emperador («dos brazaletes con unos huesos en ellos que dicen son apropiados para almorranas»); asimismo, la barbería contaba con muchos perfumes (para contrarrestar los olores de la cocina y las «necessarias»), además de instrumentos (la mayoría de oro y plata) destinados a limpiar la dentadura, oídos y lengua del emperador, o cortar las uñas de sus manos y pies. Carlos se rodeó de muebles y objetos decorativos sencillos pero elegantes. Llamaba a Quijada con una campanilla de plata decorada con el lema «*Plus Ultra* a la redonda»; utilizaba una «plumilla de oro» para escribir en un «libro de memorias» las cosas que quería recordar; y en su aposento colgaban veinticinco tapices y siete alfombras. Carlos continuó comprando cosas hasta casi el final —el 4 de julio de 1558 llegaron a Yuste «tres cargos de ropa, junto con los libros de Su Magestad y conservas»—, y cuando sus bienes personales fueron sacados a subasta después de su muerte, su transporte requirió más de 60 mulas. Su valor total se aproximaba a los 20.000 ducados.[54]

Fray Hernando del Corral, un testigo presencial, dedicó un capítulo de su *Historia breve y sumaria de cómo el emperador don Carlos V, nuestro señor, trató de venirse a recoger al monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste* a «De cómo su majestad tenía repartido el día y en qué exercicios». Comenzaba diciendo, «Cada día, por la mañana, luego que se abría su aposento, entrava luego Juanelo [Turriano] a ver y concertar el relox [el Planetario] que tenía de assiento encima de un bufete». Cuando Turriano se marchaba,

> Entrava el padre fray Juan Regla, su confessor, a reçar con él. Y acavado de reçar, entravan los barberos y cirujanos, y hacían lo que era menester conforme a las yndisposiciones que tenía su majestad, juntos con el médico Mathiso. Entretanto los officiales davan bueltas por sus officios para que a las diez estuviesse todo a punto y comiessen todos los que avían de assistir a la mesa de su majestad presidiéndoles el gentilhombre que aquel día era de guardia. Entretanto, se vestía su majestad y en acavándose de vestir, acavaban de comer los officiales y salían con su majestad a oyr missa, y los que le avían vestido, se yvan a comer. Entretanto que su majestad oya missa, ponían la mesa y aparejava cada official lo que era de su officio, para que en acavando de oyr missa comiesse. El gentilhombre que presidió en la mesa de los officiales, assistía con Su Magestad, quando oya missa, y en todo el día no se apartava de su vista.

Carlos a menudo comía acompañado. En vez de los bufones que le atendían en Augsburgo una década antes,

> Mientras durava la comida, disputavan el médico Mathiso y Guillermo Molineo [Van Male], que ambos eran sabios y leydos: unas veces de historias, otras de cosas de la guerra… Otras veces, mandava al padre fray Juan de Regla, cuando comía, que truxesse un Sant Bernardo, o otro libro bueno y, sobre mesa le leyesse un poco hasta que llegasse el sueño, si era tiempo de dormir, o la hora del sermón o lectión que cada día oya.

En su siguiente capítulo, Del Corral describía «Cómo y en qué repartía los días de la semana». A «las tres de la tarde», los domingos, miércoles y viernes el emperador atendía a sermones y los demás días a una «lectión de la Sagrada Escritura» (por lo general, de «la epístola de San Paulo *ad Romanos*»), y «acudían los religiosos a ello con sus mantos y con muy gran compostura y mortificación». Aparte de esto, «cada día se decían en este monasterio cuatro misas, por mandado de su majestad»; una para su madre y otra para su padre; una «siempre a las ocho, por

la emperatriz»; y otra por él «y ésta oya su magestad cada día, aunque algunos veces era algo tarde, quando su magestad no avía dormido bien». «Otras muchas» misas se decían por su hijo Felipe, «por reyes y papas, y por otros cavalleros del Tusón que fallecieron en tiempo que su magestad estuvo en Yuste»; mientras que «el jueves de cada semana» comenzaba con «una misa cantada […] con mucha música», aunque «por no poder su majestad levantarse tan de mañana», solía enviar a un chambelán en representación suya mientras él la escuchaba desde su dormitorio.[55]

Carlos también pasó algún tiempo puliendo su relato para la posteridad. Poco tiempo antes de salir de los Países Bajos aceptó la recomendación de Van Male para que Juan Páez de Castro fuera el encargado de escribir «la vida de Vuestra Magestad»; y ya en Yuste, de cuando en cuando trabajaba junto con Van Male en sus *Memorias*. Dos meses antes de su muerte Carlos se ocupó de comprobar que tanto Florián de Ocampo como Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda estaban totalmente dedicados a las crónicas oficiales de su reinado y que «se de orden que en caso que muriesen antes de imprimirlas (por ser ambos tan viejos) se ponga recaudo en ella de manera que no se pierdan y salgan a luz».[56]

Un viejo gruñón

También trató de controlar el presente del mismo modo que el pasado. Del Corral declaró que en Yuste «Su Magestad assistía siempre a los sermones y a la lectión con grande puntualidad salvo quando le venía algún pliego de su hijo el rey don Phelipe o de su hija la princesa doña Juana, de mucha importancia, y entonces mandava que no le aguardassen, porque estaba ocupado». Gaztelú comentó asimismo a un colega que «ha holgado Su Majestad» al enterarse de las últimas noticias de Italia y los Países Bajos, «y verdaderamente conozco que no

solamente huelga de entender y gusta de estas cosas, pero aún pregunta a unos y otros, cuando viene algún correo, para saber por todas vías lo que puede». Hoy en día se conservan 250 cartas de Carlos sobre asuntos de Estado «fechadas en Yuste», una media de más de una por cada dos días de su estancia allí.[57]

Todo esto podría transmitir la impresión de que, en palabras de María José Rodríguez-Salgado, el emperador continuó ejerciendo su influencia, e incluso dictando la política de su hijo; pero ella procedió a demostrar que esto sencillamente no era así, enumerando las muchas iniciativas en las que Carlos trató de influir en los acontecimientos y no lo consiguió.[58] Por ejemplo, quiso resolver la cuestión de los derechos que su rival reclamaba sobre Navarra, como había prometido hacer en virtud del Tratado de Noyon a comienzos de su reinado y varias veces más desde entonces, pero Juana y su gobierno regente de Valladolid se lo impidieron; intentó atraer a su sobrina María de Portugal, la hija de Leonor, a Castilla, pero el rey Juan III se negó; y cuando Juan murió, dejando al hijo de Juana, Sebastián, como sucesor, Carlos hizo todo lo que pudo para que Juana fuera nombrada regente de Portugal, pero su propia hermana Catalina se le adelantó y consiguió que la nombraran a ella regente. Cada una de estas (y otras) iniciativas implicó el intercambio de numerosas cartas y la visita de varios embajadores a Yuste, pero todo para nada.

El emperador también perdió su influencia sobre Felipe. Cierto es que, nada más trasladarse a Yuste, su hijo le suplicó que volviera y se hiciera él cargo de España una vez más:

> Suplicando con toda humildad e ynstançia a Su Magestad tenga por bien de esfforçarse en esta coyuntura socorriéndome y ayudándome, no solo con su paresçer y consejo, que es el mayor caudal que puedo tener, pero con la presençia de su persona y auctoridad, saliendo del monasterio a la parte y lugar que más cómodo sea a su salud y a los negocios, tomando los que se offresçieren, por los medios que menos pesadumbre le puedan dar, pues de sus resoluçiones dependerá el bien de todo.

Además, rogaba «a Su Magestad me embie su paresçer cerca desto de la guerra, y por dónde y cómo devría acometer y emprender esta jornada para poder hazer effectos más sustanciales».[59] Carlos bombardeaba a su hijo con consejos, pero este pronto dejó de prestar atención. Así, en noviembre de 1557, la noticia de que tropas españolas estaban volviendo a casa desde la península italiana alarmó al emperador. «Hallándoos desarmado —advirtió a Felipe—, podría ser que juntando el enemigo su campo, quisiesse este inuierno intentar de querer recuperar alguna de las plaças que ha perdido, o ganar otros de nueuo». Lo que debería hacer su hijo era mantener un numeroso contingente en los alrededores de Metz, para que «teniendo vos aquella gente, podríades más seguramente allegaros al enemigo y contrastarle para estoruarle que no hiciese lo que podría pretender». ¡Pero Felipe nunca leyó la carta! Parece que las prolijas y a menudo egocéntricas cartas de su padre le aburrían, de manera que solo leía los resúmenes que le preparaba Francisco de Eraso. Esta vez, Eraso visó la carta con «No hay que responder» y omitió la opinión de Carlos de «Los puntos y negocios que el emperador scrive a Vuestra Magestad en cartas de VIII de agosto, XVII y XXII de septiembre y XV de noviembre pasado».[60] De modo que cuando en enero de 1558 las tropas francesas retiradas de Italia atacaron el enclave inglés de Calais, hallándose desarmado, Felipe asistió impotente a los hechos mientras lo conquistaban todo en tres semanas.

A raíz de su abdicación, los que habían sido sus ministros no demostraron un gran respeto por Carlos. En abril y mayo de 1557, para pagar el ejército de su hijo en los Países Bajos, trató de exprimir un préstamo de don Fernando de Valdés, que anteriormente había sido presidente del Consejo de Castilla, a quien había menospreciado secretamente por no ser lo «tanta cosa como serya menester para un tal Consejo». Por entonces, Valdés era arzobispo de Sevilla, una de las sedes más ricas de

España, y no obstante se opuso abiertamente a conceder este préstamo de guerra, «de que no poco habemos maravillado», manifestó Carlos ofendido, «siendo hechura y tan antiguo criado nuestro, y haviendo tantos años que gozáis de los frutos de esa dignidad». Si el arzobispo no pagaba enseguida, proseguía el emperador, «ni el rey dejaría de mandallo proveer con demostración, ni yo de aconsejárselo»; pero Valdés continuó dando largas.[61]

A medida que pasaba el tiempo, Carlos fue perdiendo los reparos a la hora de manifestarse sobre los asuntos públicos. No se molestó en disfrazar su desilusión por el hecho de que su hijo no hubiera estado presente en la espectacular victoria frente a los franceses en San Quintín («que no se puede conortar de que su hijo no se hallase en [la batalla]»), o su desacuerdo con los términos excesivamente generosos (a sus ojos) fijados para el papa Pablo IV tras la derrota de este («pusole en cólera por lo de la paz, pareciéndole que es muy vergonzosa»).[62] Le dijo a Juana que, si se perdía Orán, yo «no querría hallarme en España ni en las Indias, sino donde no lo oyesse»; y se quejó a Felipe de que la pérdida de Calais «ha sido cosa que tanta arma y desasosiego me ha dado como lo pudo hazer ninguna [otra]».[63] La noticia de que funcionarios de la Casa de Contratación en Sevilla no habían seguido sus órdenes expresas de confiscar y enviar a los Países Bajos todas las monedas desembarcadas por la última flota procedente de América provocó en él un estallido de cólera especialmente virulento. Carlos clamó que «sy quando lo supe yo tuuiera salud, yo mesmo fuera a Seuilla a ser pesquisador de donde esta vellaquería proçedía, y pusiera todos los de la Contratación en parte y los tractara de manera que yo sacara a luz este negoçio, y no lo hiziera por tela ordinaria de justicia, sy no por la que conuenía, por saber la verdad». Es más, «en prendiéndolos, los metiesen en la cárcel, y que luego con grillos

y cadenas en vestías y a mediodía, por afrentarlos, los traigan a Simancas, y metan no en cámara ni en torre sino en una mazmorra».[64]

Nadie le hizo caso. Al saber que un ministro principal había pasado mucho tiempo «con el emperador en Yuste» en el otoño de 1557, uno de sus colegas resopló «el tractar ya con él es como con hombre muerto». Unas semanas más tarde otro funcionario comentó con descaro a un colega que «de Yuste nos remanescan acá grandes decretaciones», y en ellas «hay cosas que llorar y cosas que reir»; y «de lo que yo me rio es» de la exigencia de que «ahorcaron los de la Casa de Contratación» porque «en este reino no hay hombre que tenga culpa dello». Nadie, por tanto, «[…] deben de querer sobre su conciencia los rigores del emperador nuestro señor». Del mismo modo, en cuanto a tomar medidas extremas para defender Orán, «templamos nuestras razones por bueno todo aquello de que se quisiese dar a Su Magestad relación, *sin ponerse en execución*, porque son cosas de mucha novedad y mucho peligro, que nadie no quiere tomallo a sus cuestas», un ejemplo clásico de la máxima de los ministros Habsburgo en todas partes: «obedezco, pero no cumplo».[65]

El descubrimiento de la existencia de células protestantes en Valladolid, Sevilla y otros lugares de España desató la «decretación de Yuste» más furibunda de todas. Carlos volvió a instar a Juana a abandonar el «derecho común», por el cual los herejes que admitían su error «con alguna penitencia los perdonan por la primera vez», para en su lugar,

> Proceder contra ellos como contra sediciosos, escandalosos, alborotadores e inquietadores de la república, y que tenían fin de incurrir en caso de revelión, porque no puedan prevaler de la misericordia…

Esto es, «averiguada la verdad, quemasen vivos a los pertinaces, y a los que se reconciliasen les cortasen las cabezas».[66]

Estas explosiones tan desmedidas en un hombre que acababa de entrar en un convento para encontrar la tranquilidad resultan desconcertantes; pero como María José Rodríguez Salgado nos ha recordado, «Carlos V fue un hombre complejo», y en su opinión todos sus ataques de furia solían desencadenarse por algo que en el pasado le había dejado frustrado o le había hecho dar una imagen de impotencia.[67] De modo que el hecho de no sacar partido a San Quintín y el desafío del Papa le recordaron su propio fracaso a la hora de explotar la victoria de Pavía y el saqueo de Roma; la pérdida de Orán fue una «grande affrenta» porque le trajo a la memoria el desastre de la campaña de Argel; el descubrimiento de que en Sevilla unos funcionarios habían conspirado para evitar el requisamiento del tesoro provocó que estuviera «con cólera, y con mucha causa, porque *estando yo* en los trauajos passados, con el agua hasta ençima de la boca, los que acá estauan muy a su plazer, quando venía un buen golpe de dinero nunca *me* auisaban dello». La «desvergüenza y bellaquería» de encontrar células luteranas en España le enfureció mucho porque «suceda en *mi* presencia» y «agora que *he venido* a retirarme y descansar» allí, y por supuesto también le recordaba que «sobre ello *he sufrido* y padecido en Alemania tantos trabajos y gastos y perdido tanta parte de *mi* salud».[68]

«Mi salud»: los estallidos de Carlos también eran reflejo de un dolor casi constante. Prácticamente todas las cartas escritas por miembros de su séquito en Yuste mencionaban alguna dolencia que afligía la vida del emperador. A veces adoptaba una actitud fatalista, llegándole a decir a Quijada en una ocasión: «¿Sabéis cómo me siento? Que me pesará si no me da la gota, porque si este humor no corre allí, ha de hacello forzado a otra parte, y podría ser que me viniese asma o otra enfermedad que me diese más trabajo. Y por eso no me pesaría que me diese la gota».[69] Las visitas de viejos amigos a veces le subían el ánimo temporalmente. Su séquito fue testigo de la alegría que le dio

conversar con Francisco de Borja (que fue a verle en dos ocasiones) y don Luis de Ávila («que, como residía en Plasencia, venía más a menudo a besar a Su Magestad las manos»), así como la compañía de sus hermanas Leonor y María. También le complació reunirse por primera vez con el hijo que había tenido con Bárbara Blomberg, por entonces aún conocido como Jerónimo. Carlos había confiado al chico al cuidado de Quijada y su esposa, doña Magdalena de Ulloa, y el matrimonio había supervisado con esmero su educación en su recóndito castillo cercano a Valladolid hasta julio de 1558, momento en el que, a petición de Carlos, Quijada llevó a su mujer «y lo demás» (es decir, a Jerónimo) a vivir a su casa, cercana a Yuste. Días más tarde, ese mismo mes, doña Magdalena «vino con el ynfante» al palacio, sin duda disfrazado como paje porque el emperador había decidido que la existencia de su hijo «estuviese secreto hasta la venida» de Felipe.[70] Dado que Carlos había invitado expresamente a doña Magdalena y a «lo demás» a vivir cerca, es seguro que su intención era que hubiera más visitas y que su hijo pequeño «aprenda y se le enseñen las cosas necesarias, conforme a su edad y a la calidad de su persona» a fin de que estuviera preparado para participar en la vida de la corte cuando Felipe regresara a España. Pero la muerte dio al traste con estos planes. La siguiente vez que el muchacho entró en el convento permaneció al lado de Quijada mientras los monjes oficiaban el funeral solemne por su difunto padre.[71]

Últimos días

«Tres pabellones de sedilla de toca en tres saquillos para los moxquitos que se ponían debajo de las cortinas».[72] Esta entrada del inventario de las posesiones del difunto emperador en Yuste es la única referencia contemporánea a la verdadera causa de su muerte: *Plasmodium falciparum*, la cepa más grave de malaria que infecta a los humanos, que se transmite a través de la picadura de un mosquito *Anopheles* infectado. Aunque los

miembros más veteranos del séquito de Carlos —Quijada y Gaztelú, Mathys y Baersdorp— estaban todos obsesionados por su salud, pasaban la mayor parte del tiempo concentrados o bien en su «gota» o en «su enfermedad familiar», las hemorroides crónicas, y sus posibles remedios (durante el invierno de 1556-1557, la búsqueda de una cura a base de hierbas para esta última contó con la participación de «expertos» de Italia y de los Países Bajos además de España). Estos también supervisaban su estado registrando con exactitud qué comía y bebía cada día, cuánto dormía y cuánto tiempo permanecía despierto cada noche, así como la cantidad y el aspecto de las sustancias excretadas por el imperial orificio.[73]

En febrero de 1558 Ávila informó de que «Hallé al emperador harto flaco, y muy de ruin color, en la cama, sin gana de comer»; y dos meses después uno de sus médicos lamentaba que «apenas es movido en todo el día más de quince o veinte pasos, como ahora sucede, y raramente camina otros tantos», lo que hizo que sus pies empezaran a estar «algo entorpecidos, con algunas llagas que allí produjo la comezón».[74] La situación empeoró más aún cuando los calores de agosto hicieron que el emperador «duerme ventanas y puertas abiertas». Quijada se quejaba de que uno de sus sirvientes había fallecido, con «trece o catorce malos, y entre ellos me ha cabido a mi un par de tercianas», presumiblemente debido a las picaduras de los mosquitos que entraban por las ventanas y puertas abiertas.[75] El 31 de agosto de 1558 Del Corral pensó que Carlos había tenido una repentina premonición de su muerte porque

> Le dio gana a Su Magestad de salirse a la plaça de su aposento que mira al occidente, adonde está el relox que hiço Janelo [Turriano] y la fuente de una pieça. Y estando allí sentado en una silla, mandó traer el retrato de la emperatriz; y aviéndole mirado un poco, mandó también traer él de la «Oración del Huerto», y estuvo mirando y contemplando en él grande rato. Ultimamente mandó traer el del «Juizio [Final]», y estándole mirando, bolvió el rostro al médico Mathisio y díjole, extremeciéndosele el cuerpo: «Malo me siento, doctor».[76]

Al día siguiente, Carlos «hallóse con mayor frío, el qual andaba por las espaldas, espinaço, y lados y cabeza», hasta que, a las tres horas, «comenzó una calentura con dolor de la cabeza y gran calor en ella». Según el doctor Mathys, «conócese en Su Majestad que tiene miedo, por ser nueva calentura, principalmente pútrida, y porque luego ha querido entender en el testamento». A continuación, el emperador quedó «fuera de su juicio, en tanta manera que no le acuerdo nada de cuanto había pasado aquel día», y cuando se recuperó sintió una intensa sed. Aunque Mathys y Quijada trataron de limitar su ingesta de líquidos, «es terrible la instancia que hace, pidiendo que le den agua»; por otra parte, añadió Quijada, «nunca le vi sin tener alguna chaqueta vestida, si no es hoy, que solamente ha tenido la camisa, y descubierto con sola una colcha en los pechos de hasta una bara», y «la color de todo el cuerpo de Su Magestad está algo amarillo», todos ellos síntomas típicos de una malaria avanzada.[77]

El 9 de septiembre, Carlos «mandó leer en su presencia la copia de su testamento que aquí tiene, para ver si havía algo que añadir o quitar, y hizo un codicillo». Comenzaba con un mandato a su hijo para que erradicara la herejía, resumido en una anotación al margen donde se leía: «Lutheranos pugnidos con rigor». Carlos daba a continuación instrucciones para que su cuerpo fuera enterrado en la iglesia del convento (aunque facultaba a su hijo Felipe para decidir su morada final, con la condición de que su cuerpo descansara junto al de la emperatriz). También daba orden a su hijo de que pagara otra serie de «ayudas de costa y pensiones», esta vez a los que le habían servido en Yuste. La parte más interesante del documento era su última cláusula:

> Es mi voluntad que, si se hallare otra qualquier hoja o pliego de papel suelto, scripto de mi mano o de la agena, firmado de mi nombre y sellado de mi sello secreto, pegado o cosido en este codicillo, demás de lo contenido en él y en el dicho mi testamento, ora sea de mandas o de otra qualquiera calidad, quiero y

mando que valga como clausula y parte dél, y como mejor de derecho haya lugar, todo lo que en el dicho scripto se hallare. Y mando a mis testamentarios que cumplen y executen lo en el contenido como lo demás en mi testamento y este codicillo.

El emperador se refería, claro está, a su codicilo anterior relativo a Jerónimo, y lo hacía recurriendo a su intrincada verbosidad porque seguía negándose a revelar la identidad de su hijo. Luego tomó la pluma por última vez y escribió «Carlos» con casi tanta dificultad como lo había hecho cuando firmó por primera vez cincuenta años atrás *(véase lámina 1)*.[78]

Tras este esfuerzo, Carlos se quedó «flaco y muy cansado. Tiénenos en cuidado, y mucho: por lo cual no sería cosa fuera de propósito —sugería Quijada con cautela— que se viese desde luego lo que se debría de hacer, para en caso que Dios fuere servido que esta indisposición pasase tan adelante que hubiese algún peligro en ella». Su prudencia demostró ser fundada. Durante las dos semanas siguientes, el emperador sufrió una extenuante secuencia de escalofríos, convulsiones, fiebres, dolores de cabeza, vómitos y diarrea. Sufría dolores constantes; «no habla, sino muy pocas palabras»; y cada día estaba más débil. El 17 de septiembre, «estuvo Su Magestad sin que le podiésemos hacer hablar más de 22 horas», y «dice que no se le acuerda de cosa ninguna de las que pasó ayer».[79]

Carlos mejoró un poco el 20 de septiembre, y sus pensamientos fueron para Bárbara Blomberg. Aunque aparentemente no se habían visto desde que él la sedujera una década antes, Carlos llamó a Quijada y le ordenó «que de su cámara se le diesen [a un mensajero de confianza] 600 escudos en horo, que con ellos comprase 200 florines de por vida para la persona que él dirá». Para explicar a Felipe este misterioso regalo, Quijada dejó claro que la «persona» era «la madre de aquella persona que Vuestra Magestad sabe», esto es, Jerónimo.[80] Carlos se encontraba escuchando a un grupo de

monjes leer los salmos cuando llegó un mensajero de Valladolid, lo que hizo que se espabilara un poco y «luego le preguntó: "¿Cómo queda mi hijo?"». Tras la respuesta tranquilizadora del mensajero, el emperador preguntó, «¿Qué se haze de los herejes de Valladolid?». En esta ocasión, una vez escuchada la respuesta también alentadora, «el Emperador avía cerrado los ojos e inclinádose en su almada e no le avía hablado más».[81]

El ritmo de los paroxismos de Carlos había llevado a sus médicos a concluir —correctamente— que su paciente sufría «una fiebre terciana maligna doble»; pero no pudieron identificar su causa, ni mucho menos prescribir un tratamiento eficaz. No cabe sorprenderse: el parásito *Plasmodium* que causa la malaria no sería descubierto hasta 1880; y aunque las propiedades antimaláricas del corcho del árbol de la chinchona eran conocidas en 1558, ese conocimiento permanecía restringido al círculo de los súbditos quechua del emperador. Los médicos, por tanto, continuaron debilitando su resistencia con sangrías y purgas hasta las 2 de la madrugada del 21 de septiembre de 1558 cuando, sujetando una candela bendita en su mano derecha y en la izquierda «el crucifijo» que la emperatriz había tenido en las suyas, «Deziendo "Ya es tiempo", y de dijendo "Jhesus"», Carlos «dio el alma a Dios sin hazer más que dar dos o tres bocados».[82]

La causa de su deteriorada salud y su muerte no se supo hasta 2004, cuando un equipo médico de Barcelona llevó a cabo dos pruebas clínicas sobre una falange de la mano izquierda de Carlos. Una de las pruebas reveló que el tejido momificado contenía una «extraordinaria cantidad de cristales de urato, característicos de la gota» y que «enormes tofos gotosos habían destruido por completo la articulación interfalángica distal y se habían extendido al tejido blando anexo», produciendo los «rubíes y granates que se esconden en sus dedos» ridiculizados por el bufón francés Brusquet dos años antes. ¡No es de extrañar

que el emperador se quejara constantemente de un dolor agudo y crónico! La otra prueba clínica practicada en el dedo cortado de Carlos reveló «parásitos del paludismo, y en grandes cantidades», y una fotografía tomada a través de un microscopio podría servir de ilustración en «un libro de texto sobre medicina tropical o historia de la medicina: se veían parásitos fósiles». El equipo médico detectó «dos generaciones de parásitos», lo que demuestra que Carlos había sufrido una dosis doble de *Plasmodium falciparum* malaria.[83]

Casi con toda seguridad, Carlos contrajo la fatal enfermedad en Yuste, una región que ha seguido siendo «una de las áreas con más malaria de España hasta épocas recientes». Como señaló el doctor Julián de Zulueta, el especialista en esta enfermedad que supervisó las pruebas clínicas:

> En un estudio sobre la receptividad de la malaria en la zona, se halló una alta densidad de *Anopheles atroparvus*, el principal vector de la enfermedad en España, en las inmediaciones del monasterio de Yuste […] El momento del año en que se produjo la enfermedad del emperador en Yuste, entre el final del verano y el principio del otoño, corresponde al momento en que la *P. falciparum* tenía más prevalencia en España.[84]

La decisión de Carlos de construir estanques y una fuente junto a su aposento para su solaz durante el retiro proporcionó la incubadora perfecta a la enfermedad que acabó con su vida a la edad de 58 años.

Epílogo
Balance del reinado

> Mucho tiempo he estado acostándome temprano. A veces apenas había apagado la bujía, cerrábanse mis ojos tan presto, que ni tiempo tenía para decirme: «Ya me duermo». Y media hora después despertábame la idea de que ya era hora de ir a buscar el sueño […] Durante mi sueño no había cesado de reflexionar sobre lo recién leído, pero era muy particular el tono que tomaban esas reflexiones, porque me parecía que yo pasaba a convertirme en el tema de la obra, en una iglesia, en un cuarteto, en la rivalidad de Francisco I y Carlos V.
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> MARCEL PROUST, *Por el camino de Swann* (París, 1913), 1[1]

Su difunta Sacra Majestad

El día que murió Carlos, don Luis de Quijada (que había pasado 37 años a su servicio) escribió que su señor «está en el cielo porque, a mi parecer, no he visto hombre en my vida acordarse más de dios»; y seis meses más tarde, el bibliotecario de Carlos en los Países Bajos, Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, incluyó la «santidad» en el título de su obsequiosa biografía: *Sobre los asuntos públicos, vida, costumbres, hechos, fama, religión y santidad del emperador Carlos V*.[2] Esta idea concitó cierto apoyo en 1654, cuando los monjes de San Lorenzo de El Escorial abrieron el ataúd de Carlos para colocarlo en el recién terminado Panteón de los Reyes, y «le hallaron entero, después de noventa y seis años de difunto». Estos concluyeron que «semejante prodigio parecía obra de muy alta determinación, y efecto de superior causa, y que dado que fuesse sucesso natural, era de los raros que caben en los límites de la naturaleza»; en otras palabras, un milagro menor. Un siglo después, un visitante que fue a ver la tumba de Carlos en el panteón comentó que los frailes «le hace considerar aquí como un santo».[3] Para entonces, «nuestro gran rey Carlos Quinto» ya había alcanzado un estatus semidivino debido a que «dio señorío

y patrimonio primero» a muchas comunidades indígenas de Nueva España, y sus títulos primordiales le agradecieron su fundación como si de la Santísima Trinidad se tratara.[4]

A medida que la noticia de la muerte de Carlos se iba propagando, iban celebrándose también fastuosas honras fúnebres para conmemorar su vida y sus logros. Según afirmó Gregorio Leti, más de 2.400 iglesias organizaron una procesión y erigieron un túmulo en honor del difunto emperador: 527 en España, 382 en Nápoles, 292 en los Estados Pontificios, etcétera y, en muchos lugares, añadía, «las aglomeraciones fueron tan enormes que parecía que se hubiera reunido allí el mundo entero».[5] Algunos panfletos publicados al efecto describían las procesiones y catafalcos de las conmemoraciones más importantes: en Valladolid (donde el nieto y tocayo de Carlos, don Carlos, era el deudo más cercano), en Piacenza (gobernada por su hija Margarita) y en Bruselas (donde residía su hijo Felipe) —todas ellas en diciembre de 1558—, así como en Augsburgo (donde su hermano Fernando presidió un «grosser Totenfeier» el 24 de febrero de 1559, fecha del cumpleaños de Carlos.[6] En parte debido a las diversas tradiciones funerarias, estas conmemoraciones fueron muy distintas según los lugares. Juan Calvete de Estrella diseñó un elaborado túmulo imperial para coincidir con las «honrras del emperador» celebradas en Valladolid el 2 y 3 de diciembre de 1558, en las que La Gasca (entonces obispo de Palencia) celebró la misa pontificia. El panfleto conmemorativo de Calvete incluía una imagen del túmulo, en el que se mostraban varias escenas de *El caballero determinado* (el libro favorito de Carlos); la rendición de los protestantes alemanes en 1547; las conquistas de Carlos en México, el Perú y África; la toma de Thérouanne y Hesdin; y, debajo, el lema ANIMO INVICTO (espíritu invencible):

> Inglestat [Ingolstadt], con dos campos, el vno en frente del otro. Parecía en vno dellos el emperador a la puerta de su tienda, armado de todas armas, rodeado de muchas valas que tirauan con la artillería del otro campo de los enemigos, las quales cayan junto a sus pies y tienda. Tenía el rostro viril y robusto, sin dar muestra de ningún temor, antes animaua y esforçaua a los suyos.[7]

Sin duda se trataba de todos los logros que el propio Carlos habría seleccionado *(véase lámina 38)*.

Por el contrario, el libro fune rario publicado para conmemorar la ceremonia de Bruselas contenía un texto bastante breve (que facilitab a la traducción a cinco idiomas) y, en cambio, 34 magníficas ilustraciones a doble página (coloreadas a mano en algunos ejemplares) en las que se mostraba a Felipe y los caballeros del Toisón de Oro recorriendo en procesión las calles de Bruselas desde el palacio Coudenberg hasta la iglesia de Santa Gúdula, donde aproximadamente cuatro décadas antes Carlos había sido proclamado rey de Castilla, Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia *(véase lámina 37)*. Según el vívido relato de Richard Clough, un inglés que estuvo allí presente, el ceremonial se siguió al pie de la letra:

> Un noble (que según pude deducir, era el príncipe de Orange) se acercó al catafalco, y parándose ante él, golpeó con su mano el féretro y dijo «está muerto». Luego, tras permanecer unos momentos allí, añadió «y muerto seguirá». Después, tras una pausa, volvió a dar un golpe y dijo «Está muerto, y otro más grande de lo que él ha sido nunca ha venido a ocupar su lugar».

Uno de los caballeros dio entonces un paso adelante y con gran solemnidad sus acompañantes le retiraron la capucha, quedando al descubierto Felipe, que a continuación encabezó la procesión para volver a recorrer las calles de Bruselas de vuelta al palacio. «La escena merecía viajar cien millas para verla —escribió Clough deslumbrado—: Creo que nunca se había visto nada parecido».[8]

Aunque probablemente Leti exageró el número de honras fúnebres celebradas por Carlos en Europa, omitió las celebradas en América. Al enterarse en julio de 1559 el virrey del Perú de «como Su Magestad es muerto», Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza,

marqués de Cañete, inició de inmediato los preparativos basados en los catafalcos que había visto en la catedral de Sevilla para la infanta María Manuela (en 1545) y la reina Juana (en 1555). El 11 y el 12 de noviembre de 1559, una procesión de en torno a 250 personas fue a presentar sus respetos al sencillo túmulo hecho de madera, decorado con banderas y escudos, que representaba las posesiones del difunto emperador. Aunque la Relación que describe las exequias permaneció en forma de manuscrito, porque Lima carecía todavía de una imprenta, lo cierto es que sirvieron de poderoso símbolo de integración de la ciudad (la «hija pródiga del imperio») y del vicerreinato dentro de la monarquía española, tras una generación de conquistas, caos y guerra civil.[9]

En México, las exequias, celebradas el 30 de noviembre de 1559 (festividad de San Andrés, una fecha que Carlos siempre había venerado), fueron mucho más suntuosas. Ante una multitud estimada en 40.000 personas, el virrey encabezó una procesión a un túmulo imperial repleto de homenajes, en latín y en español, a las hazañas del difunto monarca, especialmente en América. Según una extensa descripción publicada al año siguiente, 9 de las 22 escenas pintadas contenían referencias directas a la conquista. Un cuadro mostraba a «Don Fernando de Castilla [*sic*: por Fernando de Aragón] hincado de rodillas» ante el papa Alejandro VI «recibiendo con ambas manos un Nuevo Mundo»; en otra aparecían Moctezuma y Atahualpa, «emperadores en este Nuevo Mundo», arrodillados ante Carlos «con rostros alegres manifestaban que habían sido vencidos»; una tercera celebraba el hecho de que «para doctrina y lumbre destos naturales erigió César Universidad en México». Varios cuadros destacaban el crucial papel de Hernán Cortés en la creación de Nueva España (algo que habría irritado a Carlos, pero complacido a muchos habitantes del lugar) y su estructura estaba pintada para asemejarse al *tezontle*, la piedra autóctona

utilizada en la reconstrucción de Ciudad de México. Entre otras referencias locales se encuentra la inclusión de un esqueleto en el dibujo del catafalco en el Códice de Tlatelolco (una deidad mexica solía acompañar a los gobernantes muertos al inframundo). La combinación de elementos tanto de los pueblos colonizadores como colonizados reflejaba el hecho de que, aunque el catafalco fue diseñado y descrito por españoles, fueron alumnos mexica de arte del Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco los que realizaron las pinturas.[10]

De vuelta en España, tras las exequias, los albaceas del emperador centraron su atención en organizar las 30.000 misas que él había pedido por la salvación de su alma, y distribuir los 30.000 escudos de oro depositados en la fortaleza de Simancas para pagar los legados especificados en su testamento para prisioneros de guerra, mujeres solteras y para los pobres. Los pagos pueden verificarse, dado que muchos monasterios de Castilla enviaron certificados donde se detallaba el número y la frecuencia de las misas celebradas; los funcionarios enviados a Argel y a Orán para rescatar prisioneros llevaban un registro exhaustivo, y varios obispos enviaron listados de las personas que ellos creían suficientemente pobres y merecedoras de recibir la generosidad imperial.[11] El pago de otros legados de Carlos resultó mucho más difícil. En julio de 1559 Felipe puso 80.000 ducados a disposición de aquellos a quienes su padre había nombrado para «descargar el ánimo» del emperador, pero pronto se descubrió que Carlos debía mucho más, y no solo a personas a su servicio, sino también a los acreedores de su padre y abuelos, «por hauérsele, después que fue jurado por rey destos reinos de la corona de Castilla y Aragón, ofresçido grandes guerras y gastos forçosos». Tal y como los testamentarios le recordaron al rey: «es cosa que se nota mucho y de gran vergüenza que, haviendo 16 meses que fallesció su magestad imperial, no se aya descargado un maravedí de su testamento».

Pero su escrito fue en vano, y la falta de los fondos necesarios obligó a muchos de los servidores del emperador o sus descendientes a pedir limosna. En 1579, cuando la Junta de descargos pidió a Felipe que proporcionara «alguna cantidad» para saldar cuentas con los acreedores de su padre, el rey respondió desdeñosamente: «Por cierto que holgaría yo mucho de que esto se pudiesse luego cumplir, pero son muchas las cosas que se offrescen, y poco lo que ay para acudir a ellas». En lugar de ello, sugería, «sería bien saber si ay bienes suyos de que se pudiesse cumplir lo que no lo estuviere de sus testamentos».[12] El Consejo de Descargo continuó esforzándose por satisfacer las deudas del emperador hasta bien entrado el siglo XVII.

La alargada sombra del emperador

El rescripto de Felipe de 1579 encarnaba a la perfección sus ambiguos sentimientos hacia ese padre que tanto le había enseñado y humillado a la vez. Públicamente, siempre le mostró un profundo respeto. En 1572 aprobó un proyecto para un grupo de siete esculturas —representando a sus padres y sus dos hijos muertos de niños, así como sus tías Leonor y María y su hermana María—, en las que las imponentes estatuas en bronce dorado de tamaño superior al natural, fundidas en el taller de Pompeo Leoni, se muestran arrodilladas junto al altar mayor de El Escorial, como si se hubieran unido a los monjes en oración perpetua; un grupo escultórico que constituye (como ha comentado Rosemarie Mulcahy) «posiblemente el monumento escultórico funerario más impresionante del arte europeo».[13] Dos años más tarde, Felipe gastó 318 ducados en el traslado del cadáver de Carlos de Yuste a El Escorial, y empleó varias horas en decidir cuál debía ser la inscripción que figurara en el féretro del emperador; y el 20 y 21 de septiembre de 1584, como otros años, dejó a un lado su trabajo de despacho, «ayer, por aver asistido a las vísperas y oy al aniversario de su padre».[14] En privado, sin embargo, el rey no se mostraba tan entusiasta.

Nunca tuvo expuesta la magnífica estatua a tamaño natural de Carlos V ataviado como emperador romano *(véase lámina 30),* encargada a Leone Leoni en 1549: en lugar de ello, Felipe la dejó en el taller de Madrid donde había sido diseñada y fundida. También el lienzo de gran tamaño de «Carlos V en la batalla de Mühlberg» pintado por Tiziano *(véase lámina 26)* permaneció guardado en el almacén del Alcázar de Madrid.

Felipe era menos ambiguo en lo tocante al arte de gobierno. Pasado poco más de un año de la muerte del emperador, el rey recordaba que su padre «me dexó cuando se partió destos reynos el año de 43 una instrucción en que, entre otras cosas, me mandaba que hiziese rezidir a los perlados en sus Iglesias»; y en 1574, cuando creyó que tendría que dejar España, buscó las instrucciones de Ca rlos «de quando yo comencé a governar el año de 43» porque esperaba encontrar una útil guía «en los recuerdos que entonces me dexó el emperador de su mano».[15] Obviamente, el rey aprendió otros hábitos de Carlos, incluido el de escribir cartas pasivo-agresivas al Papa. Cuando en 1569 Pío V pareció ignorar sus deseos, Felipe ordenó al embajador español en Roma (al igual que su padre había hecho) «le protestaréis a solas de mi parte que vayan sobre su consciencia, y no de la mía, los daños que de ésta resultaren, de no remediar esto y de no creerme Su Santidad».[16]

Otro rasgo, bastante más peligroso, heredado por Felipe de su padre, fue su visión mesiánica. Ambos monarcas creían que Dios les había elegido expresamente para cumplir sus propósitos para el mundo; ambos estaban asimismo convencidos de que Dios les tenía bajo una protección especial para que pudieran alcanzar estas metas (si bien el proceso podía resultar nada evidente ni tampoco fácil); y ambos estaban seguros de que, cuando todos sus esfuerzos no eran suficientes, Dios les asistiría para suplir su falta de medios con un milagro. Así, en 1541, Carlos decidió continuar con su ataque sobre Argel, en contra

del consejo de sus expertos, «considerando que el tiempo estaba en manos de Dios»; y, 30 años más tarde, Felipe también autorizó una compleja operación anfibia contra Inglaterra, en contra del consejo de sus expertos, porque Dios «en causa tan suya, nos alumbraría, ayudaría y asistiría con su braço y mano poderosa para que se açertase». En 1552, Carlos decidió atacar Metz en invierno porque «esperamos en Dios lo terná todo de su mano, y lo traerá y reducirá en buen subceso». De modo similar, 35 años después, Felipe insistió en enviar a su Armada contra Inglaterra en invierno, pese a que «bien se vee que es harto aventurar», porque (según aseguró a sus comandantes) «el tiempo, Dios (cuya es la causa) se hará de esperar que le dará bueno de Su mano».[17] Ambos monarcas también compartían la incapacidad para tragarse el orgullo: admitir la derrota cuando hacerlo podía poner en riesgo su reputación. Carlos decidió continuar con el asedio de Metz principalmente porque «si abandonamos esta empresa tendré que desmantelar mi ejército, después de todo el dinero que he invertido sin conseguir nada. Por tanto, he decidido gastar todavía más y esperar a que Dios tenga a bien darnos, en lugar de abandonar sin ver lo que la Fortuna nos depara». Dos décadas después su hijo sintió lo mismo cuando luchaba por aplastar la Revuelta Holandesa: «Yo no dudo de que, si uviese de durar el gasto de allí [en los Países Bajos] como agora va, no se podría llevar adelante; pero es gran lástima que, aviéndose gastado tanto, y ofreçiéndose ocasiones que con poco más podría ser remediarse todo, los ayamos de perder».[18]

Esta visión mesiánica perduró. Al menos 28 copias manuscritas del Testamento político de Carlos de 1548 han sobrevivido, y es evidente que el embajador español en Saboya tenía una de ellas delante cuando en 1600 le recordó a su soberano que «su magestad el emperador, nuestro señor, dexo en la instrucción que dexo a Su Magestad [Felipe II] que esté en

el cielo [sobre] los designios que le estorvaron los franceses y la poca seguridad que tuvo siempre de ningunas paces que con ellos hiziesse». E insistió en que este consejo seguía siendo válido. Seis años más tarde, Prudencio de Sandoval publicó este documento de consejo de Carlos en su exitosa *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*. A partir de entonces, todo el mundo pudo leerlo y admirarlo.[19]

El emperador apareció a título póstumo por muchos lugares. Lope de Aguirre, el «cruel tirano» que concitó tanto apoyo en el Perú cuando se rebeló en 1561, dirigió su carta de desafío al «Rei Felipe, natural español, *hijo de Carlos ynvencible*». Pocos años después, deseoso de ampliar su colección de pintura en Sevilla, el conde de Olivares (que había acompañado a Carlos en la campaña de Túnez) le pidió al duque Octavio de Parma «mandarme sacar una pintura de quando el emperador pasó el rrío Albis [Elbe] armado, que sus criados es justo que no estemos sin un tan bien rretrato. El Tiçiano entiendo que tiene el patrón de ella, y pues está tan cerca, suplico a Vuestra Excelencia mande me saque una [copia]», añadiendo como posdata: «Y cierto *todo el mundo tiene obligación de tener memoria de los hechos de tan valeroso príncipe y buen aventurado emperador*».En 1570 Felipe envió a su hermano, don Juan, consejo sobre cómo ganar la guerra contra los moriscos de Granada, añadiendo: «os lo digo como quien os quiere como es razón, y desea que acertéis en todo *como hijo de nuestro padre*». Alonso de Ercilla, que de niño había pasado bastante tiempo con el emperador, incluyó quince referencias a «el gran Carlos», «Carlos Quinto Máximo glorioso», «el gran Emperador, invicto Carlos», etcétera, en su poema épico sobre la conquista de lo que actualmente es Chile: *La Araucana*, terminada en 1589.[20]

Incluso después de haber muerto aquellos que le conocieron bien —su amada, Bárbara Blomberg, en 1597; su hijo Felipe en 1598; su hija María en 1603—, el emperador continuó

suscitando comentarios favorables. En 1604, en su historia de la evangelización de México, Gerónimo de Mendieta alabó «El piadosísimo Emperador Carlos V, de inmortal memoria». Siete años más tarde, Sebastián de Covarrubias incluyó una entrada sobre «Carlos» en su *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, añadiendo «Hemos tenido deste nombre cinco emperadores, y el quinto Carlos, monarca del mundo». Cuando fray Prudencio de Sandoval relató el funeral de Carlos en Yuste en su *Historia*, señalando cómo aquellos que le habían conocido hizieron «el oficio del entierro con hartas lágrimas», añadió, «y no hazían mucho, pues yo que por sola relación sé su vida, las derramo». Poco tiempo después, el emperador hizo dos apariciones en *Don Quijote* (una de ellas como el «invictísimo Carlos V» por su conquista de la fortaleza de La Goleta, en las afueras de Túnez, en 1535, y la otra como el «grande emperador Carlos V» por un memorable diálogo mientras hacía turismo por Roma al año siguiente). En la década de 1630, el conde-duque de Olivares, privado de Felipe IV, no solo se convirtió en alcaide de la «Casa Ymperial de Yuste» y supervisó sus obras de restauración, sino que reprodujo muchas características del lugar en el palacio-monasterio que se hizo construir en su finca de Loeches. Un estudio sobre más de 1.300 bibliotecas privadas del Madrid del Siglo de Oro reveló que 165 de ellas contenían al menos un libro sobre Carlos.[21] La reputación de Carlos también se mantuvo en niveles muy altos en los Países Bajos, gracias a obras como *Las heroicas y amenas hazañas del emperador Carlos V*, publicada por primera vez en francés y holandés en 1675, donde se le presentaba como «el héroe más digno de ser imitado». Un censo realizado en 1999 de leyendas locales, anécdotas, cuentos y acertijos sobre «El bueno de Carlos» incluía unos 160 ítems.[22]

También aparecieron monumentos públicos en honor del emperador —como la estatua a tamaño natural erigida en Palermo en 1631 *(véase lámina 22)*—, y en su tratado sobre la

grandeza de la monarquía española, el dominico Tommaso Campanella llegó incluso a sugerir que debía levantarse una estatua a Carlos en el Polo Sur como señal de que su imperio había abarcado el mundo entero. No cabe más *plus ultra*, desde luego.[23] También resulta sorprendente que a partir de la década de 1590 (si no antes) circularan copias manuscritas en italiano, alemán e inglés de un documento titulado «Las últimas instrucciones que el emperador Carlos V dio a su hijo antes de morir», hasta el punto de que en 1750 llegaran a existir como mínimo 50 ejemplares manuscritos y dos copias impresas del texto. Cierto es que todos eran falsificaciones o estaban basados en falsificaciones —el emperador nunca escribió tal documento —, pero obviamente la combinación de sus logros y la amplia difusión que recibieron sus instrucciones auténticas conferían una autoridad casi mítica que hacía que mereciera la pena unir su nombre a un documento escrito por otra persona.[24]

Lo mismo pareció volver a ocurrir en el siglo XX. En España, el gobierno del general Franco animó a los historiadores a considerar a Carlos un gran unificador y difusor de los valores españoles: en 1942, la Universidad de Valladolid creó un Seminario de Historia del Imperio dedicado a publicar documentos procedentes del Archivo General de Simancas, y en 1958 una Junta del Centenario patrocinó una serie de conferencias conmemorativas, la reparación de Yuste y del palacio de Carlos V en Granada, y unas exequias celebradas en El Escorial el 21 de septiembre a las que asistió el propio Franco. Un alumno del Seminario de Historia del Imperio, Manuel Fernández Álvarez, promovió la «idea europea de Carlos V, el gran precursor de unidad política de la Europa cristiana»; y no fue el único en hacerlo.[25] El general Charles de Gaulle pronunció un discurso en 1962 en el que incluía a Carlos V en la lista de los que habían «soñado con la unidad europea»; y tres años después Charles Terlinden publicó la primera edición de su

Carolus Quintus, Charles Quint, empereur des deux mondes, espléndidamente ilustrada, de la que se harían 19 ediciones y se traduciría a siete idiomas, reforzando este argumento de que el emperador había sido pionero en la idea de una Europa unida. Dicho argumento convenció evidentemente a los gobiernos de Bélgica y España, acuñando ambos monedas de ecu en la década de 1980 (cuando parecía que el ecu, en lugar del euro, sería la moneda única en Europa) en las que Carlos aparecía montado a caballo, como le pintó Tiziano, mientras las tropas españolas derrotaban a los protestantes alemanes en Mühlberg; una imagen curiosamente polémica entre las que se podían elegir. Por último, en 1994 Enrique Barón Crespo (que fue presidente del Parlamento Europeo) pronunció una conferencia en 1994 titulada «La Europa de Carlos V y la Europa de Maastricht», en la que afirmaba que Carlos «configuró una Europa sustancialmente coincidente con la comunitaria actual, excepción hecha de Francia», una «excepción» bastante sustancial que hacía absurdo el paralelismo. No obstante, en 2018 Barón Crespo recibió el Premio Carlos V de la Fundación Academia Europea de Yuste por promover el proceso de unificación de la Comunidad Europea.[26]

Críticas al emperador

No todas las referencias a su difunta sacra majestad fueron favorables. Desde el principio, la mayoría de los autores franceses le consideraron una amenaza existencial. El cronista Claude Haton escribió inmediatamente después de la muerte del emperador que «Francia podría llamarle con toda razón Atila, es decir, su gran enemigo y perseguidor»; y John Knox recordaba no sin orgullo en su *Historia de la Reforma en Escocia* que, siendo un refugiado en 1554, había calificado al emperador de «no menos enemigo de Cristo que Nerón» porque «mantiene y fomenta la idolatría».[27] En 1590, justo cuando Ercilla ensalzaba al emperador en su *Araucana*, uno de los sueños de la

profeta de Madrid, Lucrecia de León, que gozó de gran difusión, describía a la infanta Isabel con lágrimas en los ojos mientras le reprochaba a su padre, Felipe II: «Mire, Vuestra Magestad, que las cosas de España van perdidas», recordándole que «los reyes pasados dejaron mejoradas sus tierras», y citando «la fama que de mi abuelo el emperador Carlos, queda». En 1611 Antonio Daza, un franciscano residente en Valladolid, publicó una historia de su Orden en la que se incluían varios sueños protagonizados por sus colegas, incluido el de Gonzalo Méndez, un fraile que predicaba en Guatemala y que dijo haber visto el alma del difunto emperador ascender al paraíso «cuatro años después de su muerte», esto es, en 1562. En opinión de Daza, Carlos había permanecido en el purgatorio hasta que Dios le perdonó por «no aver castigado a Lutero, quando le pudo prender» en la Dieta de Worms.[28] En 1634, cuando el pintor español Antonio de Pereda y Salgado realizó su composición *Alegoría de la vanidad*, el objeto central era un camafeo de Carlos.

El desencanto aumentó en el siglo XVIII, a la par que crecía el interés por el emperador. En 1769, William Robertson publicó una *Historia del reinado del emperador Carlos V* en tres tomos que no tardó en convertirse en la obra de referencia, siendo traducida al alemán (1770-1771), al francés (1771), al ruso (1775-178), al italiano (1836), al árabe (1842) y finalmente al español (1846).[29] Aunque Robertson ensalzaba la «cuidada y deliberada atención» que el emperador ponía en «todos los temas que requerían su consideración», y su «prontitud en la ejecución», percibía numerosos defectos en su carácter político: «su ambición era insaciable»; se metía en «constantes guerras, que no solo tenían agotados y oprimidos a sus súbditos, sino que le dejaban poco tiempo para prestar atención a la política interior y la mejora de sus reinos»; pero, sobre todo, el emperador

> Se embarcaba en planes tan complicados y tan arduos que, cuando creía que su poder no era suficiente para llevarlos a cabo, a menudo recurría a bajas estratagemas, impropias de su talento, llegando en ocasiones a incurrir en acciones que se desviaban de la integridad, deshonrosas para un gran príncipe.

La negatividad de la obra de Robertson se muestra incluso en la entrada «Carlos V» del índice, repleta de referencias a la conducta «cruel», «injusta» y «arrogante» del emperador, su «disimulo» (tres entradas), la «tóxica influencia del éxito en su pensamiento» y «su intolerante fanatismo».[30]

El veredicto de Robertson se basaba exclusivamente en fuentes impresas, dado que, cuando él escribió el libro, los estudiosos no podían acceder a los archivos públicos, pero lo cierto es que el acceso a los manuscritos al principio no hizo mucho por mejorar la imagen del emperador. Los pioneros alemanes de la historia basada en fuentes de archivo, Leopold von Ranke y Hermann Baumgarten, coincidieron en considerar a Carlos básicamente un anacronismo: sus esfuerzos por construir un estado supranacional y detener la expansión del protestantismo estaban condenados al fracaso. Una generación más tarde, en Francia, Jules Michelet tampoco encontró mucho que admirar en el emperador: comparado con Francisco I, escribió en su influyente *Historia de Francia*, Carlos «era un ávido lector, culto y elocuente, pero un mal escritor y un orador anodino y al servicio de sus propios intereses».[31]

Los historiadores italianos del siglo XIX y principios del XX fueron igualmente críticos. Como Giuseppe Galasso comentó, casi todos ellos se lamentaron de la forma en que el emperador había «sofocado las libertades de Florencia y Siena, conquistado Milán, arrinconado a Venecia, enganchado Génova a su carro, saqueado Roma y prestado ayuda al Papa en sus esfuerzos por silenciar cualquier voz que protestara contra el orden establecido». No quedaba mucho que considerar positivo.[32] Los historiadores españoles expresaban un sentir muy parecido,

considerando a su primer rey Habsburgo «un monarca de origen extranjero, orgulloso e implacable, modelo de rey absoluto», y tendían a centrar su atención (en las escasas ocasiones en que prestaban alguna a esta época) en sus contemporáneos —Juana la Loca, Cisneros, los conquistadores, los líderes comuneros— dejando a Carlos «situado en un plano inferior». Aún en fecha tan reciente como 1960, de las más de 1.000 personas que investigaban en los archivos españoles, solo seis se dedicaban a estudiar el reinado de Carlos.[33]

Los historiadores británicos que escribieron sobre el emperador a principios del siglo XX también se mostraban críticos. Según la biografía del historiador de Oxford Edward Armstrong, publicada en 1902, «El personaje de Carlos rara vez ha inspirado entusiasmo».

> No era ningún superdotado, y gobernó varias y muy distintas naciones, en ninguna de las cuales fue nunca dueño absoluto de sus políticas o acciones. No fue lo suficientemente grande para dotar de unidad a circunstancias de extraordinaria complejidad […] La historia de Carlos es la de la forma en la que se enfrentó a unas dificultades que otros le impusieron.[34]

En Alemania, Karl Brandi pasó tres décadas trabajando y reflexionando sobre Carlos antes de publicar su biografía «basada casi exclusivamente en un nuevo y exhaustivo análisis del mejor y más inmediato material contemporáneo», pero él también albergaba algunas reservas sobre su personaje. Comenzaba con un veredicto lapidario: «Hay en la historia, algunos hombres cuya energía productiva es sobrehumana. Sus creaciones surgen de su propia fuerza interna y sientan las bases de la ley y el pensamiento para los siglos posteriores. El emperador Carlos V no era uno de estos hombres». No obstante, Brandi reconocía que: «Aunque podría parecer que la vida de Carlos V estaba llena de contradicciones, *existía en ella* una unidad interna. Sus acciones se regían por el principio dinástico, que él encarnó de manera más vital y efectiva que

ningún otro gobernante en la historia del mundo. Como hombre y como rey, estaba sujeto a la presión moral de este principio, que llenaría su camino de peligrosas tentaciones.»[35]

La formulación de Brandi «agente frente a estructura» se ha aplicado a muchos hombres de Estado, a veces en la línea de la metáfora de «La zorra y el erizo» que Desiderio Erasmo, durante algún tiempo consejero de Carlos, hizo famosa: «La zorra sabe muchas cosas; el erizo solo sabe una, pero muy importante». Los erizos (según esta metáfora) tienen una visión del mundo clara y fuertes convicciones, que aplican a todas las situaciones, mientras que los zorros son más pragmáticos y adaptan sus ideas en respuesta a los hechos. A los erizos les mueven sus creencias, mientras que a las zorras las mueven las evidencias: para Brandi, Carlos era el erizo por antonomasia.[36] Pero, ¿eran importantes estas distinciones? ¿Qué hay de la cuestión más básica, si podría cualquier ser humano haberlo hecho mejor que el emperador?

El imperio imposible

En su admirable estudio del poder supremo y sus peligros, *The impossible presidency* («La presidencia imposible»), Jeremi Suri argumentaba que, en política, algunas tareas simplemente pueden resultar demasiado complejas para que un individuo pueda manejarlas. Concretamente, en el caso de los Estados Unidos, aunque Franklin Roosevelt «construyó la presidencia de la posguerra», él fue «el último que supo dominarla». Suri continuaba: «El problema de los sucesores de Roosevelt fue el poder excesivo, la responsabilidad excesiva y las tentaciones excesivas. Roosevelt fue el último gran presidente porque las dimensiones del puesto todavía eran lo suficientemente pequeñas para que él las pudiera manejar, aunque a duras penas. Después de él, el continuo aumento del poder presidencial excedió la capacidad de ejecución» hasta que «a comienzos del siglo XXI las inhumanas exigencias del cargo hicieron imposible

triunfar como presidente… La presión para reaccionar con rapidez y de forma global dejaba muy poco espacio para dedicar pensamiento y creatividad a la política».[37]

Para sostener estas afirmaciones, Suri examinó las agendas de Roosevelt y sus sucesores, que «constituyen el mejor registro diario del que disponemos sobre el liderazgo ejecutivo». A modo de ejemplo, reprodujo la agenda presidencial del 8 de diciembre de 1941 (el día que Roosevelt se enteró del ataque japonés sobre Pearl Harbor), el 16 de octubre de 1962 (el día que Kennedy supo que los soviéticos habían desplegado misiles en Cuba) y el 11 de marzo de 1965 (el día que Johnson lanzó una nueva tanda de bombardeos contra Vietnam del Norte mientras los manifestantes en favor de los derechos civiles protagonizaban su primera sentada delante de la Casa Blanca). Las entradas correspondientes ocupaban 2, 3 y 6 páginas, respectivamente. Estas y otras diferencias llevaron a Suri a deducir tres cosas:

- «Roosevelt trabajaba duro, pero no descuidaba las oportunidades para comprometerse seriamente con las personas y los problemas, y sacar tiempo para la reflexión y la creatividad. Nunca se le veía alterado y rara vez hacía las cosas con prisa».
- «Kennedy tuvo que trabajar más horas, saludar a más personas y dirigir reuniones más numerosas que Roosevelt solo para cumplir con todas sus responsabilidades presidenciales. Kennedy tuvo que esforzarse por encontrar tiempo para tratar con sus consejeros más cercanos una crisis que podría haber desencadenado una guerra nuclear».
- «Johnson tenía que abarcar tanto que apenas dormía. Sus agendas mostraban días cada vez más largos, reuniones y llamadas telefónicas continuas, y rutinas extenuantes».[38]

Aunque en el reinado de Carlos no existían este tipo de agendas, las fuentes que han llegado hasta nosotros sugieren un fuerte paralelismo con Roosevelt: el emperador que creó el imperio Habsburgo también fue «el último capaz de controlarlo».

Carlos gozó de una ventaja clave sobre sus sucesores: adquirió sus dominios gradualmente en lugar de todos a la vez. Aunque su entrada ceremonial en Brujas como conde de Flandes en abril de 1515 contó con el boato correspondiente a las diversas tierras que podía heredar, ni él ni el resto de Europa estaban preparados para el aluvión de territorios que cayeron bajo su cetro durante los cuatro años siguientes. En 1516 Erasmo señaló que «el príncipe Carlos ha sido enviado a tomar posesión de varios reinos (9 o 10, dicen)» en España e Italia; y, añadía proféticamente (aunque en vano), «rezo para que todo vaya bien para nuestro país y no solo para el príncipe».[39] Carlos no tardó en añadir también el Sacro Imperio Romano y las tierras gobernadas por los aztecas en el centro de México, creando un estado de un tamaño sin precedentes, al que sus lugartenientes anexionarían el ducado de Milán, varias provincias en los Países Bajos y muchos nuevos territorios en América, especialmente el Imperio inca. Por otra parte, la población de todos sus dominios europeos creció durante su reinado —la del reino de Nápoles se duplicó—, si bien gran parte de este aumento se vio contrarrestado por el catastrófico descenso de la población nativa de la América española.

Algunos contemporáneos suyos consideraban ingobernable esta diversidad de territorios. En 1542, un indiscreto ministro francés le recordaba a su homólogo inglés que:

> Inglaterra es un reino perpetuo, como lo es Francia. Nuestros soberanos, sus hijos, sus sucesores reinarán por siempre; nuestro clima y nuestro aspecto es el mismo, y estamos cerca uno del otro. El emperador solo es uno, y cuando muera,

será emperador algún alemán, no sé quién. Lo cierto es que España es un reino, pero ¿qué es eso por sí solo? En cuanto a Italia, cuando el emperador muera, ¿quién la gobernará?[40]

Carlos probablemente habría estado de acuerdo. Siempre fue consciente de que no podía encontrar inspiración en el pasado reciente, dado que ningún soberano desde Carlomagno había controlado territorios tan extensos, y esta ausencia de precedentes contribuye a explicar su forma aparentemente improvisada de tomar decisiones. No tenía más remedio que improvisar y experimentar, aprender por ensayo (y a veces por error), probar diferentes técnicas de gobierno sobre la marcha y trasplantar las instituciones administrativas que funcionaban bien de unos dominios a otros. Así, en 1523-1524, al enterarse de «que quiere [el emperador] ordenar consejo de Hacienda o finanças» en Castilla, un embajador confirmó que se haría «al modo de Flandes».[41] Una década más tarde, Carlos transfirió a América el cargo de virrey, una institución desarrollada por los reyes de Aragón para gobernar estados en su ausencia, así como la Audiencia, una institución diseñada por los monarcas de Castilla como contrapeso para compensar las extralimitaciones ejecutivas en provincias fronterizas.

Carlos también innovó. Por encima de todo, creía firmemente en la «diplomacia ejecutiva»: los encuentros cara a cara con otros monarcas para solucionar conflictos pendientes. Se reunió en cuatro ocasiones con Enrique VIII; con Francisco I lo hizo en Madrid en 1525-1526 (aunque, dado que este era su prisionero, no se puede considerar lo mismo), otra vez en Aigues-Mortes en 1538, y de nuevo cuando Carlos atravesaba Francia en 1539-1540, porque (según afirmó Carlos), aunque los dos monarcas podían continuar «declarando del vno al otro sus voluntades y intenciones por el medio de los ministros», un encuentro cara a cara «era el verdadero y mejor medio» para resolver los problemas pendientes y, de hecho, estas cordiales

conversaciones ayudaron a que se reconciliaran.[42] Si Carlos no hubiera renegado de sus promesas, es posible que la paz hubiera durado más. El emperador también se reunió con Clemente VII dos veces (en Bolonia en 1529-1530 y en 1532-1533) y tres con su sucesor Pablo III (en Roma en 1536, en Niza en 1538 y en Busseto en 1543). No todos lo veían bien. En 1519, el barón de Chièvres vetó una invitación del rey francés a una reunión, basándose en que el duque Juan de Borgoña había sido asesinado cuando respondió a una invitación similar un siglo antes. En 1543, tras el encuentro con el Papa en Busseto, el exconfesor de Carlos, García de Loaysa, comentó con desaprobación: «En estas vistas que Vuestra Magestad ha echo con el sumo pontifice, tenemos por experiencia el poco fruto y reputación que dellas se ha sacado»; y, en efecto, a partir de entonces Carlos abandonó la diplomacia al más alto nivel.[43]

Sin embargo, sí continuó viajando: de hecho, entre 1529 y 1550 no paró de hacerlo. En opinión de María José Rodríguez-Salgado, Carlos disfrutaba con sus constantes viajes.

> Era el caballero andante para sus regentes y gobernadores agobiados. En palabras de un cronista, se deseaba que apareciera el emperador del mismo modo que la tierra seca desea que llegue, por fin, la lluvia. Su figura se sustentaba sobre la creencia universal de que su mera presencia, o un poco de su tiempo, podría resolver los problemas más acuciantes. La responsabilidad era enorme, pero también lo era la sensación de éxito y valía. Cargado de adrenalina, iba de una crisis política interna a la guerra y vuelta otra vez.[44]

Quizá este juicio sea demasiado severo. Por un lado, en muchos aspectos, Carlos presidía un «imperio expedicionario»: debido a que él era el único denominador común, su presencia física durante una crisis podía marcar la diferencia entre el éxito y el fracaso. Por otro (como Jeremi Suri apuntaba), todos los líderes necesitan «sacar tiempo para la reflexión y la creatividad», y los viajes permitían a Carlos satisfacer esta necesidad, especialmente los viajes por mar, en los que disponía de mucho tiempo para pensar. Sus instrucciones secretas de 1543 a su hijo

permiten hacerse una idea de las posibilidades: el emperador se embarcó en la flota de galeras en Barcelona el 1 de mayo, pero al día siguiente el mal tiempo le obligó a refugiarse en el pequeño puerto de Palamós. Desde esta fecha al día 6, alejado en gran medida de la habitual presión del trabajo, redactó y corrigió 50 páginas de consejos detallados, escritas a solas y de su puño y letra. Lo mismo cabe decir de las frecuentes expediciones de caza de Carlos: aparte de mantenerle en forma —durante una audiencia en 1547, tras haber estado de caza durante dos semanas, el nuncio le dijo a Carlos que «la caça y ayre del campo nos habría hecho mucho provecho para cobrar color y fuerzas»—, le permitían tener tiempo para reflexionar sobre los problemas a los que se enfrentaba y la mejor forma de solucionarlos. Aunque los beneficios administrativos que Carlos obtenía de sus actividades de ocio son difíciles de documentar, el hecho de que con frecuencia comunicara sus decisiones al regreso de sus cacerías difícilmente puede considerarse una coincidencia.[45]

Tres revoluciones

Tres problemas, no obstante, eran de dimensiones demasiado grandes por mucha «reflexión y creatividad» que les dedicara: una revolución militar, una revolución religiosa y (en parte como respuesta a las dos primeras) una revolución en el gobierno. El desarrollo de un nuevo estilo de fortificaciones, caracterizado por unos bastiones angulares sobresaliendo por delante de las murallas defensivas, revolucionó el arte de la guerra en Europa, porque ofrecían una resistencia eficaz contra la poderosa artillería empleada por los sitiadores y a la vez servían de plataforma a los cañones pesados de los defensores. La captura de los lugares en los que existía este tipo de fortificaciones modernas —conocidas como *alla moderna*, *à la manière modern*, etcétera— requería aplicar un bloqueo completo, lo que a su vez exigía ejércitos enormes, más de

infantería que de caballería, equipados con armas de fuego (y palas) en lugar de picas. E incluso así, obligar a una fortaleza de artillería a rendirse requería un bloqueo de varias semanas o meses de duración. A partir de entonces el asedio se convirtió en la clave sobre la que pivotaban las campañas porque, en palabras de un general inglés:

> Los asedios prolongados arruinan a los ejércitos, vacían el bolsillo y por lo general impiden utilizar a los ejércitos para fines mejores; tras un largo asedio, aunque las cosas salgan como desea el comandante, este tendrá pocos motivos para alardear de su victoria si se para a pensar en los gastos, el tiempo y los soldados que ha invertido en ella. Durante un gran asedio, la capacidad de causar daño de un ejército se quiebra, y su fuerza se agota.[46]

Carlos así lo aprendió por experiencia propia cuando intentó tomar Florencia en 1529. Tres años antes, previendo un posible asedio, la república decidió crear una fortaleza de artillería convirtiendo las torres y entradas existentes en bastiones angulares, añadiendo gruesos muros de contención de tierra para reforzar las murallas medievales y construyendo fuertes al otro lado de las murallas para cubrir los puntos débiles. El impacto de estas mejoras quedó claramente patente en las cartas ológrafas que su comandante en jefe, Filiberto de Châlons, príncipe de Orange, escribió a Carlos durante el sitio de Florencia en 1529-1530, lamentando que la falta de artillería, de hombres y de dinero ponía en peligro el resultado del asedio. «No hay en el mundo nadie más desesperado que yo», se quejaba el príncipe el 25 de septiembre; y, un mes después, afirmaba: «Si realmente queréis la ciudad podéis tenerla, pero no con los pocos soldados que yo tengo aquí porque —os ruego me creáis— me llevaría años terminar con esto. Si de verdad lo deseáis, debéis mandarme de inmediato 10 o 12.000 hombres para completar el asedio al otro lado del río, así como una buena dotación de artillería». El 30 de octubre, el príncipe realizó un vaticinio peor aún: «Sire, temo de verdad que os arrepentiréis de todos estos retrasos, porque veo que todo vuestro ejército está

dispuesto a amotinarse por la falta de dinero… Si Dios no obra un milagro, como siempre, y no proporcionáis el remedio, sin duda se organizará un motín general. Soy el hombre más desdichado del mundo».[47] Orange no exageraba: la resistencia de Florencia duró 11 meses.

El príncipe no era el único que tenía esta baja opinión sobre sus tropas: si él estaba al mando de ellas era solo porque otros habían declinado la invitación de Carlos para comandarlas. El duque de Ferrara, por ejemplo, recordaba su comportamiento insubordinado y sus repetidos motines por la paga, e informó al emperador de que «no nos atrevemos a aceptar en este momento el mando de un ejército tan desobediente y descontrolado [*exfrenato*]».[48] Tampoco Ferrara exageraba: las tropas españolas en la Lombardía habían protagonizado un breve motín justo antes de su victoria en Pavía, donde los atrasos que acumulaban se aproximaban ya a los 200.000 ducados, y miles de sus sucesores volverían a amotinarse en Lombardía y Sicilia en 1537-1538, tras la fallida campaña de Provenza, y también en Alemania en 1547-1548, tras una larga campaña contra la Liga de Esmalcalda. Los motines llegaron a ser tan frecuentes que acabó por generarse un protocolo específico de resistencia, como evidencian las respetuosas, pero a la vez inflexibles, cartas que se enviaban a los generales firmadas por «Todos los soldados». Y así se mantuvieron hasta que el gobierno les pagó al menos parte de los atrasos salariales que les debían, un dinero que, dado el tamaño cada vez mayor de los ejércitos de Carlos, no resultó nada fácil de encontrar. Idan Sherer estimó el coste total del ejército que ganó la batalla de Pavía en casi un millón de ducados, una cantidad casi equivalente a la recaudación que Carlos percibía de Castilla y a una tercera parte de los ingresos totales procedentes de todas sus posesiones.[49]

La artillería también transformó la guerra naval durante el reinado de Carlos. Las galeras a remo empezaron a desplegar entonces enormes cañones de línea central para enfrentarse bien entre ellas (como en Preveza en 1538) o contra objetivos en tierra (como en La Goleta tres años antes). Al mismo tiempo, los galeones comenzaron a incluir artillería pesada en la cubierta inferior, gracias a la invención de la tronera. En 1545, los veleros de guerra de Francisco y Enrique VIII se enfrentaron en un duelo de artillería cuando una fuerza expedicionaria francesa intentó desembarcar en la isla de Wight, una acción a resultas de la cual se hundió el galeón tudor *Mary Rose*; y en 1558 el bombardeo de galeones españoles desde el mar ayudó a derrotar a las tropas francesas atrapadas en los arenales cercanos a Gravelinas.

Aunque menos caros de mantener que un ejército de infantería o caballería, los barcos —ya se tratara de galeones o de galeras— no podían movilizarse al comienzo de una campaña y desmovilizarse cuando esta terminaba. Cada uno de ellos requería una atención constante, más el gasto adicional correspondiente al comienzo de cada campaña: en 1529, 1535 y 1543, el coste de reunir una flota de galeras capaz de proteger al emperador mientras navegaba por el Mediterráneo retrasó gravemente sus planes; y cuando en 1522 pudo finalmente reunir una flota de navíos que le escoltara por el Atlántico norte fue gracias al préstamo de dinero y barcos ingleses.

Según los cálculos de James Tracy, el coste de las campañas de Carlos pasó de 5,6 millones de ducados en 1529-1541 a 9 millones de ducados en 1543-1552, es decir, de una media anual de 430.000 ducados a 900.000, más del doble. Por otra parte, mientras que casi una tercera parte de su gasto militar en el primer periodo procedía de dinero caído del cielo, como el rescate francés y botines de los imperios aztecas e incas, la proporción descendió a una quinta parte en el segundo periodo.

El emperador compensó este déficit principalmente mediante préstamos obtenidos de banqueros y la confiscación de propiedades en varios de sus dominios, generando una deuda soberana que superaba con mucho sus medios para amortizarla. La guerra también implicaba un importante coste de oportunidad: cuando Carlos participaba en persona en las campañas, como hizo durante al menos 600 días entre 1532 y 1554, no tenía tiempo para nada más. Según manifestó contrariado el nuncio en 1554, año de la última campaña de Carlos: «Su Majestad no atiende ningún otro asunto en tiempos de guerra».[50]

La revolución religiosa desencadenada por Martín Lutero también mantuvo periódicamente apartado a Carlos de otros asuntos. Él había abrigado la esperanza de que el Edicto de Worms, promulgado en 1521, silenciara al reformador y sus partidarios; pero no fue así, debido en gran parte a que el avance otomano hacia las puertas de Viena le llevó a tener que hacer concesiones a los estados luteranos a cambio de su ayuda militar. Cuando estas concesiones se retiraron, en 1529, seis príncipes alemanes, con el apoyo de una serie de ciudades con simpatías luteranas, emitieron una protesta desafiante que les ganó el nombre de «protestantes», pero el asedio otomano de Viena más avanzado el año forzó a Carlos a reinstaurar las concesiones a cambio una vez más de asistencia militar. Los líderes protestantes se dieron cuenta entonces (si es que no lo habían hecho antes) de que gozaban de una ventaja crucial. Felipe de Hesse escribió una carta confidencial a Lutero indicándole que, dado que él y sus colegas «son la mayor y principal fuente de ayuda» para Carlos en su lucha contra los turcos, «hemos pensado que todos nosotros deberíamos ponernos de acuerdo en no prestarle ninguna ayuda a menos que su Majestad prometa dejarnos en paz y no molestarnos a cuenta del Evangelio».[51] Esta política les sirvió para conseguir importantes concesiones por

parte de Carlos en 1532 (justo antes de que se fuera de campaña a Hungría) y de nuevo en 1541 (inmediatamente antes de partir hacia Argel), permitiendo al luteranismo no solo profundizar su arraigo en los estados protestantes, sino también expandirse. Solo la consecución de una tregua de 5 años con el sultán permitió a Carlos al año siguiente tratar de alcanzar una reconciliación forzosa de las divisiones religiosas de Alemania en la Dieta Armada de Augsburgo.

Carlos había pasado mucho tiempo tratando de encontrar puntos de coincidencia para evitar este resultado. La agenda de cada Dieta Imperial durante su reinado incluyó siempre cuestiones religiosas, y el «Acta» publicada tras cada asamblea permite que nos hagamos una idea de sus dimensiones. En Worms, en 1521, la primera Dieta a la que el emperador asistió en persona, según un simple conteo de páginas, los «Debates con y sobre Lutero» ocuparon más de una cuarta parte de lo tratado. La proporción fue la misma en Ratisbona en 1532, con la extendida discusión de las concesiones religiosas a cambio de ayuda militar; y en la Dieta Armada de Augsburgo, en 1547-1548, la búsqueda de una fórmula religiosa aceptable tanto para los miembros protestantes como católicos constituyó una octava parte de todo lo tratado. Algunas veces el emperador intervenía en persona (como hizo en Worms) y con frecuencia tenía que aguantar allí sentado (según algunos, durmiendo) la lectura de largos y complejos documentos: en junio de 1530, Carlos pasó dos horas sentado en su trono mientras se leía lentamente en voz alta la Confesión de Augsburgo.[52] Por otra parte, entre bastidores, el emperador también pasaba muchas horas en banquetes y cacerías con los principales príncipes alemanes en un esfuerzo por ganar su apoyo para su programa religioso; y también pasaba muchas horas —en persona durante las cumbres diplomáticas y audiencias, así como por carta— tratando de ganarse el apoyo del Papa.

El aumento de los asuntos militares y eclesiásticos que requerían la atención de Carlos fue alimentando un tercer problema que amenazó con absorberle por completo: un rápido y sostenido incremento de las tareas administrativas. Geoffrey Elton denominó la similar explosión de actividad que experimentó el gobierno central de Inglaterra en la década de 1530 «la revolución gubernamental Tudor», y la coincidencia llamó la atención de Steven Vaughan, un inglés que trabajaba como comerciante y a la vez era funcionario real en los Países Bajos. En 1534, comparó la carga de trabajo de Thomas Cromwell, el principal ministro de Enrique VIII, con la de Jean Carondolet, principal ministro de Carlos en los Países Bajos. Vaughan le aseguraba a Cromwell que su homólogo «tenía la mitad de trabajo, si no la décima parte, que vos o el consejero principal de ningún otro príncipe de la Cristiandad», y predecía que el creciente aluvión de asuntos públicos le haría «menos capaz y dispuesto a soportar las largas horas de trabajo en las causas del príncipe».[53]

El gran canciller Gattinara habría coincidido plenamente con la predicción de Vaughan, en gran medida porque él opinaba que su señor trabajaba demasiado poco. En una amarga nota de 1523 se quejaba de que «desde el día que entré a vuestro servicio, me he esforzado por poner orden en vuestros asuntos, presentándoos varios documentos de consejo sobre este tema», pero «nunca fue posible hacer que los entendierais [*ne fut jamays possible de vous reduisre a y entendre*]». En consecuencia, «todo se deja sin resolver con la esperanza de que Dios obra siempre milagros en vuestras cosas (como ha hecho hasta ahora), lo cual es muy peligroso, porque limitarse a dejar las cosas en manos de Dios puede despertar su ira».[54] Al parecer, el emperador tampoco «prestó atención» a este documento, porque poco después el canciller escribió otra crítica sobre el proceso de toma de decisiones en la corte carolingia que fue aún más explícita.

«Mi corazón lamenta profundamente que se tarde tanto en decidir sobre la mayoría de los temas importantes que surgen diariamente, que cuando por fin se hace, o bien la situación ha cambiado o la oportunidad se ha perdido —comenzaba diciendo—. No puede imaginar dónde está el origen de este fallo, a menos que su Majestad quiera seguir los métodos del difunto emperador Maximiliano» —¡una cruel comparación!—, quien también «tardaba mucho en tomar decisiones… utilizando la excusa de que carecía del dinero necesario. Su Majestad no puede valerse de la misma excusa —proseguía Gattinara implacable—, porque el dinero está a disposición de su Majestad». La indecisión de Carlos no provenía de la falta de recursos, sino de no utilizarlos de forma eficaz, y, a propósito de esto, el canciller instaba una vez más a introducir cambios radicales en el proceso de toma de decisiones del emperador y dejar de «confiar en que Dios haga milagros siempre».[55]

Aunque Carlos nunca abandonó su confianza en que los milagros vendrían en su auxilio, creó o reorganizó varios consejos (entre los que destacan el de Estado, Hacienda e Indias) para que le asesoraran en áreas políticas concretas. Además, cuando en 1529 dejó España con destino a Italia, toda la estructura conciliar permaneció en Castilla con la misión de asesorar a su regente en los temas relativos a América y también a España. Carlos solo se llevó con él un reducido y cosmopolita equipo de consejeros (incluido Gattinara) para aconsejarle sobre política de carácter central y resolver cualquier cuestión remitida por los distintos centros regionales. Según el embajador veneciano Niccolò Tiepolo:

> Aunque el canciller no lo hacía todo, ejercía no obstante tal autoridad, y el emperador y los demás le tenían en tan alta consideración, que Carlos requería su opinión y consejo en muchas materias, y solo a él le remitía todas las cuestiones que implicaban concesiones a otros […] Todos los embajadores extranjeros trataban exclusivamente con él, y cuando viajaban juntos, el emperador debatía los temas con él antes que con nadie.

La muerte de Gattinara en junio de 1530 puso fin a este experimento sobre toma de decisiones. Según Tiepolo, a partir de entonces, «el emperador dividió sus responsabilidades de manera que nadie volviera a tener tanta autoridad como tuvo aquel. Ahora no se decide sobre nada, sea de la naturaleza o importancia que sea, sin que él quiera saberlo, entenderlo y emitir su decisión al respecto. Esto significa —se quejaba el embajador— que muchas decisiones tardan más de lo que cabría esperar».[56] Carlos se mantuvo en su decisión. «Tratad los negocios con muchos y no os atáys ny obligáys a uno solo —instaba a su hijo en 1543—, porque aunque es más descansado no os conviene»; y en su discurso de abdicación pidió perdón por ocasionar demoras, pero declaró que «prefería que le culparan de lentitud que de hacer las cosas atolondradamente».[57]

Carlos combinaba su determinación por microgestionar los asuntos de carácter central con su voluntad de delegar las tareas importantes referentes a la periferia de su imperio. Comenzó a seguir esta práctica desde muy pronto. En agosto de 1516, desconcertado por las versiones contradictorias sobre la situación en España, Carlos envió desde Bruselas dos juegos de instrucciones al cardenal Cisneros, su gobernador allí, «para que vsasedes dellas segund que vuestra discriçión y prudencia viese que convenía». La decisión, repetía Carlos, «a vos se rremite».[58] Esta práctica administrativa solo podía tener buenos resultados si Carlos escogía unos lugartenientes en los que pudiera confiar. En 1517, Erasmo había escrito que «un príncipe llamado a reinar en tantos reinos no debía despreciar el consejo de nadie que encarecidamente se lo ofreciera, y decidir luego cuál de todos convenía más seguir». Tres décadas más tarde, el conde Guillermo de Nassau, hermano y heredero del favorito de Carlos, «mon Henri», admitía que el emperador había seguido el consejo de Erasmo, eligiendo a sus ministros «sin tener en

cuenta sus orígenes familiares, riquezas o tierras»; en apoyo de lo cual podría haber citado como ejemplo las trayectorias de Adriano de Utrecht, Francisco de los Cobos, Pedro de la Gasca, Gonzalo Pérez y muchos otros que habían pasado de la oscuridad a desempeñar un papel destacado al servicio de Carlos.[59]

Cómo empeorar las cosas

Nassau también manifestó una importante queja: según le dijo a un colega francés, «los que quieran servir al emperador deben ahora ser españoles: solo escoge a gente de nuestra nación [alemanes] en caso de necesidad o en interés de sus objetivos».[60] Sería fácil descartar este testimonio por su sesgo —al fin y al cabo, el conde había perdido el favor imperial por haber apoyado a la Liga de Esmalcalda—, pero las propias acciones de Carlos lo avalaron. En 1523, unos diplomáticos ingleses señalaron que por entonces Carlos consultaba «con los grandes señores de España» todos los días (añadiendo, «la verdad es que hasta ahora nunca les había pedido ningún consejo»); una década después, la mayoría de los integrantes del círculo más íntimo de Carlos procedían de España, y en 1540 le confió a su hermano que «No puedo sostenerme si no es por mis reinos de España».[61] El mismo giro se produjo en lo personal. A partir de que Jean Glapion dejara de estar a su servicio en 1522, Carlos solo eligió como confesores suyos a españoles; y mientras que en 1522-1523 confió a sus tres hijas ilegítimas al cuidado de neerlandeses, en 1550 puso a su hijo, el futuro don Juan de Austria, en manos de un español.[62]

Nassau también estaba en lo cierto respecto a la falta de asesores alemanes de Carlos. Aunque varios miembros de su familia se casaron con destacados príncipes alemanes —el segundo marido de Germana de Foix fue el margrave de Brandeburgo, su sobrina Dorotea se casó con el elector Federico

del Palatinado y dos de las hijas de Fernando hicieron lo propio con los duques de Cleves y de Baviera—, el emperador no llegó a formar un equipo de dirigentes alemanes comprometido con su proyecto. Tampoco, y esto es igual de grave, llegó a contar con un cuadro de ministros que fueran competentes en asuntos alemanes. Así, a finales de 1541, mientras se esforzaba por resolver las divisiones religiosas en Alemania, como el secretario Obernberger estaba enfermo y «no hay nadie aquí para traducir dichas instrucciones al alemán», se vio obligado a enviar a su principal negociador «una hoja en blanco con su firma para que dichas instrucciones puedan introducirse más tarde». El coste de estos errores no tardó en evidenciarse. En mayo de 1542 Fernando señaló que un documento firmado por Carlos, cuando clausuró la Dieta de Ratisbona el año anterior, hacía concesiones sin precedentes, especialmente la tolerancia con el luteranismo incluso en tierras gobernadas por católicos. Cuando Carlos pidió una explicación, Obernberger «me dijo que los documentos llegaron a sus manos listos para su firma, con la aprobación de los miembros del consejo que entonces estaban encargados de ellos. Por tanto, confiando en que eran conforme a lo que debían ser, y dado que estaban en alemán, los firmé sin leerlos primero». Y se lamentaba de que «no puedo revocar estas concesiones porque no tengo una copia» y seguía sin contar con «un secretario capaz de escribir en latín o en alemán».[63] No es de extrañar que tantas de sus medidas en el Sacro Imperio Romano fracasaran.

Carlos también toleraba unas insólitas carencias lingüísticas en algunos de sus principales ministros. En 1520, los embajadores de Carlos en Inglaterra, uno de procedencia española y el otro neerlandesa, se disculpaban por escribir mensajes confidenciales en textos sin codificar: «aunque tenemos órdenes de que todo lo referente a cuestiones importantes debe ir codificado, en este momento no sabemos

cómo hacerlo, y nuestro secretario no sabe leer en francés». Veinte años más tarde, Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela, que se manejaba con fluidez en alemán y en latín, además de en su lengua materna, el francés, pedía perdón a Los Cobos porque «no va esta [carta] de my mano por no saber escrevir esta lengua» (el español), por lo que añadía una larga posdata ológrafa en francés. Tres años después, el hijo mayor de Granvela, el barón Chantonnay, encargado de una delicada misión diplomática, también se disculpaba ante Los Cobos por sus limitaciones lingüísticas: «Supplico Vuestra Señoría perdone la poca plática de la habla castellana, y menor en escrevir», y no hablaba en broma, porque su carta comenzaba diciendo «Aviendo Vuestra Señoría de sçabar todo lo que aqua ha passado con el Rey».[64]

No obstante, todos estos actos fueron por omisión: Carlos también empeoró las cosas para sí debido a determinados actos cometidos por él. El primero fue su incapacidad para perdonar y olvidar los errores, un defecto que Jean Glapion, su confesor, ya detectó en 1521, y que pronto se haría evidente en la incesante persecución de los comuneros y agermanados que se habían rebelado contra él. Igualmente implacable se mostró con los rebeldes en los Países Bajos, Alemania y el Perú, pese a que en cada caso su severidad le generó camarillas de enemigos que dedicaron todo su tiempo a planear su venganza. Carlos no tenía ningún escrúpulo en este sentido. Al enterarse de los disturbios y saqueos ocurridos en Bruselas en 1531, le ordenó a su hermana María «castigar a los viles amotinados de forma que otros puedan tomar buena nota». Y cuando ella protestó ante su excesivo rigor, él respondió: «Pensarás, y con razón, que me estoy vengando, pero no voy a disculparme». Los sospechosos, por tanto, continuaron siendo arrestados, juzgados y ejecutados, a menudo tras ser torturados, durante cuatro años más.[65] Carlos también podía comportarse cruelmente con quienes no eran sus

súbditos. El ejemplo más notorio quizá sea el trato tan mezquino que dio a los dos príncipes franceses que el rey Francisco dejó como rehenes en garantía del cumplimiento del Tratado de Madrid, prohibiéndoles salir de caza ni recibir visitas de Francia, y tolerando que fueran vestidos con andrajos, lo que llevó a su tía Margarita a comentar desaprobatoriamente: «Tales mancebos príncipes sin culpa no han de pagar la pena de las enemistades de sus padres».[66]

Las mentiras de Carlos también le crearon muchos problemas, aunque probablemente él habría negado esta acusación, ya que en cierta ocasión le aseguró a su hermano Fernando que «siempre tengo especial cuidado en mantener mi palabra, incluso cuando ello me obliga a perder magníficas oportunidades en mi beneficio personal».[67] Si Carlos realmente lo creía así, debió de tener una memoria sumamente selectiva, porque por lo general mentía cuando le convenía, incluso a sus familiares más cercanos. Creó un mundo ficticio en torno a su madre la reina Juana, y engañó tanto a Fernando como a su hermana Leonor respecto a los planes que tenía para ellos. También mentía sobre sus intenciones y sus actos. Por ejemplo, en 1541 juró solemnemente, «por el alma de la emperatriz, que no sabía nada del paradero de Rincón y Fregoso» pese a las abundantes pruebas de que no solo fue consciente de que sus funcionarios habían asesinado a ambos diplomáticos, sino que tomó medidas para proteger a los que perpetraron el hecho de sufrir cualquier consecuencia legal. Una década más tarde, pese a haber prometido no condenar a Felipe de Hesse a cadena perpetua, Carlos decidió en secreto aumentar su condena por otros quince años, lo que, dado que el landgrave ya tenía 46, implicaba probablemente que muriera en prisión. Cada una de estas mentiras tuvo consecuencias. Francisco utilizó el asesinato de sus embajadores como justificación para declarar la guerra a Carlos; el mantenimiento del landgrave en prisión contribuyó a

que Mauricio de Sajonia decidiera sublevarse. En algunos casos, las consecuencias duraron siglos. En 1576 Jean Bodin señaló «el vil y sucio asesinato de Fregoso y Rincón» como una infame violación del derecho internacional en *Seis libros de la República*; y muchos expertos sobre derecho internacional se hicieron eco de sus críticas. En 1799, cuando dos de sus diplomáticos fueron asesinados en Austria de camino a una conferencia de paz, el gobierno francés calificó el crimen como una «alarmante extensión de las atrocidades con las que la Casa de Habsburgo ha conmocionado a Europa desde que Carlos V sentó el precedente de colocarse por encima de la ley para ordenar el asesinato de los embajadores que el rey de Francia había enviado a Venecia y Constantinopla».[68]

Grandes estrategias imperiales

«Escribo los hechos famosos de un siglo inquieto» eran las palabras con las que empezaba la *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, de fray Prudencio de Sandoval, descendiente de los marqueses de Denia, encargado de la custodia de la reina Juana y emparentado con el duque de Lerma, ministro principal de Felipe III (a quien dedicó la *Historia*). Sandoval lo afirmaba así mediante «hechos»:

> Digo los Imperios, las coronas, los cetros estimados y gloriosos de la vanidad del mundo. Refiero las guerras, las muertes de quinientos mil hombres, los mejores del orbe; las armas continuas de cincuenta años; las prisiones de reyes; el saco de Roma; los desacatos hechos a lo humano, sin perdonar lo divino; los desafíos coléricos y palabras pesadas entre los príncipes; las ligas, contratos, juramentos, amistades reales de diversas maneras violadas; los intereses, las ambiciones, las invidias mortales en los más altos y reales corazones; las voluntades fingidas; el confederarse unos con turcos, otros con herejes, vencidos del odio y por vengar sus pasiones; los incendios de los pueblos y campos; derramamientos de sangre que con rabia infernal hubo entre la gente común cuando sus príncipes se hacían cruda guerra, siendo tantos males causa principal para que la gente vil y ordinaria se levantase contra Dios y su Iglesia, sembrando en el mundo mil desatinos.[69]

El resumen era excelente, aunque no hacía del todo justicia a la novedad de la situación estratégica en la que se encontraba Carlos. Gobernantes anteriores de Alemania habían sido atacados por los franceses, pero ninguno se había enfrentado simultáneamente a una amenaza exterior por parte de los turcos y a un desafío dentro de sus propios dominios en el ámbito interior por parte de los protestantes, como le ocurrió a Carlos a partir de 1520. También se enfrentaba a enemigos más poderosos y capaces —a saber, Solimán, Francisco y Lutero— que sus sucesores.

No obstante, como Jane Burbank y Frederick Cooper nos recuerdan en su magnífico estudio *Imperios. Una nueva visión de la Historia universal*, «El imperio fue una forma de Estado extraordinariamente duradera… En comparación, la nación-estado parece apenas un incidente pasajero en el horizonte histórico, una forma de Estado emergida en épocas recientes bajo los cielos imperiales y cuya influencia en la imaginación política del mundo sería solo parcial o transitoria». Por otra parte, «Los imperios no eran todos iguales; creaban, adoptaban y transmitían diversos repertorios de gobierno»; y «un repertorio imperial no era un libro de recetas mágicas ni una fórmula de gobierno predeterminada. Frente a los problemas que se les presentaban cada día, los imperios improvisaban».[70] Para enfrentarse a los «hechos famosos» enumerados por Sandoval, Carlos se basaba en un repertorio imperial compuesto de tres estrategias generales: la conquista y el matrimonio endogámico para expandirse, y la negativa absoluta a entregar ninguna posesión, cualquiera que fuera la forma en que fue adquirida.

Aunque la conquista fue la clave de la expansión de los dominios americanos de Carlos, en el resto de los lugares fueron muy pocos los territorios que adquirió mediante el uso de la fuerza (solo Tournai, Güeldres y Milán en Europa, y Túnez en África): casi todas sus adquisiciones importantes se produjeron

gracias a una tenaz política de «imperialismo matrimonial» o, más exactamente, incestuoso: el matrimonio entre miembros de la misma familia a lo largo de varias generaciones y entre un grupo muy reducido de dinastías. Según el eslogan humanista que se hizo popular justo a raíz de la unión de Maximiliano de Habsburgo con María de Borgoña en 1477: *Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube* (otros hacen la guerra; vosotros, felices Habsburgo, os casáis).[71] La tercera estrategia de Carlos para la construcción del imperio —«no ceder nada»— quedó perfectamente expresada en su Testamento político de 1548, donde instaba a su hijo a no desprenderse nunca de una adquisición porque «Si afloxásedes en cosa alguna desto, sería abrir camino para tornar a poner todo en controversia […] Será mucho mejor, y lo que conviene, sostenerse con todo, que dar ocasión a ser forzado después defender el resto, y ponerlo en aventura de perderse».[72]

La combinación por parte de Carlos de conquista y endogamia resultó extraordinariamente eficaz en el corto e incluso en el medio plazo (dado que allanó el camino a su hijo para la unificación de España y Portugal), pero también introdujo tres desventajas a largo plazo. En primer lugar, algunos de los territorios adquiridos a través del matrimonio endogámico estaban muy lejos del centro del gobierno, por lo que resultaban difíciles de defender, dando lugar a prolongadas guerras que se saldaron con costes económicos y humanos muy altos para el imperio en general. Por otro lado, cada nuevo territorio, fuera cual fuera la manera en la que fue adquirido, aportaba no solo prestigio, recursos y oportunidades, sino también unas rivalidades estratégicas y agendas políticas propias. Por último, y más grave, la endogamia redujo drásticamente el patrimonio genético: don Carlos (muerto en 1568) y Carlos II (muerto en 1700), cada uno de los cuales solo había tenido seis bisabuelos, en vez de dieciséis como sería lo normal, presentaban

el mismo «coeficiente de consanguinidad» que descendencia endogámica entre hermanos o entre un progenitor y su hijo o hija. La conducta errática y violenta del primero llevó a su padre a encarcelarle hasta su muerte; el segundo —ignorante, incoherente e impotente— fue el último de la dinastía.[73]

El imperialismo matrimonial de Carlos tuvo consecuencias diplomáticas además de biológicas. Dio lugar a una hegemonía inaceptable para la comunidad internacional. La historia política de Europa occidental durante las dos décadas siguientes giró en torno a los intentos por dividir el legado acumulado por Carlos V. Como apuntó el historiador polaco Waldyslaw Pochieca, la elección imperial en 1519 marcó un punto de inflexión en la historia europea: «el punto en el que mantener el equilibrio de poder en Europa se convirtió en el problema determinante de la política occidental».[74] Como (de forma algo desconsiderada) apuntaba un documento de consejo dirigido al rey de España al final del siglo:

> Es de advertir que aquel reino [Francia] está pegado a todos los de Vuestra Magestad, de la corona de Aragón, de Navarra, de Guipúzcoa, del estado de Milán, y de Flandes; de manera que, siendo éstos las cabezas, brazos y pies de Vuestra Magestad, si con ellos quisiésemos formar un cuerpo entero, viene el Francés a tener el lugar de corazón por el suyo.[75]

Desde la elección de Carlos como rey de Romanos en 1519 hasta el final de la guerra de sucesión española casi dos siglos después, el principal objetivo de la política exterior francesa fue acabar con el dominio de los Habsburgo. Al parecer, Carlos nunca llegó a entenderlo: en su arenga pronunciada en Roma en 1536, por ejemplo, presentaba las relaciones de Maximiliano y él con Francia como una interminable letanía de ataques injustificados.

El imperio de Carlos también hizo que los papas se sintieran acorralados. Sus territorios rodeaban los Estados Pontificios de la Italia central —Cerdeña al oeste, Nápoles y Sicilia al sur,

Milán y otros feudos imperiales al norte— y Roma dependía de las exportaciones de grano de Sicilia, en tanto que todo su comercio por mar y tierra estaba a la merced de los enclaves Habsburgo que le rodeaban. El apoyo del Papa a las cruzadas de Carlos, ya fueran emprendidas contra los infieles del Mediterráneo o Hungría o contra los herejes de Alemania, tendía a ser silencioso por temor a que el éxito imperial pudiera reforzar el control de la dinastía sobre los Estados Pontificios. Este era otro dilema que Carlos, al igual que Maximiliano, no llegó a entender jamás: en 1548, se quejaba con amargura a Felipe de lo mal que le habían tratado los Papas. Pero ¿cuál era la alternativa? Nadie llegó a proponer seriamente que Carlos renunciara a la Corona imperial en 1519, porque el honor recaería entonces en su rival francés; y él difícilmente podía declinar el dinero procedente de las políticas matrimoniales tan cuidadosamente diseñadas por sus antepasados. El único debate serio sobre sacrificar territorios a cambio de paz —«la alternativa» de 1544— puso de manifiesto que los distintos consejeros del emperador nunca se pondrían de acuerdo sobre qué parte debía entregar.

El balance del reinado

En el invierno de 1550-1551, el veterano diplomático francés Charles de Marillac se sentó a explicar a su señor «las causas de la grandeza» del emperador, en aquel momento en su apogeo. De ellas destacó tres, siendo «la primera y principal los errores cometidos por aquellos con quienes tuvo que tratar», especialmente los franceses. Aunque no daba detalles —solo escribió que «nos retiramos cuando debíamos haber avanzado y actuamos demasiado deprisa cuando debíamos haber esperado»—, varias razones se vienen enseguida a la mente: sobre todo, que si Francisco no se hubiera conducido tan precipitadamente durante el asedio de Pavía en 1525, es difícil imaginar cómo habría podido sobrevivir el ejército imperial

como fuerza de combate; y que si hubiera prestado ayuda militar a la Liga de Esmalcalda en 1546, resulta también difícil imaginar cómo habría podido Carlos derrotar a los protestantes alemanes tan fácilmente. «La segunda causa de su grandeza», continuaba Marillac, era la capacidad de Carlos para «crear disensiones entre aliados poniendo de su parte a los que le eran favorables» y «sembrando dudas sobre lealtades entre sus enemigos, de modo que no sintieran tantos deseos de atacarle» (a este respecto citaba a «Borbón, Andrea Doria, el marqués de Saluzzo, y mil más» en el caso de Francia). Por último, Marillac afirmaba que Carlos también había triunfado «haciendo creer al mundo que era un príncipe piadoso y honorable, haciendo más fácil confiar en él»; y, «cuando alguna de sus acciones es mal vista, la culpa recae en sus ministros, ya que nadie piensa que pueda proceder de un príncipe piadoso como él». Pero, alertaba indignado el embajador, «Esto es pura hipocresía», y ofrecía numerosos ejemplos: haber permitido el saqueo de Roma; quedarse, contra toda justicia, Navarra, Milán, Piacenza y Utrecht; hacer desaparecer a la república florentina; construir ciudadelas en Siena y Cambrai; no aprovechar su triunfo sobre la Liga de Esmalcalda para erradicar el protestantismo y recuperar las tierras secularizadas; abandonar a sus propios parientes, como Cristián de Dinamarca y Catalina de Aragón.[76]

Marillac tenía razón al resaltar estos factores negativos en el éxito de Carlos, pero omitió varios factores positivos, como el papel desempeñado por el azar. Aparte de los hechos políticos y militares en los que la fortuna pareció favorecer a Carlos (como Pavía), la compleja sucesión de matrimonios, nacimientos y muertes habida entre 1488 y 1509 (que culminó con la muerte del único hijo del matrimonio de Fernando de Aragón con Germana de Foix) también intervino para dejar al joven duque de Luxemburgo como único heredero de los cuatro estados hasta entonces separados. De haber resultado distinta alguna de

estas cosas, Carlos habría gobernado en muchos menos territorios.[77] La fortuna también protegió la vida de Carlos en ciertos momentos críticos. Sobrevivió al menos a dos complots de asesinato: en 1546 «tres italianos prometieron al rey de Francia que en un plazo de cuatro meses matarían al emperador»; y al año siguiente, «un soldado alemán borracho apuntó con su arcabuz a Carlos y disparó», errando el tiro.[78] La forma de ser de Carlos en algunos aspectos también le ponía con frecuencia en peligro: numerosos testigos comentaron su imprudente exposición al fuego enemigo en Túnez, Argel, Ingolstadt y otros lugares, y las numerosas caídas de caballo que sufrió. Según la narración de don Martín de Salinas, cuando Carlos cabalgó a toda prisa de Barcelona a Tordesillas en 1537, «No tuvo trabajo ninguno, aunque hubo alguna caída como es de costumbre a los que corren postas». Una caída de caballo causó la muerte de su abuela, María de Borgoña, pero en el caso de Carlos su accidente más grave se produjo cuando, yendo de caza en 1532, su caballo le tiró y se golpeó las piernas con una roca.[79]

Desde luego, la suerte podría haber favorecido a Carlos aún más: si Francisco hubiera sido asesinado en Pavía, como estuvo a punto de ocurrir, dejando un sucesor de seis años de edad; si Gattinara hubiera vivido solo unos meses más y hubiera podido llegar a supervisar la mediación entre católicos y protestantes en la Dieta de Augsburgo en 1530; si Carlos hubiera desembarcado sus fuerzas en Argel solo unos días antes y conquistado, por tanto, la ciudad antes de que las tormentas diezmaran sus tropas y su flota; si María Tudor hubiera vivido tanto como su hermana Isabel y hubiera muerto en 1587 (o incluso tanto como su madre y hubiera fallecido en 1567) en lugar de en 1558, y de este modo le hubiera dado tiempo a volver a hacer católica a Inglaterra para siempre; si él mismo hubiera muerto o abdicado en 1550, habiendo derrotado a todos sus enemigos, su

fama habría sido insuperable. El magistrado protestante Bartolomaus Sastrow interrumpió sus memorias después de describir la Dieta Armada 1547-1548 para «considerar la buena y la mala fortuna del emperador Carlos».

> Que mis hijos conozcan el gran éxito conseguido por el emperador y cómo en la cima de su prosperidad, cuando todo iba saliendo según sus deseos, pensó que podía romper su promesa de no hacer nada en contra de la confesión de Augsburgo. Por amor al Papa, su Majestad se planteó atacar el firme alcázar de Lutero [D. Luthers Veste Burg].
>
> A partir de ese momento, la gran suerte de la que había gozado el emperador tornó en desdicha y todas sus empresas fracasaron.[80]

La suerte también pudo haber favorecido menos a Carlos, por supuesto. Como William Bouwsma comentó en su conferencia titulada «La ansiedad y la formación de los principios de la cultura moderna»: «Todos los hombres pueden sentir ansia; pero por lo general se observa que unos son más ansiosos que otros, tanto individualmente como en grupo»; él detectó un aumento de la ansiedad a principios del siglo XVI relacionado con todas las actividades humanas significativas. «La política era un juego peligroso, la búsqueda de la riqueza implicaba grandes riesgos, los amigos engañaban, se producían traiciones dentro de la propia familia, los amantes podían infligir profundas heridas, la sabiduría de los libros podía desorientar y confundir».[81] No es que Carlos corriera peligro de que los libros le llevaran a engaño, dado que leía muy pocos. Francesco Sansovino, un hombre de letras italiano, escribió en 1567 que el emperador «disfrutaba leyendo solo tres libros, que él había traducido del italiano», a saber: *El Cortesano*, de Castiglione; la *Historia*, de Polibio, y *El príncipe* y *Los Discursos*, de Maquiavelo. La licencia emitida por Carlos en 1550 para una traducción al español del último volumen así lo confirma: Carlos se había enterado de que Juan Lorenzo Otevante, un librero florentino que vivía en Valladolid, «sabiendo que nos para nuestra recreación leemos algunas vezes en un libro intitulado *Los Discursos* de Nicolao Machiaveli, que

está escripto en lengua toscana, y por ser muy útil y provechoso para cualquier príncipe, le habíades traducido en lengua castellana», dedicándoselo al príncipe Felipe.[82] Para entonces, Carlos sabía más de gobierno de lo que cualquier libro podía enseñarle: había gobernado un imperio mundial durante cuatro décadas, el doble de tiempo que había durado la experiencia de Maquiavelo al servicio de una pequeña ciudad-estado (pese a lo cual lo echó todo por la borda en 1551-1552).

El éxito nunca es definitivo

En un magistral ensayo sobre Carlos publicado en 1966, Fernand Braudel elaboró un balance del reinado (como suele ser habitual, tras afirmar que era imposible hacerlo: «el éxito, el fracaso: ¿qué significaban estos términos en aquel entonces?). «Más que hablar de vencedores o vencidos», Braudel invitaba a sus lectores a imaginar al emperador inmerso en una «larga y difícil partida de ajedrez internacional, y tratar de ponernos en el lugar del jugador». Destacaba que «era una partida de ajedrez que no seguía las reglas normales», porque Carlos se enfrentaba a múltiples enemigos —los franceses, los turcos, los protestantes alemanes— y estos determinaban muchos de sus movimientos, obligándole a elegir dónde ir, dónde gastar dinero y dónde atacar. «Si, no obstante, tuviéramos que hacer un balance», para cuando se produjo la abdicación del emperador, Braudel opinaba que su política mediterránea había fracasado en gran medida: contra Francia, ni había ganado ni había perdido; claramente, en Italia había ganado y aparentemente en Inglaterra y en los Países Bajos también; y había logrado que su hijo no heredara un problema en Alemania. Además, tal vez sin darse cuenta y sin que él hubiera hecho mucho por conseguirlo, había triunfado en América. No obstante, advertía Braudel, «La política es como la tela de Penélope: no acaba nunca». Dos

meses después de la muerte de Carlos, Felipe dejó de ser rey de Inglaterra; pasados seis, Francia pactó una paz humillante (y duradera); pasados diez años, comenzó la Revuelta holandesa.[83]

Este veredicto hoy en día parece demasiado pesimista. Debemos tener en cuenta el comentario de Wim Blockman de que Carlos ejerció «más poder durante casi 40 años del que ha ejercido nunca ningún otro soberano europeo durante tanto tiempo», lo que de por sí constituye un gran logro. Por otra parte, aunque no consiguió legar todos sus territorios a su hijo como era su deseo, todos permanecieron bajo dominio Habsburgo; y aunque tampoco consiguió erradicar el luteranismo, sí alcanzó a limitar y ralentizar su propagación, reduciendo de este modo la volatilidad del mundo que le rodeaba, y lo hizo manteniéndose fiel a sus principios. Su furiosa reacción al enterarse, al final de su vida, de que la herejía había conseguido arraigar en España recuerda su declaración ante la Dieta de Worms el día después de haberse enfrentado a Lutero, en 1521: «Estoy completamente decidido a dedicar mis reinos y señoríos, mis amigos, mi cuerpo, mi sangre, mi vida y mi alma» a combatir la herejía, porque permitir que «la herejía o una merma de la religión cristiana se instale en el corazón de los hombres por negligencia nuestra acarrearía una eterna deshonra para nosotros y nuestros sucesores». En ese momento fue la misma personificación del «caballero determinado» al que tanto admiraba.[84]

Michèle Escamilla, uno de los pocos historiadores modernos aparte de Braudel que ha hecho un «balance del reinado», sugería que «dado que un balance global completo es evidentemente muy difícil de hacer, a lo más que podemos aspirar es a establecer una serie de balances por región… Países Bajos, Alemania, Austria, Italia, España», aunque reconocía el riesgo de que la subjetividad podía desvirtuar los resultados.[85] En su tierra de nacimiento, pese a que sus constantes exigencias

fiscales consumían muchos recursos y dieron lugar a algunas rebeliones, su gradual adquisición de provincias al este de las que había heredado trajo consigo una nueva unidad política y una mejora de la capacidad defensiva. Lo más probable es que un gobernante con menos recursos no hubiera logrado proteger los Países Bajos borgoñones de las arremetidas de Francia: Carlos fue por tanto el fundador de los tres países del actual Benelux.[86]

Llegado el momento de su abdicación, Alemania se encontraba en un estado muy distinto a cuando él hizo su primera entrada en ella en 1520, en gran parte (como Friedrich Edelmayer ha apuntado) debido a «el problema religioso. Los problemas restantes, con los que el Sacro Imperio se vio confrontado durante esos [36] años, se relacionaron de una u otra manera a la Reforma luterana o fueron influenciados por ella». Su decisión en 1530-1531 de apoyar la elección de su hermano Fernando en lugar de su hijo Felipe como rey de Romanos y por tanto como su sucesor al título de emperador presagiaba la división de sus dominios. Pese a las agrias discusiones con Fernando en 1550-1551, Carlos no consiguió evitarlo, y su hermano se aprovechó de la rebelión de 1552 para convencer tanto a los gobernantes católicos como luteranos para que abandonaran su objetivo profeso de restaurar la uniformidad religiosa en el Imperio. A partir de 1555, pasó a ser un estado pluriconfesional con un frágil equilibrio entre los dos bloques rivales: el primero de este tipo que ha existido en el mundo.[87]

Del mismo modo, Italia cambió drásticamente durante el reinado de Carlos. Los tratados de paz negociados por Gattinara en 1529 acabaron con las guerras internas que habían asolado la península durante décadas y también fueron eficaces para poner fin a las reclamaciones francesas sobre Nápoles. Seis años después el emperador siguió el consejo de su canciller y retuvo el

ducado de Milán para sí cuando se extinguiera su dinastía local, y posteriormente decretó que el ducado sería heredado, junto con España y el resto de la Italia española, por su hijo Felipe, y no por Fernando. Esto trajo consigo que la lucha entre Francia y España se desarrollara principalmente en el norte de Italia, causando una extensa devastación.

España, y en especial Castilla, también pagaron un alto precio por reconocer a Carlos como su rey. Por un lado, aunque él se autodenominaba «Rey de las Españas», en realidad fue el primer monarca desde la época visigoda en gobernar toda España, desempeñando por tanto un papel clave en avanzar el proceso de unificación iniciado por sus predecesores Trastámara. Por otro, Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora ha sugerido que los impuestos votados por las Cortes de Castilla se triplicaron durante el reinado de Carlos, produciendo en total 11 millones de ducados, pese a lo cual dejó enormes deudas que obligarían a su hijo a declarar una suspensión de pagos justo antes de acceder al trono. Además, en torno al 95 por ciento «del dinero recaudado en las ciudades y en los campos de Castilla [acababa] en manos de los banqueros de Augsburgo, de Génova y de Flandes, siempre para devolver préstamos que el emperador Carlos V tomaba para financiar una política frecuentemente ajena a los intereses de quienes pagaban».[88]

El llamamiento del emperador a tomar medidas extremas contra todos aquellos acusados de herejía también afectó profundamente a España. El 7 de septiembre de 1558, la princesa Juana firmó una proclamación que ordenaba que «No se imprima ni tenga ningún libro de los reprobados por el Santo Oficio»; «No se imprima en este reino ningún libro sin licencia del Consejo»; y «No se comuniquen libros no impresos».[89] Al año siguiente, el inquisidor general Fernando de Valdés publicó un *Cathalogus* de libros prohibidos de casi 700 títulos, de los cuales casi la mitad estaban escritos en lenguas vernáculas, y en

el que se incluían obras de Bartolomé Carranza, Jean Glapion y Francisco de Borja —todos ellos miembros del círculo más íntimo de Carlos—, así como todas las obras de Lutero y demás reformistas, y «todos y cualquieres sermones, cartas, tractados, oraciones o otra cualquier escriptura de mano que hable o tracte de la Sagrada Escriptura o de los sacramentos».[90] El clima de miedo e incertidumbre que esto creó provocó la huida de varios autores cuyas obras aparecían en el Índice, incluido Borja, que había estado en Tordesillas para mejorar las devociones religiosas de la reina Juana y también en Yuste para consolar a Carlos. El emperador llegó incluso a nombrarle albacea de su testamento, pese a lo cual huyó a Portugal en 1559, y cuando dos años después fue llamado a Roma, consideró prudente atravesar España de incógnito por el miedo a que pudiera ser puesto en cautividad como Carranza.[91]

La avalancha de detenciones y acusaciones hizo que nadie en España, ni clérigo ni laico, se atreviera a expresar ninguna opinión sobre religión. En palabras del conde de Feria: «lo de allá [España] anda de mala manera, porque ha de venir la cosa que no sepamos cuáles se han de tener por cristianos o cuáles por herejes». En adelante, opinaba, «es mejor callar».[92] Las duras medidas de 1558-1559 ciertamente impidieron que la práctica del protestantismo en España se extendiera —la circulación de libros heréticos sería en adelante escasa y, aunque la Inquisición continuó con su enérgica persecución de los protestantes, casi todos eran extranjeros—, pero también impidieron, en gran parte, la innovación intelectual.

En la América española, Carlos no ostenta más responsabilidad que otros europeos en el drástico descenso de la población nativa durante las décadas siguientes al primer contacto; pero sus políticas sí garantizaron que la metrópolis nunca perdiera el control sobre los súbditos y vasallos que quedaron. Castigó implacablemente a los hombres que habían

forjado un imperio para él, incluidos Hernán Cortés y los hermanos Pizarro. Como Roger Merriman comentó en su clásico estudio sobre el emperador:

> No pudo colaborar permanentemente con estos hombres, como tampoco un jugador de *bridge* que sigue métodos conservadores hace buena pareja con quien continuamente está corriendo riesgos. La política de los Habsburgo españoles fue casi siempre apostar sobre seguro; tenían todo que perder y nada que ganar. Los conquistadores, por otra parte, tomaban decisiones sumamente temerarias: tenían todo que ganar y nada que perder.

Una vez le consiguieron un imperio, Carlos los eliminó, proporcionando a sus ministros pleno acceso a los recursos del continente, que él utilizaba para financiar la consecución de sus objetivos dinásticos.[93]

El mayor fracaso de Carlos radicó en otra cosa. No hizo nada por poner solución a la principal debilidad de su legado: las consecuencias de la endogamia. No parece que nunca llegara a preguntarse si el hecho de que como mínimo en cinco embarazos Isabel no llegara a alumbrar un hijo sano podía deberse a la defectuosa fertilidad que a menudo obedece al matrimonio entre parientes muy cercanos *(véase figura 3)*. Sin embargo, los ejemplos de dichos riesgos eran abundantes, sobre todo el de la grave crisis dinástica generada para los propios familiares de la emperatriz, la Casa de Avis, entre 1537 y 1540, con la muerte de cuatro de los hermanos del rey Juan III, incluida la emperatriz, y también cuatro de sus hijos. Esto dejó de heredero al trono portugués al príncipe Juan, un niño que, a la edad de tres años, «hasta agora no habla; oye y entiende bien. Creen que *si vive* que muy presto hablará», pero «tan flaquito» que todos pensaban «que ha de ser la sucesora la señora infanta», María Manuela. Y ¿cómo abordó esta crisis la dinastía? El rey Juan delegó en su esposa, Catalina, hermana de Carlos —«se le entregando en todo y asi no ay cosa chica ny grande que no pase todo por sus manos»—, y esta dispuso el matrimonio de María Manuela por un lado, y del príncipe Juan por otro, con dos

«primos dobles»: los hijos de Carlos, Felipe y Juana. Cada pareja tuvo solo un hijo —don Carlos y el rey Sebastián—, los cuales mostraron graves síntomas de desequilibrio mental y murieron sin descendencia.[94]

Los contemporáneos que prudentemente advirtieron de los potenciales peligros de esta endogamia fueron ignorados. En 1568, el papa Pío V se negó a conceder la dispensa necesaria para el matrimonio de Felipe II con su sobrina Ana, informándole con toda intención de que «hemos visto los malos resultados que siempre se derivan de estos matrimonios entre familiares de primer grado», una referencia nada sutil a la decisión de Felipe de encarcelar a su hijo don Carlos en fechas anteriores de aquel mismo año debido a sus «defectos de la naturaleza».[95] Dos generaciones después, cuando unos diplomáticos debatían un posible matrimonio entre Luis XIV de Francia y su prima María Teresa de España, uno de ellos informó de que «la charla derivó hacia los perros de caza, y yo dije con una sonrisa que nuestros señores eran parientes muy cercanos y que los cazadores reconocían que si quieres tener perros fuertes debes mezclar pedigrís».[96] De nuevo estas reservas fueron ignoradas: el matrimonio se celebró y (al igual que en el matrimonio endogámico entre los Habsburgo y los Avis) volvió a saldarse con éxito, porque en 1700 el nieto de Luis frustró un último intento por parte de los Habsburgo austriacos de unificar el imperio de Carlos.

Ni siquiera la unión permanente de los Tudor y los Habsburgo habría solucionado este problema: la petición de una dispensa papal para que Carlos se casara con Isabel de Portugal especificaba que no difería mucho de la requerida para casarse con María Tudor.[97] Una mejor gestión podría haber retrasado la fragmentación de su imperio, pero nada salvo abandonar la, de otro modo exitosa, estrategia dinástica de imperialismo

matrimonial podría haberlo evitado. El imperio de Carlos V, por tanto, contenía en sí mismo la semilla de su destrucción. Era, de hecho, «el imperio imposible».

Apéndices

La validez de dos de las fuentes en que se basa este libro ha sido puesta en cuestión: una es la autobiografía escrita por el emperador, y la otra, uno de los dedos arrancado de su mano. Aunque en ambos casos la cadena de procedencia hasta Carlos no está del todo clara, las pruebas disponibles avalan su autenticidad. En cambio, hay una tercera fuente sobre el emperador que otros han aceptado como auténtica y yo he rechazado por considerarla falsa: un juego de «Instrucciones Finales» redactado para su hijo Felipe en 1556. También he llegado a la conclusión de que Carlos no engendró un hijo ilegítimo durante su primera visita a España en 1517-1520, como muchos historiadores han afirmado. Mis razones para cada una de estas decisiones quedan expuestas en los cuatro apéndices que siguen.

Apéndice I. Las *Memorias* del emperador

En algún momento entre 1620 y 1791, la Biblioteca Real Francesa adquirió un manuscrito titulado «Historia do invictissimo emperador Carlos quinto, rey de Hespanha, composta por sua Mag. Cesarea […] Traduzida da lingoa francesa e do proprio original. Em Madrid. Anno 1620». Dicho manuscrito consta de 68 folios escritos con una caligrafía clara, con resúmenes temáticos en los márgenes escritos por otra mano, y abarca los años comprendidos entre 1515 y 1548. Escrito en tercera persona, al igual que la autobiografía de Gattinara y los Comentarios de Julio César, el manuscrito fue en un principio catalogado como BNF *Fonds français* 10.230, y en la actualidad como BNF *Ms. Port*. 61. ¿Es auténtico?

En 1559 Willem Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, bibliotecario de Carlos y uno de sus primeros biógrafos, afirmó categóricamente que «al igual que Cristo, Sócrates y Alejandro, nuestro emperador Carlos nunca escribió de su propia mano

Comentarios sobre sus hazañas». En su edición crítica de BNF *Ms Port* 61, publicada en 1989, Vicente Cadenas y Vicent opinaba que «*con las dudas* que se plantean, no es posible que ningún historiador pueda admitir esa traducción de un documento cuya veracidad resulta imposible de comprobar». Concretamente, «*La filigrana del papel no se identifica* con ninguna española ni portuguesa», y «la aparición del libro en París está rodeada de un espeso misterio, pues no se sabe cómo llegó hasta la Biblioteca Real».[1]

Estas objeciones son fácilmente refutables. *La filigrana del papel en la que está escrito Ms. Port. 61 se parece a una de* Perpiñán, la segunda ciudad de Cataluña, fechada en 1595; y el volumen (que en efecto había llegado a la Biblioteca Real Francesa antes de 1791, cuando pasó a ser propiedad de la República francesa, dado que muestra sellos reales) probablemente llegó en 1668, junto con un numeroso grupo de manuscritos procedentes de la colección del cardenal Mazarin, uno de los principales consejeros de la bisnieta de Carlos, la regente Ana de Austria.[2] El eminente bibliógrafo Benito Sánchez Alonso sugirió que el manuscrito había sido escrito en Madrid en 1620 para don Manuel de Moura, marqués de Castel Rodrigo, y que Mazarin lo adquirió junto con otros varios manuscritos de la colección de Castel Rodrigo, actualmente en la BNF.[3] La aseveración de Snouckaert van Schouwenburg de que «Carlos nunca escribió de su propia mano Comentarios sobre sus hazañas» queda definitivamente refutada por una carta posterior escrita por el ayuda de cámara del emperador, Guillaume van Male: «Durante su tiempo libre, mientras navegaba siguiendo el curso ascendente del Rin», en junio de 1550, «el emperador se dispuso a escribir sobre sus viajes y campañas desde el año 1515 hasta ahora». Van Male afirmó que, aunque él había aportado «textos y sugerencias», el emperador escribía en gran medida de memoria y que, todavía

con la ayuda de Van Male, revisó su autobiografía durante su estancia en Augsburgo más avanzado aquel año.[4] José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero ha sugerido que esta empresa formaba parte de un «magno proyecto autobiográfico», tal vez inspirada en los diversos proyectos de autoengrandecimiento llevados a cabo por su abuelo Maximiliano, pero que fue abandonada tras el doble desastre de la huida de Innsbruck y el fracaso ante Metz.[5]

Un billete insertado al comienzo de BNF *Ms. Port.* 61 revela que Carlos se llevó consigo sus *Memorias* a Innsbruck en 1551, pero se las envió a su hijo a España en la primavera siguiente, cuando temía que un ejército protestante alemán pudiera capturarle, o si no a él, al menos su biblioteca.[6] El emperador podía haber intentado retomar el trabajo sobre sus *Memorias* en Yuste, porque su pequeña biblioteca de allí contenía un insólito número de obras históricas y porque, además, entre sus pocos visitantes, se contaban dos historiadores: Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y don Luis de Ávila. Pero, de ser así, la súbita aparición de su última enfermedad frustró sus planes. El emperador en efecto tenía con él su manuscrito en Yuste, porque Van Male se quejaba pesaroso de que cuando su maestro murió «le huviesse quitado Luis Quixada quasi por fuerça las *Memorias* que había hecho con Su Majestad». El Inventario Postmórtem de los bienes de Carlos mencionaba: «Vna bolsa de terçiopelo negro de papeles la qual llebó el señor Luys Quijada con algunos papeles de ynportançia sellados para entregallo todo a Su Magestad Real, lo qual estaba a cargo de Guillermo Miguel Lineo» (sic: por «Malineo»).[7]

Es evidente que Felipe II confió las *Memorias* a Francisco de Eraso, que había servido tanto a Carlos como a su hijo, porque en 1569 Juan Páez de Castro, un protegido de Van Male y cronista real, lamentaba ante un colega que «Yo supliqué a Su Magestad fuese servido que yo viese lo que el emperador escribió

de las causas que tuvo por todas sus guerras y principalmente para la de Alemania. Respondióme que era contento y que para esto hablase con Eraso».[8] Es posible que el rey enviara posteriormente las *Memorias* de su padre a El Escorial, porque una lista de manuscritos relacionados con Carlos en el siglo XVII incluía uno titulado «Su historia en francés»; pero, después de esto, el texto original de las *Memorias* de Carlos desapareció.[9] Resurgió en Madrid en 1620, cuando alguien encargó una traducción al portugués, y luego volvieron a verse en 1860, cuando el erudito belga barón Kervijn de Lettenhove se topó con el texto portugués durante una visita de investigación a París.

Consciente del valor singular de su hallazgo, dos años más tarde Kervijn publicó unas ediciones en francés, y aunque con numerosos errores, su texto apareció inmediatamente en traducciones al inglés, al español y al alemán.[10] En 1913, Alfred Morel-Fatio publicó una transcripción del original portugués en su *Historiographie de Charles-Quint*, acompañada de una traducción francesa de mejor calidad, una introducción versada en el tema y numerosas notas. En 1958, para conmemorar el cuarto centenario de la muerte de Carlos, Manuel Fernández Álvarez publicó una traducción española junto con una útil introducción (reimpresa en *CDCV*, IV, 459-567); y en 1989 Cadenas y Vicent publicó una copia de cada folio del original portugués con una traducción española en la página opuesta, así como una edición crítica que arrojaba dudas sobre su autenticidad, en *Las supuestas «Memorias»*.

Pese a la afirmación de Cadenas y Vicent de que BNF *Ms. Port* 61 «carece de la más mínima garantía de veracidad», parece claro que el manuscrito es exactamente lo que dice ser: una traducción al portugués, realizada en Madrid en 1620, de las *Memorias* escritas por Carlos en francés durante el verano y el otoño de 1550, en las que colaboró en cierta medida su ayuda

de cámara Guillermo van Male. Yo la he utilizado ampliamente en esta biografía. En 1913 Alfred Morel-Fatio expresó la esperanza de que el original, tanto de las *Memorias* como de las instrucciones secretas de Carlos a su hijo del 6 de mayo de 1543, llegaría a encontrarse algún día. Su segundo deseo se cumplió un siglo después, cuando las instrucciones originales fueron identificadas en la colección de manuscritos de la Hispanic Society of America. Tal vez su primer deseo también se cumpla algún día, pero hasta entonces los historiadores de Carlos V tendrán que basarse en BNF *Ms. Port* 61.[11]

Apéndice II. La vida *post mortem* de los restos de Carlos V[12]

Carlos V murió en el convento jerónimo de Yuste, en las montañas de Gredos, el 21 de septiembre de 1558, y fue enterrado en el mismo convento, como él había pedido. Dieciséis años después, Felipe II trasladó el cuerpo de su padre al Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. En 1654, por orden de Felipe IV, los monjes se disponían a mover el cadáver imperial «con toda veneración» del «ataúd antiguo» a una «caxa nueva, aliñada, y compuesta» en el recién terminado Panteón de los Reyes, cuando se encontraron con un «cesáreo espectáculo»:

> Rara cosa, y digna de eterna admiración le hallaron entero, después de noventa y seis años de difunto; y tan cabal que, mirándole con mucha atención y respeto, no echaron menos en la siempre heroyca composición de su cuerpo, cosa que fuese considerable. El rostro tan formado, que por la fisonomía parece se podía conocer el alto iuizio de que le dotó el cielo; ancha la frente, capaz de tantos Laureles; enteros los ojos; poblada la barba, que hizo temblar tantas vezes las de los enemigos de la Iglesia. Fuerte y estendido el pecho, en denotación de su valor invencible, de su corazón valiente; inflexibles y poderosos los braços, que fueron defensa de la Fe, estendidos a la conservación de la verdad católica; y todos los demás miembros, tan libres de corrupción, que hasta las mismas uñas de los pies y de las manos (con haber padecido viviendo tanto de la enfermedad de la gota) se tenían intacta su entereza.

A los monjes, «semejante prodigio parecía obra de muy alta determinación, y efecto de superior causa, y que dado que fuesse sucesso natural, era de los raros que caben en los límites de la naturaleza». Sus sucesores afirmarían un siglo después ante un visitante italiano que el cadáver incorrupto del emperador «les llevó a considerarle santo».[13]

En el siglo XXI, Julián de Zulueta y Cebrián, un especialista en enfermedades tropicales (especialmente en la malaria) con un gran interés en la Historia, ofreció una explicación diferente para el estado incorrupto del cadáver imperial. Señaló que Carlos murió a finales de septiembre, exactamente la época en la que en lugares como «Jabugo, los jamones son encerrados en cuevas. Aquí se trataba de una pequeña cripta donde cabía el sarcófago», y cada invierno la temperatura de la cripta en Yuste habría descendido a grados por debajo de cero, lo que habría hecho que el cadáver de Carlos se «curara» como un jamón. Para 1574, cuando su hijo supervisó su traslado a El Escorial, se había convertido en una momia.[14]

Felipe IV, que había «venido a la transladación, permitió que estuuiesse abierto el ataúd, y patente la entrada a todos», pero luego (salvo por el momento en que las tropas francesas abrieron el ataúd en 1809), la momia descansó en paz hasta que, tras la Revolución Gloriosa ocurrida en España en 1868, se convirtió en una atracción turística. En 1872 el novelista Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y Ariza, incapaz de «librarnos de la tentación de asistir a una de las sacrílegas exhibiciones que se han hecho de su momia en estos últimos años», asistió a la vigésima «pública exposición del cadáver del César, a petición de las bellas damas madrileñas que estaban allí de veraneo». Tras descender al Panteón de los Reyes, «vimos nosotros la tumba de Carlos V abierta, y delante de ella, sobre un andamio construido *ad hoc,* un ataúd, cuya tapa había sido sustituida por un cristal de todo el tamaño de la caja», a través del cual

> Vimos la corpulenta y recia momia del nieto de los Reyes Católicos, de la cabeza a los pies, completamente desnuda, perfectamente conservada, un poco enjuta, es cierto, pero acusando todas las formas, de tal manera que, aún sin saber que eran los despojos mortales de Carlos V, hubiéralos reconocido cualquiera que hubiese visto los retratos que de él hicieron Tiziano y Pantoja. La especial contextura de aquel infatigable guerrero, su alta y amplísima cavidad torácica; sus anchos y elevados hombros; sus cargadas espaldas; su cráneo característico; su ángulo facial, típico en la Casa de Austria, la depresión de la boca; la prominencia de la barba por el descompasado avance de las mandíbulas: todo se apreciaba exactamente, y no en esqueleto, sino vestido de carne y cubierto de una piel cenicienta, o más bien parda, en que aún se mantenían algunos raros pelos de pestañas, barbas y cejas y del siempre atusado cabello *(véase lámina 39)*.[15]

Pocos meses antes, durante una de las 20 «exposiciones» en que se quitó el cristal, el pintor Martín Rico y Ortega pasó varios días realizando un dibujo del cadáver imperial. También él dejó una descripción detallada de lo que vio: «Me ha llamado la atención que su poblada barba, muy recortada alrededor de la boca, es de color castaño oscuro y no canosa, casi blanca, como aparece en los retratos que existen del esforzado príncipe». Asimismo, se quejó de que

> Jamás he tropezado con más dificultades, ni trabajado con tanta incomodidad y molestia como al hacer este dibujo, porque además de la postura en que es necesario permanecer, postura que convierte al cuerpo en una *C* perfecta, no media más distancia entre la vista y el modelo que unos treinta centímetros.

En enero de 1872 apareció en la revista *La Ilustración de Madrid* un grabado en madera basado en sus dibujos.[16]

Los incómodos esfuerzos de Rico y Ortega por captar una imagen lo más exacta posible del emperador plantearon una pregunta sobre su fisionomía. La historiadora especializada en arte Diane Bodart ha apuntado que, a medida que Carlos se fue haciendo mayor, cada vez menos personas mencionaron el prognatismo mandibu lar que a tanto comentario dio lugar en sus primeros años, al tiempo que pintores como Tiziano lo disfrazaron, hasta el punto de hacer dudar a algunos sobre si era

real. El dibujo de Rico y Ortega no deja lugar a dudas a este respecto: la mandíbula inferior del emperador era en efecto extremadamente prominente.[17]

En 1936, Julián de Zulueta, que en ese momento se encontraba viviendo en París como exiliado republicano, «había visto una fotografía sacada durante la guerra civil y publicada en la prensa internacional, en la que un miliciano aparecía abrazando, medio en broma, a la momia del emperador. Tenía los ojos abiertos, vamos, parecía como si fuera a hablar, y el miliciano salía medio riéndose, con su gorrita».[18] Cincuenta años más tarde, Zulueta leyó un artículo científico sobre una nueva técnica para rehidratar momias a fin de poder practicarles pruebas clínicas, y entonces recordó la foto que mostraba el cuerpo del emperador como una momia y el hecho de que Carlos pudiera haber muerto de malaria. Zulueta pidió por tanto permiso al rey para examinar el cadáver imperial en el Panteón de los Reyes. El permiso le fue denegado, pero en 2005 don Lluis Reverter Gelabert, vocal del Consejo de Administración del Patrimonio Nacional, alertó a Zulueta sobre la existencia de «un dedo meñique del emperador Carlos V fuera del sarcófago, en una urna de la sacristía de El Escorial». Don Pablo Larrea, delegado del Consejo de Administración del Patrimonio Nacional en el Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, recientemente había revelado que «los perpetradores de la revolución de 1868 abren la sepultura del Emperador y el cadáver vuelve a ser visitado por curiosos. Uno de ellos ofrece 20 reales a uno de los custodios a cambio de algún miembro del cuerpo y obtiene la falange, un dedo que entrega al malhechor». Esta sorprendente afirmación es avalada por un obituario de Martín Rico, que afirma que, durante su residencia en El Escorial, en la que visitaba el panteón todos los días para hacer sus dibujos, el «empleado» que guardaba la llave, cansado de que Rico fuera a pedir que le abriera, «hubo de hacerle cesión de

dicha llave, la cual Rico dejaba en su casa los ratos que no tenía necesidad de ella. Sabedor de esa costumbre un guía, tentado por las ofertas de un extranjero que había ido a El Escorial movido del deseo de contemplar la momia del emperador, se presentó en casa de Rico pidiendo en nombre de éste la codiciada llave, la cual le fue entregada». Dadas estas lamentables condiciones de seguridad, mientras el cuerpo de Carlos yacía sobre un andamio colocado delante de su tumba en un ataúd sin ningún cristal que lo protegiera, uno de los visitantes «viendo el cadaver ofreció veinte reales a uno de los custodies si le daba algo del emperador, y este metió la mano en la caja y sacó la falange de un dedo». En 1870 la falange pasó a ser posesión del marqués de Miraflores y su hermana, la marquesa viuda de Martorell, «de un modo totalmente involuntario», y el 31 de mayo de 1912 ofrecieron devolvérsela al rey Alfonso XIII, que la aceptó y la envió de nuevo a El Escorial donde el padre prior prefirió colocarla en una urna de la sacristía, en lugar de volver a abrir el sarcófago.[19]

Inspirado por esta información, Zulueta regresó a El Escorial acompañado de don Pedro Alonso, del Hospital Clinic d'Investigacions Biomèdiques August Pi i Sunyer de Barcelona, quien dirigía un laboratorio financiado por la Fundación Bill y Melinda Gates para encontrar una vacuna contra la malaria. Zulueta recordaría luego que el prior de San Lorenzo abrió una «pequeña arqueta roja que estaba en un cajón, con la falange envuelta en un papel solemne, que no era el papel normal que usamos para escribir a máquina. Abrió el papel y se puso guantes [blancos] el padre prior, para tocar con mayor respeto». Dado que el dígito momificado estaba en buenas condiciones, y con el visto bueno del rey Juan Carlos, el fragmento viajó a Barcelona «en un coche fúnebre, escoltado por la Guardia Civil». Los análisis revelaron la presencia de «parásitos del paludismo, y en grandes cantidades». El equipo clínico tomó

fotografías a través del microscopio, y «una de las láminas era como un libro de texto sobre medicina tropical o historia de la medicina: se veían parásitos fósiles, que, además, ¡habían matado al emperador!». También encontraron evidencias de gota en grado grave.[20] A continuación, el dedo (lamentablemente convertido ya en tres minúsculos trocitos) regresó a la caja de terciopelo rojo de la sacristía del real monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, donde actualmente se guarda como pertenencia de Patrimonio Nacional, n.º 10044506.

Pero ¿contiene en realidad la arqueta el dedo meñique de Carlos V? Existe una prueba que es contraria a esta atribución. En su carta a Fortuny de 1871 donde describe el cadáver de Carlos, Rico afirmó que: «Apenas han hecho estragos en aquélla los tres siglos que han trascurrido desde que fue inhumada, y contra todo lo que habrás leído y oído, puedo asegurarte que permanece íntegra, que nada, absolutamente nada, la falta».[21] Es obvio que la intención de Rico era refutar el rumor que entonces circulaba de que faltaba alguna parte de la anatomía imperial; y dado que el marqués de Miraflores afirmaba que la falange obraba en su poder en septiembre de 1870, es de suponer que Rico se refería a dichos rumores sobre esta «falta». Curiosamente, aunque Rico dibujó al emperador desde muchos ángulos distintos, en ninguno aparecía su mano izquierda entera: el dibujo se detiene siempre precisamente antes de la última articulación. ¿Es posible que Rico insistiera en que el cadáver se conservaba íntegro para que nadie pudiera sospechar que él mismo había tenido algo que ver en la extracción de la falange?

Las pruebas de ADN podrían establecer la autenticidad de la muestra, pero el Hospital Clinic no recibió el permiso necesario para llevarlas a cabo, por lo que la falange no puede relacionarse ni con el cadáver del sarcófago ni con ningún portador de genes

Habsburgo contrastado.[22] No obstante, tres consideraciones apuntan a un vínculo directo. Aunque el marqués de Miraflores no reveló cómo había adquirido la falange, ni cómo supo que procedía de una mano imperial, era un destacado cortesano y su hermana fue dama de honor de la reina y de la reina viuda: no hubieran ofrecido devolverla al rey si no hubieran creído que perteneció a Carlos V. Asimismo, el prior de San Lorenzo de El Escorial en 1912 evidentemente aceptó esta atribución, dado que guardó la falange en una «pequeña arqueta roja que estaba en un cajón, con la falange envuelta en un papel solemne». La más convincente de todas es la evidencia recogida por el Hospital Clinic de Barcelona a partir de la falange momificada rehidratada: sus análisis demostraron que el dedo meñique perteneció a alguien que padeció de gota en grado extremo, que sufrió una doble dosis de malaria que casi con absoluta certidumbre resultó fatal, y cuyo cadáver fue momificado. Las tres descripciones encajan con Carlos. La misma combinación podría haberse dado en otros cadáveres, pero la probabilidad es muy pequeña. Por tanto, yo acepto el argumento de Julián de Zulueta y sus colegas de que el dedo que examinaron fue arrancado de una mano del emperador.

Apéndice III. ¿Las últimas instrucciones de Carlos V a Felipe II?[23]

The advice of Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, to his son Philip the Second upon his resignation of the crown of Spain to his said son ha sido publicado tanto en inglés (Londres, 1670) como en francés (Berlín, 1699). También han llegado hasta nuestros días una versión manuscrita en alemán, al menos 27 en italiano y un mínimo de 23 en inglés. Con dos excepciones, todos los manuscritos pertenecen a uno de estos tres tipos: los que tienen una extensión máxima de 40 folios, los que tienen entre 40 y 80 folios, y los (menos numerosos) que son mucho más largos y están divididos en dos partes.[24]

Una de las dos excepciones es el «Ragionamento de l'imperatore fatto, quando rinontio tutti suoi regni et stati al re, suo figiuolo» en el Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv de Viena.[25] El documento describe una reunión celebrada en presencia de destacados nobles y ministros a las cuatro de la tarde del 16 de enero de 1556 en la casita del emperador en el Parque de Bruselas, durante la cual Carlos hizo entrega a su hijo de una caja que contenía «muchos testamentos, tanto en latín como castellano, y muchas instrucciones», así como el sello que había usado en un documento donde manifestaba que, en caso de que los franceses le hicieran prisionero estando en campaña, Felipe debería rechazar cualquier petición de rescate. La mayor parte de la reunión la ocupó la lectura de los varios documentos oficiales en virtud de los cuales cedía a Felipe los reinos de Castilla y las Indias, Aragón y Sicilia, tras cada uno de los cuales Carlos declaraba «Consiento y confirmo», y a continuación él y varios de los presentes estampaban sus firmas. El autor anónimo mencionaba que Carlos dijo también lamentar no haber abdicado seis años antes, cuando sus asuntos iban mejor, y afirmó que «"Todo el mundo puede hacer tres cosas: protestar…", momento en el que se detuvo y tras una larga pausa dijo no recordar las otras dos». El documento pasaba luego a referirse en tono sugerente a «las muchas otras cosas sumamente prudentes» que dijo Carlos, «que inducían a la admiración y a la compasión, teniendo en cuenta que quien hablaba con tanta humildad era el hombre más poderoso del mundo», pero sin dar más detalles.[26]

Quizá estas «cosas sumamente prudentes» queden resumidas en la otra excepción: el único texto conocido en español referente a las instrucciones finales, una página suelta titulada «Puntos que enbió el emperador don Carlos de gloriosa memoria al rey don Phelipe su hijo quando dio su vuelta a Spaña. De la manera que mejor se havía de gobernar».[27] Los

«puntos» son tan concisos que por sí solos resultarían poco comprensibles. Es por tanto posible que se trate de unas notas tomadas por el emperador antes de pronunciar el discurso final a su hijo (ya había utilizado esta técnica cuando dio su discurso de abdicación para sus posesiones en los Países Bajos pocos meses antes), o de minutas anotadas por alguien durante la reunión, quizá la reunión del 16 de enero de 1556.

Aunque no lleven fecha, ambos documentos parecen auténticos: las personas nombradas en el «Ragionamento» asistieron a la reunión del 16 de enero, en la cual se produjo ciertamente la entrega de los testamentos y la firma de las actas de renuncia. Es muy posible que Carlos pronunciara un discurso con motivo de tan solemne ocasión, y los puntos bien pueden referirse a lo que dijo en aquel momento. En él encontramos las formas «amad», «guardad» y «vos» que Carlos normalmente utilizaba cuando se dirigía a su hijo; y la mayoría de los puntos repetían consejos dados ya en instrucciones anteriores. Las únicas excepciones son la sugerencia de que «será necessario de tener un registro a donde esten escriptos los nombres de vuestros buenos criados» para asegurarse de recompensar solo a los ministros que lo merecieran, y la orden «Hechad los moros de vuestros reynos», algo que Gattinara le había instado a hacer tres décadas antes.[28] Así que es posible que Carlos impartiera en efecto una última lección a su hijo sobre «la manera que mejor se havía de gobernar» antes de separarse de él en septiembre de 1556, pero lo hizo verbalmente, y este es el único registro de ello que ha llegado hasta nosotros.

La misma confianza no puede hacerse extensiva a los otros manuscritos que supuestamente contienen las últimas instrucciones del emperador. La falta de un original no es importante, porque lo mismo ocurre con otros documentos similares de indudable autenticidad, como el testamento político de Carlos de 1548, sus *Memorias* y (hasta 2009) sus

instrucciones secretas de 1543. El principal problema radica en el estilo, incluido el saludo «Mi queridísimo hijo» (cuando Carlos utilizaba invariablemente la austera fórmula de «hijo») y la abundancia de referencias clásicas (algo que rara vez se da en otros escritos de Carlos). Por otra parte, los fragmentos más plausibles tratan de meros lugares comunes, encontrados en casi todas las «Cartas de consejo de un padre a su hijo» de principios de la era moderna; ninguno de los detallados consejos políticos hace referencia a hechos posteriores a 1553; y muchas de las fechas y hechos son incorrectos.[29]

El texto de las instrucciones que data de fecha más temprana es del 20 de agosto de 1592, cuatro décadas después de la abdicación del emperador, y se halla incluido en un manuscrito italiano entregado al rey Jacobo VI de Escocia por su tutor italiano, Giacomo Castelvetro. Jacobo ciertamente lo consideró genuino, porque lo utilizó como modelo seis años más tarde mientras redactaba el borrador de *Basilicon Doron*, un testamento político para su hijo; y también lo hizo John Pemberton, que preparó una edición española de *Basilicon Doron*. De hecho, él relacionaba concretamente los dos tratados: «al igual que las instrucciones de Carlos V a su hijo Felipe fueron traducidas a la mayoría de los idiomas y bastante bien al inglés, así estas instrucciones de su majestad se traducirán al español íntegramente y confío en que sin perder su fuerza».[30] La suposición de Pemberton de que existiera un texto original probablemente procedía de lord Henry Howard, miembro de la corte de la reina Isabel de Inglaterra y ministro del rey Jacobo, que redactó varias versiones de una supuesta traducción inglesa que regaló a la reina. Uno de los textos decía ser «Una copia de las últimas instrucciones que el emperador Carlos V dio a su hijo Felipe antes de morir, traducida del español»; otra, «Las instrucciones políticas del emperador Carlos V a su hijo Felipe II sobre su abdicación de la Corona de España. Traducidas del

español»; y la tercera, «Memorial de un discurso utilizado por el difunto y muy noble emperador Carlos V cuando abdicó de su gobierno y estados en su hijo el actual rey de España».[31]

La afirmación de que las instrucciones fueron entregadas cuando Carlos abdicó como rey de España sugieren que Howard pudo haber utilizado un original genuino, dado que este coincide con los dos documentos auténticos; y lo mismo sugiere, a primera vista, su afirmación de que «Este breve tratado recopilado primero en lengua española y llegado a mis manos por casualidad», pero Howard no dice que él trabajara a partir de un original español.[32] Parece más probable que tradujera a partir de un texto italiano, y dado que Howard probablemente presentó su traducción a la reina en diciembre de 1592, es posible que se apropiara del texto de Castelvetro, ya que este pasó un tiempo en Inglaterra de camino a Escocia, y que él y Howard se movían en los mismos círculos.[33] O bien Castelvetro creó el texto original a partir de las numerosas versiones abreviadas del texto italiano de las últimas instrucciones de Carlos, o bien copió un texto que ya existía (ninguno de los textos italianos que han llegado a nuestros días están fechados, por lo que uno o más de ellos podrían haber sido escritos antes); pero de ninguno consta su vinculación con nada escrito por el propio Carlos.

Howard sugirió la existencia de una versión más larga de las instrucciones. En la epístola dedicatoria a su traducción inglesa, informaba a la reina Isabel de que «Este tratado parecía ser más bien una versión abreviada de una obra más extensa en la que el experimentado emperador podría haber expuesto más en profundidad las reglas de gobierno»; y lamentaba que «no hay modo posible de llegar a verla bien sea porque el tiempo, que tantos valiosos testimonios entierra, la ha hecho desaparecer, o porque el rey de España (según algunos afirman) la reservaba, como hacían los romanos con los oráculos de Sibila, para un uso

especial».[34] Es posible que uno de estos textos italianos más extensos ya existiera en 1592, pero lo que es indudable es que uno sí existió cuando, un siglo más tarde, Antoine Teissier, consejero e historiógrafo del elector Federico de Brandeburgo, publicó una traducción francesa destinada a la educación del hijo del elector. Teissier afirmaba que había utilizado un texto italiano que había obrado en poder de la reina Cristina de Suecia y que fue posteriormente comprado por un alto precio por parte de «Monsieur *** *[sic]*», quien lo «había puesto en manos del traductor, que lo ha pasado del italiano al francés, dado que su serenísima majestad entiende mejor el segundo que el primero».[35] Este dividió las instrucciones en dos secciones: una sobre cómo gobernar en tiempos de paz, seguida de otra de cómo gobernar en tiempos de guerra. Algunas otras versiones —como los textos alemanes e italianos redactados en torno a 1740 para los hijos del rey Augusto de Sajonia y Polonia— introducían una división formal en dos partes y tenían una extensión de más de 100 páginas.[36]

Aunque los gobernadores de Brandeburgo y de Sajonia, al igual que Jacobo VI de Escocia y «Monsieur ***», creían que los textos que habían encargado eran genuinos, es difícil discrepar del veredicto emitido por E. W. Mayer en 1919: que todas las versiones italianas de las «últimas instrucciones» de Carlos se basan en una falsificación, lo que significa que todas las traducciones también se basan en ella. También resulta difícil disentir de la opinión de Karl Brandi de que la combinación del estatus del emperador con la amplia circulación de copias de sus otras Instrucciones (estas sí genuinas), especialmente de su Testamento político de 1548, le otorgaron una autoridad casi mítica que hacía que mereciera la pena unir su nombre a un documento escrito por otra persona, y también (con el paso del

tiempo) añadir nuevo material. Pero fuera quien fuera el que escribiera las «últimas instrucciones», lo que es seguro es que no fue Carlos V.[37]

Apéndice IV. «Doña Ysabel, Ynfanta de Castilla, hija de la Magestad del Emperador»[38]

En 1536, el testamento de Germana de Foix, viuda de Fernando el Católico y esposa del duque de Calabria, incluía un importante legado: «Ittem, llegamos y dexamos aquel hilo de perlas gruessas de nuestra persona, que es el mejor que tenemos, en el qual ay çiento y treynta tres perlas, a la sereníssima doña Ysabel, Ynfanta de Castilla, hija de la Magestad del Emperador, mi señor e hijo, y esto por el sobrado amor que tenemos a Su Alteza». Germana murió pocos días más tarde, y Calabria envió una copia de su testamento a la emperatriz Isabel «porque por ella vea Vuestra Magestad el legado de las perlas que dexa a la sereníssima infanta doña Ysabel».[39]

En 1998, en «Sobre una posible hija», Jaime de Salazar llamaba la atención sobre estos dos documentos, y sugería que «Ysabel, Ynfanta de Castilla» fue fruto de una relación entre el emperador y Germana. Manuel Fernández Álvarez aceptó esta identificación tanto en *Felipe II y su tiempo*, 811-812, como en *Carlos V. El César*, 98-99, pero ni él ni Salazar citaron ninguna evidencia que lo demostrara más allá del testamento de Germana y la carta adjunta de Calabria. Ciertamente, la noche antes de morir, Fernando escribió una carta suplicando a su nieto «que siempre tengáys cuydado de ayudarla y socorrerla a la dicha serenísima nuestra muy cara y muy amada mujer, en todas sus trabaxos y necesidades», pero el incesto con la propia madrastra parece improbable, incluso para un Habsburgo.

Varios historiadores han desechado el planteamiento de don Manuel. Vicent de Cadenas y Vicent, «Una calumnia gratuita», lo consideró una «masturbación mental» (626-627) y negó que

existiera nunca una «Ynfanta Ysabel de Castilla»; luego, en «Aclarada la calumnia del académico y catedrático Manuel Fernández Álvarez», publicada al poco tiempo, Cadenas y Vicent argumentaba que Isabel era descendiente de los últimos reyes Trastámara de Nápoles, y que murió en 1550. «De Castilla», afirmaba, fue un error, y lo de «hija» solo era un término de cortesía que se aplicaba a todas las parientes femeninas del emperador. Ninguna de estas afirmaciones es verosímil. En 2012, Pere Maria Orts i Bosch, en «Margarida o Isabel», sostuvo que Germana dejó sus perlas a la hija ilegítima de Carlos, Margarita de Parma, pese al hecho de que Margarita no era infanta de Castilla (de hecho, jamás estuvo en España) y de que Germana no tuvo, que se sepa, ningún contacto con Margarita, por lo que carece de sentido que le dejara un legado de tanto valor.

En su biografía *Germana de Foix*, Rosa Ríos Lloret apuntó que el testamento de la reina solo demostraba que Carlos tuvo una hija llamada Isabel y que estaba viva en 1536 (aunque al parecer no se la menciona en ninguna otra fuente).[40] Por otra parte, el hecho de que Calabria se ofreciera a enviarle el legado a la emperatriz, en lugar de a Carlos, sugiere que la infanta no era ilegítima, de otro modo, el duque seguramente le habría escrito al emperador. Entonces, ¿quién era?

Una entrada en una genealogía de Carlos escrita en francés nos da una pista. El autor afirma que Carlos y su esposa «Isabeau de Portugal» tenían «quatre enfans, assauoir Philippe, Ferdinand qui mourut en son enfance, Isabeau, Jehanne». La confirmación de que el nombre «Isabeau» no era un error la encontramos en Francesc Joan, cronista valenciano, que registró en su *Llibre de memories* los nacimientos de todos los miembros de la familia real por el nombre que eran conocidos en Valencia. En 1527 registró el nombre del heredero de Carlos como «Felipe Juan» (y continuó haciendo referencia a él hasta 1555),

y al año siguiente anotó el nacimiento de su hermana como «Doña Isabel».[41] Dado que Germana era virreina de Valencia cuando murió, el notario que redactó su testamento adoptó sin duda el nombre valenciano para la hija mayor del emperador. Así pues, «por el sobrado amor que tenemos a Su Alteza», Germana legó su mejor collar a la serenísima infanta de Castilla, más conocida por María.

Esta identificación queda confirmada por el inventario de joyas y otros objetos preciosos dejados por la emperatriz, que fue dividido entre sus tres hijos en 1551. El extenso dosier incluye una carta enviada por Carlos a su hija María, entonces su regente en España, con la frase: «Yten, es nuestra voluntad que a vos la reyna [de Bohemia] se den las 133 perlas de la reyna Germana». Obviamente, el artículo dejado a «Doña Ysabel» en el testamento de Germana. Dado que el inventario valoraba cada «perla gruesa» en 45 ducados, no cabe duda de que el «hilo» constituía un magnífico legado.[42] El «hilo de perlas gruessas» de la reina Germana puede admirarse en un retrato de María realizado en torno a 1557 que hoy cuelga de las paredes del Palacio de Ambras. Por tanto, el emperador no tuvo ninguna otra hija que se llamara Isabel.[43]

Agradecimientos

El 1 de abril de 1841, William Hickling Prescott decidió acometer su siguiente proyecto histórico. «Me propongo escribir unas 1.000 páginas» sobre la conquista de México, registró en su diario personal, a un ritmo de «4 páginas al día, durante la fase de escritura. Contando con dos días de lectura por uno de escritura, esto se traducirá en un volumen de 450 páginas al año, o 1¼ páginas al día, a lo largo del año». Prescott respetó su extenuante plan de trabajo y envió su *Historia de la conquista de México* a la imprenta en agosto de 1843. Escribir una biografía de Carlos, mucho más corta, a mí me ha llevado considerablemente más tiempo, en parte porque carezco de la férrea disciplina de Prescott como escritor, pero también porque he sucumbido a la tentación en la que caen muchos biógrafos: «Me vi absolutamente absorbido por la vertiente forense del proyecto: el ensamblaje de las pistas encontradas en la correspondencia, por ejemplo, que arrojan luz sobre hechos o acciones hasta ese momento no documentados, o bien rasgos de carácter o motivaciones que cobran nuevos matices. Pasé por estos trascendentes momentos, que todos los biógrafos conocen, en que el autor parece llegar a tocar la mano o la cara de su personaje».[1]

Mi primer encuentro con Carlos fue en 1957, durante una estancia de tres semanas en Bélgica. La familia que me daba alojamiento era de Binche, y pude pasear sobre las ruinas del palacio donde, cuatro siglos antes, la hermana de Carlos, María, había celebrado los magníficos festejos en honor de su hermano y el hijo de este, el futuro Felipe II. Diez años después regresé a Bélgica para pasar tres meses investigando las razones por las que España no consiguió aplastar la rebelión de Flandes, pero Carlos seguía siendo para mí un personaje secundario. Entre ambas visitas me reuní con Helmut G. Koenigsberger. Leí sus muchos

artículos sobre Carlos V mientras estudiaba en la universidad; una sabia elección porque (aunque yo lo desconocía) intervino como examinador externo en mis pruebas finales, y en su documento «Europa desde 1494» él planteaba la cuestión de si «Los recursos de los que Carlos V disponía igualaban las necesidades de su imperio». Desde entonces, he repetido la misma pregunta a mis alumnos en Gran Bretaña, Canadá y Estados Unidos, cuyas respuestas muchas veces expresaban ideas que a mí no se me habían ocurrido. A lo largo de los años mantuve muchas conversaciones con Helli sobre Carlos V, una de ellas en 1982, grabada en audio por Sussex Publications.[2] Volviéndola a escuchar he recordado al perspicaz erudito que se nos fue en 2014.

La primera vez que escribí sobre Carlos fue por invitación de Jan Martens, director de Mercatorfonds, que me pidió que aportara un capítulo a un lujoso volumen que proyectaba publicar para el quinto centenario del nacimiento del emperador. En 1998, Jan reunió a un grupo de colaboradores en sus oficinas centrales de Amberes, adonde asistieron Wim Blockmans, Peter Burke, Fernando Checa, María José Rodríguez Salgado, Heinz Schilling y Hugo Soly (editor del libro). Tanto a ellos como a Jan Martens les estoy agradecido por lo mucho que aprendí del emperador durante este encuentro de dos días, así como por la enriquecedora amistad que hasta hoy mantengo con el resto del equipo.[3] No obstante, la idea de escribir una biografía del emperador no se me pasó por la cabeza hasta que, en diciembre de 2009, en la sala de lectura de la Hispanic Society of America, identifiqué el Manuscrito B 2955 como los textos originales de las instrucciones dadas por el emperador a su hijo Felipe en mayo de 1543. Mi agradecimiento a los expertos de la Hispanic Society of America —Mitchell Codding, Patrick Lenaghan y John O'Neill—, así como a mis eruditos colegas Bethany Aram,

Rachael Ball y David Lagomarsino. Todos ellos me ayudaron a descifrar e interpretar el documento, que Rachael y yo publicamos en una edición crítica en español y en inglés en 2014.[4]

Todos los historiadores del emperador tenemos una deuda especial con Karl Brandi (1868-1941). Durante una carrera universitaria que abarcó cincuenta años, publicó más de 80 libros sobre temas que van desde Carlomagno hasta la Primera Guerra Mundial, y dirigió 122 tesis doctorales. En la década de 1930, formó el primer equipo de investigación de la historia (diez estudiosos en la materia, la mayoría antiguos discípulos suyos) para trabajar sobre el emperador, y publicó sus conclusiones entre 1930 y 1941 dentro de la serie *Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V*, que él mismo fundó y dirigió. Los 20 fascículos, algunos de hasta 100 páginas de extensión y la mitad de ellos escritos por él, sacaron a la luz documentos clave y ofrecieron detalladas descripciones de las principales colecciones archivísticas generadas por el gobierno imperial. Además, Brandi sirvió como oficial en la Primera Guerra Mundial, y recibió la Cruz de Hierro, lo cual le proporcionó importantes conocimientos en materia de mando, logística y combate, presentes en su relato de Carlos en la guerra.[5] En 1937, Brandi publicó su espléndida biografía, *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, posteriormente traducida a muchos idiomas. Aunque este trabajo carecía de un aparato crítico, cuatro años después Brandi sacó una segunda parte, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen und Erörterungen*, en la que describía y a menudo transcribía las fuentes citadas en cada página de la versión alemana de su biografía. Lamentablemente, nunca se ha traducido.[6]

Las publicaciones de Brandi fueron tan numerosas y sus juicios tan fiables que me traen a la memoria otro fragmento del diario de Prescott, escrito en la época en la que se encontraba

trabajando en su *Historia de la conquista del Perú* en 1845. «Tener cuidado con Robertson», escribió Prescott, refiriéndose a la *Historia del reinado de Carlos V* de William Robertson, publicada ochenta años antes. «No mirar nada suyo hasta que el tema haya cobrado forma en mi mente y haya sido plasmado en palabras. No debo dejar que se me contagie su estilo».[7] Enseguida aprendí a «Tener cuidado con Brandi». Traté de mantener la mirada apartada de su obra *Carlos V, vida y fortuna de una personalidad y de un imperio mundial* hasta que tuve terminado cada capítulo, para descubrir, en muchos casos, material que a mí se me había pasado o brillantes análisis de los mismos documentos clave. No obstante, para bien o para mal, la forma de esta biografía y el «estilo» son míos.

Después de Brandi, mi mayor deuda académica es con Gustave Bergenroth (1813-1869), que en la década de 1860 reunió material para una biografía de Carlos V compuesto por «documentos de Estado auténticos, despachos e instrucciones reales a embajadores, ministros y consejeros, etcétera, y las cartas y despachos recibidos a su vez de estos». Este enfoque llevó a Bergenroth a visitar numerosos archivos y bibliotecas donde pagó a diez archiveros para que copiaran los documentos que consideró importantes para su proyecto. También interpretó centenares de documentos para los cuales no pudo encontrar la clave, haciendo que sus copias superaran a los originales. Para cuando Bergenroth murió, en 1869, las transcripciones ocupaban más de 20.000 folios, que proporcionaron a los historiadores una oportunidad única para tomar el pulso administrativo del imperio de Carlos.[8]

No es fácil imaginar lo ardua que debía de ser la tarea de la investigación archivística en la década de 1860. Alguien que fue a visitar a Bergenroth comentó que «En Simancas todo es tan primitivo, tan prehistórico y tan tosco como en los tiempos de Adán. Allí no encontrarán ninguna de las delicadezas de la

vida… Nada salvo el más profundo deseo de servir a la historia podría reconciliar a ningún hombre con tanta adversidad, y el señor B., cuando habla de su estancia allí, no exagera al calificar su vida como la de un ermitaño». Fue mientras vivía en Simancas cuando contrajo el tifus que acabó con su vida.[9] Todo había cambiado cuando yo llegué a Simancas en 1966, y durante los 50 años siguientes (según los archiveros, que observan muy de cerca las actividades de «los señores investigadores»), yo consulté allí unos 2.000 legajos y libros. Sin los métodos de gestión de archivo especialmente adecuados para investigadores, únicos en Simancas, y su omnisciente cuerpo de archiveros, este libro nunca podría haberse escrito. En particular, quiero dar las gracias a Ricardo Magdaleno Redondo, Asunción de la Plaza, Adela González Vega, Isabel Aguirre Landa y José Luis y Julia T. Rodríguez de Diego. También estoy profundamente agradecido a los expertos encargados de conservar otras colecciones de documentos de Carlos V, especialmente a Juan Manuel Calderón, del Archivo Alba (Madrid); Leopold Auer del Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (Viena); Lucienne van Meerbeeck, Hugo de Schepper y Ernst Persoons, del Algemeen Rijksarchief (Bruselas); Hervé Passat, de los Archives Départementales du Nord (Lille); y a Mitchell Codding, John O'Neill y Patrick Lenaghan, de la Hispanic Society of America (Nueva York).

La investigación archivística nunca es barata y, por tanto, quiero dar las gracias al Fondo Nacional para las Humanidades (que me concedió una beca de investigación), así como al Departamento de Historia y al Mershon Center de la Ohio State University por su generosa contribución a este proyecto. También agradezco a Bethany Aram su importante apoyo en el último empujón de mi investigación en España, que se llevó a cabo bajo el amparo del interesante proyecto que dirige: HAR201452260-P, «Comercio, conflicto y cultura en el istmo

de Panamá. Una artería del imperio y la crisis global, 1513-1671», financiado por el Ministerio de Economía y Empresa español (Mineco), 2015-2018.

Mi gratitud también a David Lincove, Brian Miller y Tonya Johnson, de la Biblioteca de la Universidad Estatal de Ohio: David, nuestro bibliotecario en materia de Historia, ha encargado todos los libros que le he solicitado; Brian y Tonya, del departamento de préstamos entre bibliotecas, han obtenido todos los libros, capítulos de libros y artículos que he pedido (a menudo proporcionándome el archivo PDF en un plazo de 24 horas). Su ayuda ha resultado crucial para completar este proyecto, dados los problemas de movilidad que han reducido mi posibilidad de viajar y buscar yo mismo en las estanterías durante más de 30 años. También estoy muy agradecido a los amigos y colegas que me han ayudado a superar mis limitaciones: Lucien Bély y Indravati Félicité en París; Bethany Aram en Bruselas, Lille y Sevilla; José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, Santiago Martínez Hernández y Felipe Vidales del Castillo en Madrid; Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend en Viena; Christine Meyer y Christine Roll en Konstanz; Franz Mauelshagen y Arndt Brendecke en Alemania; Sebastiaan Derks, Dries Raeymacker, Steven Thiry y Hugo Soly en Bélgica; y Maurizio Arfaioli, Michael Levin, Andrea Ottone y Michele Rabà en Italia. También mi agradecimiento a Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend, Hilary Macartney y Patrick Lenaghan por ayudarme con la iconografía; y a James Estes, Clara García Ayluardo y Saskia Limbach por su experto asesoramiento en otros aspectos de este proyecto.

En la cuenta atrás para su publicación, tuve la inmensa suerte de que Ruth MacKay accediera a leerlo y a examinar todo, y de que Ana Bustelo Tortella, Isabel Sbert Soto, Lucía Álvarez Rovira, Paloma Fernández-Pacheco Espino, Amanda Díaz Cobo

y Alicia Caballero Castro, de Editorial Planeta, me guiaran en las etapas finales, junto a Victoria Gordo del Rey, que se ha encargado de la traducción.

Por último, quiero dar las gracias a mi familia por su apoyo, amor y tolerancia. James Atlas ha escrito con gran elocuencia sobre el triste destino de la familia de un biógrafo, obsesionado con «alguien que no está muerto en sentido estricto, pero tampoco del todo presente», que «exigía una gran cantidad de mi tiempo, mi energía y mi atención, y con quien también mantengo una relación»[10]. Por todo ello, se disculpaba. Y así también, a mi compañera, Alice Conklin, a mis hijos (Susie, Edmund, Richard y Jamie, todos ellos veteranos de Simancas) y a mis nietos (Cameron, Sienna y Cordelia, todavía demasiado jóvenes para reconocer a un Habsburgo a simple vista, pero con mucho tiempo por delante para aprender), Carlos V y yo nos disculpamos.

Geoffrey Parker

Columbus, 30 de noviembre de 2018

Fiesta de San Andrés, un día especial

para Carlos V y para mí

Convenciones utilizadas en este libro

Cuando existe una versión española de nombres de ciudades no españolas (Amberes, La Haya, Malinas, Ratisbona, Aquisgrán) la he utilizado; si no, he optado por emplear el nombre actual de la ciudad. Lo mismo ocurre con los nombres propios de los personajes históricos (Guillermo de Orange, Francisco I de Francia y, por supuesto, Carlos V); si no, he optado por utilizar el nombre que usaba el propio protagonista.

Los protagonistas que cambiaron su nombre o su título suponen un desafío añadido. Por ejemplo, el abuelo de Carlos, Maximiliano (1459-1519), empezó su vida como archiduque de Austria, a lo que añadió duque de Borgoña después de 1477 cuando se casó con la duquesa María de Borgoña. En 1486 empezó a llamarse a sí mismo «rey de Romanos» y en 1508 se llamaba (incorrectamente) «emperador electo», pero tras la muerte de su padre, el emperador Federico III en 1493, sus contemporáneos normalmente se referían a él como «el emperador», y así es como aparece a lo largo de esta biografía. Carlos también era «emperador electo» a partir de 1520 (cuando se convirtió en rey de Romanos) hasta que el Papa le coronó emperador diez años más tarde; pero a partir de 1520 este libro (como casi todos sus coetáneos) se refiere a él como «emperador». Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586) utilizaba el título de «obispo de Arras» entre 1540 y 1562; después el de «cardenal Granvelle», pero aparece en este libro como «Perrenot» para distinguirle de su padre, Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, quien, en cambio, aparece como «Granvela», que es como se le nombra siempre en las fuentes españolas.[1]

Las fechas son un obstáculo todavía más difícil. Según el calendario «francés» que se seguía en gran parte de Europa del norte en tiempos de Carlos V, el año empezaba en Semana

Santa (que, entonces igual que ahora, caía en fechas diferentes cada año); pero según el calendario «romano», utilizado en España e Italia, el año empezaba el 1 de enero, mientras que en Venecia empezaba el 1 de marzo. Por tanto, Carlos nació el 24 de febrero de 1500 según el calendario romano; pero como la Semana Santa aquel año cayó el 19 de abril, la mayoría de los documentos redactados en Venecia, Francia, Alemania, Inglaterra y los Países Bajos indicaban que nació el 24 de febrero de 1499.

Esta diferencia solamente afectaba a los meses entre el 1 de enero y la Semana Santa, y algunos escritores de cartas añadían «antes de Semana Santa», para que se entendiera que estaban utilizando el calendario francés; y los venecianos a veces añadían «m.v.» *(more veneto)*. Pero, desgraciadamente para los historiadores, algunos escritores que ofrecen información fundamental sobre Carlos utilizaban varios calendarios. Margarita de Austria, tía de Carlos y gobernadora de los Países Bajos, acostumbraba a utilizar el calendario francés, pero se pasaba al romano cuando se escribía con alguien en España; su padre, Maximiliano, a menudo fechaba las cartas según el estilo del lugar en el que se encontrara en ese momento; y esto cuando se molestaban en indicar el lugar y la fecha. Estas inconsistencias obligan a fechar algunas cartas por su contenido. Lamentablemente, el archivero francés André Le Glay, que descifró acertadamente y publicó mucha de la correspondencia entre Maximiliano y su hija, adjudicó una fecha equivocada a casi un tercio de sus cartas. Por ejemplo, en una de las que escribió Margarita a su padre contaba que Carlos había matado a un hombre mientras cazaba con ballesta ese mismo día, que era el lunes de Pentecostés. Sin explicar por qué, Le Glay no dudó en fechar esta carta «mayo 1513» y la colocó con otras escritas ese mes. Casi todos los historiadores posteriores han aceptado la fecha de Le Glay sin dudar, aunque en 1908

Andreas Walther demostró que Margarita había escrito su carta el 5 de junio de 1514. A no ser que se indique lo contrario, en este libro he utilizado las fechas que propone Walther y el calendario «romano»: por lo tanto, Carlos nació el 24 de febrero de 1500 y mató a un hombre por primera vez el 5 de junio de 1514.[2]

Los despachos de los diplomáticos italianos, que tienen gran protagonismo en esta obra, son otra complicación mayor, ya que normalmente medían el paso del tiempo según el reloj de 24 horas que empezaba una hora después de la puesta de sol, que ocurría a «ore 2330» todos los días del año, independientemente de la estación. Por ejemplo, en 1521 el embajador veneciano en Bruselas informó de que Carlos había abandonado el palacio de Coudenberg para recibir a su cuñado Cristián de Dinamarca hacia las 21 horas el 4 de julio, y regresó «a media hora en la noche». La noche siguiente anotó desganadamente que los dos monarcas habían empezado a bailar después de un banquete y que «son las dos de la noche y siguen en ello ahora». Dado que en julio el sol se pone en Bruselas hacia las 10 de la noche, en este libro estos hechos tuvieron lugar a las 19.30 y a las 23.00 el 4 de julio y a las 12.30 de la madrugada el 6 de julio (respectivamente).[3]

Por último, el nombre de la dinastía de Carlos también presenta problemas. Por parte de su padre, descendía de los lores de *Habichtsburg* («Castillo del halcón») en Suiza, un nombre que poco a poco se transformó en «Habsburg» en tierras germano parlantes, mientras que, en general, quienes hablaban lenguas romances se referían a la dinastía como «de Austria», el lugar de sus primeros grandes dominios. Los gobernantes no utilizaron ninguno de estos nombres: en su lugar firmaban según el estilo real de cada estado. Carlos firmaba todas sus cartas en español «*Yo el Rey*», incluso cuando escribía a su esposa o sus hijos; «Carol» o «Carolus» cuando firmaba documentos en

latín, alemán o italiano; y «Charles» en los que estaban en francés. La forma «de Austria» la utilizaban únicamente los hijos ilegítimos de la dinastía (que, sorprendentemente, eran muchos: Maximiliano engendró doce como mínimo; Carlos cuatro); pero solo después de recibir permiso expreso del cabeza de familia. Así, las fuentes que han llegado hasta nosotros se refieren al niño que nació en 1547 de la unión entre Carlos y Bárbara Blomberg como «Jerónimo», y más tarde «Juanito», hasta que Felipe II conoció la verdadera identidad del joven por un codicilo secreto firmado por su padre y, en 1559, le otorgó el título de «don Juan de Austria».

	España, Italia y el Mediterráneo	Los Países Bajos, el Imperio y Francia	Inglaterra, Escocia y las Américas
1494			Tratado de Tordesillas (7 de junio): Portugal y Castilla acuerdan la partición de las tierras recién descubiertas más allá de Europa
1496		Se casan el archiduque Felipe de Austria y la infanta Juana de Castilla y Aragón (20 de octubre).	
1498	Juan, heredero de los tronos de Aragón y Castilla, contrae matrimonio con la archiduquesa Margarita de Austria (3 de abril), y muere (4 de octubre).		
1499			
1500	Muere el infante Miguel (19 de julio), dejando a Felipe y Juana como herederos de las Coronas de Castilla y Aragón.	Nace en Gante Carlos, duque de Luxemburgo (24 de febrero).	
1501		Nace Isabel, hermana de Carlos (18 de julio); Juana y Felipe zarpan con destino a España (31 de octubre), dejando a Carlos y sus hermanas al cuidado de su bisabuela Margarita de York.	Arturo Tudor, príncipe de Gales, contrae matrimonio con Catalina de Aragón (14 de noviembre).
1502			

			Muere el príncipe Arturo (2 de abril).
1503	Nace Fernando, hermano de Carlos (10 de marzo).	Felipe regresa a los Países Bajos (octubre); muere Margarita de York (23 de noviembre).	
1504	Muere la reina Isabel de Castilla (26 de noviembre), a la que suceden Juana y Felipe.	Juana regresa a los Países Bajos (mayo) y es confinada a sus aposentos (noviembre); comienza la guerra entre Felipe y el duque Carlos de Güeldres.	
1505	Fernando de Aragón se casa con Germana de Foix (19 de octubre).	Carlos tiene su primer encuentro con su abuelo Maximiliano; Luis Cabeza de Vaca sustituye a Juan de Anchieta como preceptor de Carlos; nace María, hermana de Carlos (15 de septiembre).	
1506	Felipe regresa a Castilla (12 de julio), es aclamado como rey y muere (25 de septiembre); la reina Juana es confinada en Tordesillas.	Felipe y Juana parten con destino a España (enero); los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos reconocen a Carlos como su señor (15 de octubre).	
1507	Nace Catalina, hermana menor de Carlos (14 de enero).	Margarita de Austria se convierte en regente de los Países Bajos en nombre del emperador Maximiliano, y en tutora de Carlos y sus hermanos (abril); primera aparición pública de Carlos como soberano de los Países Bajos durante las exequias de Felipe (julio).	Carlos se casa por poderes con la princesa María Tudor, hija de Enrique VII (julio).
1508		Carlos contrae la viruela (octubre); estancia de Maximiliano en los Países	

		Bajos (noviembre a marzo de 1509).	
1509	Nacimiento y muerte del único hijo de Fernando y Germana de Foix (mayo).	Carlos es ordenado caballero de la Jarretera (febrero); Guillermo de Croÿ, señor de Chièvres, es nombrado chambelán de Carlos; Adriano de Utrecht se convierte en su tutor.	Enrique VIII accede al trono de Inglaterra (21 de abril) y se casa con Catalina de Aragón (11 de junio).
1510			
1511			
1512		Maximiliano en los Países Bajos (primavera).	
1513	Juan de Médici es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «León X» (9 de marzo).	Maximiliano y Enrique VIII derrotan a los franceses en Guinegate (16 de agosto); Carlos realiza su primera visita de estado y asiste a las justas de la victoria de Enrique (octubre).	Los ingleses derrotan a los escoceses en Flodden Field (9 de septiembre).
1514		María parte de los Países Bajos en dirección a Viena (abril); Carlos mata a un hombre por primera vez en un accidente de caza (junio).	María Tudor repudia a Carlos (30 de julio) y se casa con Luis XII (13 de agosto).
1515	Francisco I, vencedor de Marignano (13-14 de septiembre), ocupa Milán y Génova.	Luis XII muere (1 de enero) y le sucede Francisco de Angulema (Francisco I); emancipación de Carlos (5 de enero); Jean le Sauvage es nombrado gran canciller (17 de enero); Carlos se promete con la princesa Renata de Francia; Isabel marcha para casarse con Cristián II de Dinamarca (junio); María marcha para casarse con Luis II de	

		Bohemia y Hungría (22 de julio); Carlos envía a Adriano a España como embajador suyo ante Fernando (septiembre).	
1516	Muere Fernando de Aragón (23 de enero); el cardenal Cisneros y el Consejo de regencia reconocen a Carlos como rey de Castilla (3 de abril).	En Bruselas, Carlos es proclamado rey de Castilla y Aragón (14 de marzo), firma el Tratado de Noyon con Francia (13 de agosto) y preside un capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro por primera vez (octubrenoviembre); Francisco de los Cobos se convierte en secretario real.	Catalina de Aragón da a luz a la princesa María (que será María I de Inglaterra) (18 de febrero).
1517	Muere la reina María de Portugal, tía de Carlos (7 de marzo); Carlos y Leonor llegan a España (20 de septiembre) y visitan a su madre Juana y su hermana Catalina (4 de noviembre); muere Cisneros (8 de noviembre); Carlos y Leonor se encuentran por primera vez con su hermano Fernando (19 de noviembre).	Última visita de Maximiliano a los Países Bajos (enero-mayo); Carlos obliga a Leonor a poner fin a su romance con el conde palatino Federico (agosto) y embarca con ella con destino a España (7 de septiembre); Martín Lutero publica sus noventa y cinco tesis (31 de octubre).	
1518	Carlos se reúne con las Cortes de Castilla (marzo), envía a Fernando a los Países Bajos (abril) y se reúne con las Cortes de Aragón (mayo); muere el gran canciller Le Sauvage		

	(7 de junio) y le sucede Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara (8 de octubre); Leonor es enviada a Portugal para casarse con el rey Manuel (octubre).		
1519	Carlos se desmaya durante una misa (enero); preside el capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro en Barcelona (marzo); recibe la noticia de su elección como rey de Romanos (6 de julio).	Muere el emperador Maximiliano (12 de enero); Carlos es elegido rey de Romanos (28 de junio); las tropas Habsburgo ocupan Wurtemberg.	Hernán Cortés viaja de Cuba a Yucatán y envía a Carlos una primera muestra de artículos (julio); la expedición de Fernando de Magallanes parte desde Sevilla hacia las islas Molucas (10 de agosto); Cortés entra en Tenoch titlán y mantiene un encuentro con el emperador azteca Moctezuma (8 de noviembre).
1520	Carlos recibe en Valladolid la muestra enviada por Hernán Cortés (marzo), se reúne con las Cortes de Castilla en Santiago y La Coruña (abril-mayo); Carlos parte rumbo a Inglaterra desde La Coruña, dejando a Adriano de Utrecht como regente (20 de mayo); se inicia la	Carlos desembarca en Flesinga (1 de junio); Francisco I y Enrique VIII se encuentran en el campo del Paño de Oro (7-24 de junio); Carlos y Enrique se reúnen (12-14 de julio); los libros de Lutero, condenados por León X, son quemados en Lovaina (8 de octubre); Carlos es coronado rey de Romanos en Aquisgrán (23 de octubre).	Carlos llega a Dover (26 de mayo), se encuentra con Enrique VIII y parte rumbo a los Países Bajos (31 de mayo); asesinato de Moctezuma (28/30 de junio); Cortés y sus partidarios huyen de Tenochtitlán

	revuelta de los comuneros en Castilla (mayo) y la de las Germanías en Valencia (julio); Solimán el Magnífico se convierte en sultán (1 de octubre).		(se conoce como «La Noche triste», 30 de junio /1 de julio).
1521	Los comuneros son derrotados en Villalar (23 de abril); León X, Enrique VIII y Carlos forman una alianza contra Francia (mayo); los otomanos toman Belgrado (agosto); muere León X (1 de diciembre); muere el rey Manuel de Portugal dejando viuda a Leonor de Austria, y le sucede Juan III (13 de diciembre).	León X excomulga a Lutero (3 de enero); Francisco I promete apoyar a los enemigos de Carlos (febrero); guerra entre Carlos y Francisco (1 de abril); Carlos se enfrenta a Lutero en la Dieta de Worms (17-18 de abril) y le declara proscrito (26 de mayo); Fernando contrae matrimonio con Ana de Hungría (26 de mayo); muere Chièvres (28 de mayo); Solimán toma Belgrado (29 de agosto).	Magallanes explora el archipiélago posteriormente conocido como las Filipinas, donde le matan (27 de abril); Cortés y sus aliados tienden asedio a Tenochtitlán (10 de mayo-13 de agosto), y tras su caída comienzan a hacerse con el control del Imperio azteca.
1522	Adriano de Utrecht es elegido Papa, con el nombre de «Adriano VI» (9 de enero); derrota francesa en Bicocca (29 de abril); Carlos desembarca de nuevo en España (16 de julio); muere el confesor de Carlos, Jean Glapion (22 de septiembre); Carlos promulga el Perdón General para la	Carlos hace su primer testamento (22 de mayo) y zarpa desde los Países Bajos con destino a Inglaterra y España (27 de mayo), dejando como regente a su tía Margarita; Jeanne van der Gheynst da a luz a Margarita, hija de Carlos, en Oudenaarde o sus inmediaciones (julio).	Carlos se encuentra en Inglaterra (26 de mayo al 7 de julio), donde acuerda con Enrique la organización de una «gran empresa» contra Francia, y casarse con la hija de Enrique, María, cuando esta cumpla 12 años (el compromiso se rompe en 1525);

	mayoría de los comuneros (1 de noviembre).		el duque Carlos de Borbón se suma a la gran empresa (agosto); los supervivientes de la expedición de Magallanes llegan a Sevilla (8 de septiembre); Carlos accede a financiar una Casa de la Especería en La Coruña, y nombra a Cortés gobernador y capitán general de Nueva España.
1523	Los otomanos conquistan Rodas (1 de enero); Ursulina de la Peña da a luz a Tadea, hija de Carlos, en Bolonia (23 de enero); fray García de Loaysa es nombrado confesor de Carlos (mayo); muere Adriano VI (14 de septiembre); Julio de Médici es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «Clemente VII» (19 de noviembre); Carlos va de campaña a Navarra (invierno) y nombra a Borbón su lugarteniente en Italia (diciembre).	Es depuesto Cristián II de Dinamarca (enero): él e Isabel piden protección a Carlos.	Invasión inglesa de Francia (agostodiciembre).
1524			

	Nace Juana, hija ilegítima de Carlos, en Valladolid (¿junio?); Carlos crea el Consejo de Indias y reorganiza Estado y Hacienda; Borbón dirige una frustrada invasión imperial de la Provenza (junio-septiembre); Francisco invade Milán (octubre); Clemente firma una alianza con Francia y Venecia (diciembre).	Comienza la revuelta campesina en Alemania (verano); Francisco nombra a su madre, Luisa de Saboya, regente de Francia durante su ausencia.	Carlos autoriza dos expediciones a las Molucas: una desde La Coruña y otra desde México.
1525	Catalina se casa con el rey Juan III de Portugal (10 de febrero); victoria imperial en Pavía, Francisco es capturado (24 de febrero); Francisco es llevado prisionero a Madrid (agosto).	La revuelta campesina es aplastada (verano).	
1526	Francisco firma el Tratado de Madrid (14 de enero); Carlos contrae matrimonio con Isabel de Portugal (11 de marzo); Francisco regresa a Francia, dejando como rehenes a sus dos hijos en España (17 de marzo); el obispo Acuña de Zamora es	Muere Isabel de Dinamarca (19 de enero); Francisco I regresa a Francia (17 de marzo), reniega de sus promesas y forma la Liga anti-Habsburgo de Cognac con el Papado, Florencia y Venecia (22 de mayo); el rey Luis II de Hungría es derrotado y muerto en Mohács (26 de agosto); Fernando es elegido rey de Bohemia (24 de octubre) y Hungría (17 de diciembre).	

torturado y ejecutado en Simancas (24 de marzo).

1527 Borbón muere mientras encabeza el ataque de las tropas imperiales sobre Roma (6 de mayo); saqueo de Roma (6-16 de mayo); Gattinara deja por un tiempo la corte imperial (mayooctubre); nacimiento del príncipe Felipe (21 de mayo); se proclama la República de Florencia (junio).

Tratado anglofrancés de Amiens (18 de agosto); Carlos crea una Audiencia en Ciudad de México (noviembre).

1528 En nombre de la Liga de Cognac, los heraldos de Francia e Inglaterra declaran la guerra a Carlos, que ordena la detención de todos los embajadores de la Liga (22 de enero); la Liga de Cognac bloquea Nápoles por tierra y mar (febrero-agosto); Carlos reta a Francisco a un duelo (18 de marzo); nace la infanta María (21 de junio); Andrea Doria entra al servicio de Carlos (19 de julio); las tropas de la Liga de Cognac cesan el asedio sobre Nápoles y se rinden en Aversa (27 de agosto); Andrea

Cortés regresa a España (mayo) y se reúne con Carlos.

	Doria toma Génova (12 de septiembre); Margarita de Austria fuerza al duque de Güeldres a firmar la paz, rindiendo Utrecht y Overijssel a Carlos (3 de octubre).		
1529	Carlos firma su segundo testamento (3 de marzo); don Antonio de Leyva derrota a otro ejército francés en Lombardía (21 de junio); Carlos firma el Tratado de Barcelona con Clemente (29 de junio), embarca rumbo a Italia (27 de julio), llega a Génova (12 de agosto), pone sitio a Florencia (septiembre) y entra en Bolonia para reunirse con Clemente (5 de noviembre); nace el infante Fernando (22 de noviembre); Carlos firma la paz con Venecia y el duque Francesco Sforza de Milán, y crea la liga para la defensa de Italia (29 de diciembre).	Paz de Cambrai entre Carlos, Francisco y Enrique (5 de agosto); asedio otomano de Viena (23 de septiembre -14 de octubre).	Cortés es nombrado marqués del valle de Oaxaca (1 de abril) y regresa a México; Carlos concede todos los derechos sobre las Molucas a Portugal en virtud del Tratado de Zaragoza (22 de abril) y cierra la Casa de la Especería; Francisco de Pizarro recibe autorización para conquistar el Perú (24 de mayo); paz entre Carlos y Enrique VIII (5 de agosto).
1530	Carlos reconoce públicamente a su hija Tadea y ordena que le hagan una marca (enero-febrero); Clemente	Muere Gattinara (5de junio), y Los Cobos y Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela pasan a ser los principales ministros de Carlos; Carlos inaugura la	Pizarro y Diego de Almagro conducen una expedición desde Panamá al Perú (27 de diciembre).

	corona a Carlos rey de Lombardía (22 de febrero) y emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano en Bolonia (24 de febrero); Carlos cruza el Brenner y entra en Austria (2 de mayo); muere el infante Fernando (30 de julio); Juana, hija ilegítima de Carlos, muere en Madrigal; el asedio imperial-papal fuerza a la República florentina a rendirse (agosto) y Carlos restaura el gobierno Médici (octubre).	Dieta de Augsburgo (15 de junio) y asiste a la Confesión de Augsburgo (25 de junio); los príncipes franceses vuelven a Francia tras haberse satisfecho íntegramente el pago de su rescate (1 de julio); Leonor de Austria contrae matrimonio con Francisco (7 de julio); Carlos condena a los luteranos en el acto de clausura de la Dieta (19 de noviembre); muere Margarita de Austria (30 de noviembre).	
1531		Fernando es elegido rey de Romanos (5 de enero); Carlos entra en Bruselas (25 de enero); Felipe de Hesse y el elector de Sajonia forman la Liga de Esmalcalda de los estados luteranos (27 de febrero); Carlos nombra a María, reina viuda de Hungría, para que sea su regente en los Países Bajos, aconsejada por tres Consejos Colaterales (septiembreoctubre) y celebra el capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro en Tournai (diciembre).	Enrique VIII consigue ser nombrado jefe supremo de la Iglesia de Inglaterra (11 de febrero).
1532	Carlos entra en Italia atravesando el Brenner a la cabeza de un ejército (octubre) y llega a	Carlos sale de Bruselas con destino a Alemania (17 de enero); sufre un accidente de caza y una serie de problemas de salud	Francisco Pizarro captura al inca Atahualpa en Cajamarca (16 de

	Bolonia (13 de diciembre) para mantener más conversaciones con Clemente.	(25 de febrero-julio); Solimán le desafía a entrar en batalla (12 de julio); acuerda la paz de Núremberg (23 de julio) a cambio de apoyo militar luterano; entra en Viena (23 de septiembre); el ejército otomano se retira de Hungría (octubre).	noviembre) y manda «prendas» a Carlos.
1533	Carlos firma un pacto para la defensa de Italia (24 de febrero), sale de Bolonia (28 de febrero) y zarpa hacia España desde Génova (10 de abril); Carlos vuelve a reunirse con su familia en Barcelona (22 de abril).		Enrique VIII repudia a Catalina de Aragón, se casa con Ana Bolena (25 de enero) y es excomulgado por el Papa; Pizarro ejecuta a Atahualpa (26 de julio); nace Isabel Tudor (7 de septiembre); Pizarro captura Cuzco (15 de noviembre).
1534	Las prendas enviadas por Pizarro llegan a España (enero); Carlos visita la Universidad de Salamanca (junio); la emperatriz da a luz un hijo mortinato (29 de junio); muere Clemente VII (25 de septiembre); Alejandro Farnesio es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «Pablo III» (13 de octubre).	Felipe de Hesse entra en Wurtemberg a la cabeza de tropas luteranas, expulsa a las guarniciones Habsburgo y repone al duque Ulrico (abril-junio).	Clemente reafirma la validez del matrimonio de Enrique VIII con Catalina de Aragón (marzo); Enrique pone fin a la obediencia de Inglaterra para con Roma.

1535	Carlos hace su tercer testamento (28 de febrero), deja España (28 de mayo) y toma Túnez (16 de junio-20 de agosto); nace la infanta Juana (24 de junio); Carlos establece una casa independiente para el príncipe Felipe (junio); Carlos emprende su gira victoriosa por Sicilia (21 de agosto al 2 de noviembre) y Nápoles; muere el duque Francesco Sforza de Milán (1 de noviembre) y Leyva toma posesión del ducado en nombre de Carlos.		Carlos incorpora Tlaxcala a la Corona de Castilla (13 de marzo) y nombra a don Antonio de Mendoza su primer virrey de Nueva España (25 de abril).
1536	Carlos preside en Nápoles la ceremonia del matrimonio de su hija Margarita con el duque Alejandro de Médici de Florencia (18 de enero), entra en Roma (5 de abril) y de nuevo desafía a Francisco a un duelo (16 de abril); Carlos entra en Francia a la cabeza de un ejército (25 de julio); muerte de Germana de Foix (15 de octubre); Carlos se retira derrotado a Génova (28 de octubre) y	Francisco ocupa Saboya y el Piamonte (febrero-marzo) y negocia una alianza con Solimán (abril); Carlos invade la Provenza (julio), pero tiene que emprender la retirada a Italia (septiembre-octubre).	Muere Catalina de Aragón (7 de enero); Enrique VIII manda ejecutar a Ana Bolena (19 de mayo) y se casa con Jane Seymour (30 de mayo).

	zarpa rumbo a Barcelona (15 de noviembre).		
1537	El duque Alejandro de Médici es asesinado (6 de enero); nace el infante Juan (19 de octubre).		Nace el príncipe Eduardo Tudor (12 de octubre); muere Jane Seymour (24 de octubre).
1538	Carlos embarca rumbo a Niza (12 de febrero); muere el infante Juan (29 de marzo); la flota otomana derrota a la cristiana en Prevesa (28 de septiembre); Margarita de Austria se casa con Octavio Farnesio, nieto del papa Pablo III y futuro duque de Parma (4 de noviembre).	Carlos y Francisco se reúnen con el Papa en Niza (9 de mayo-20 de junio); muere el duque Carlos de Güeldres (30 de junio), y sus súbditos reconocen al duque Guillermo de Cleves como su sucesor; Carlos se encuentra con Francisco en Aigues- Mortes (14 de julio).	Los hermanos Pizarro derrotan y ejecutan a Almagro (8 de julio).
1539	La emperatriz da a luz otro mortinato (21 de abril) y muere (1 de mayo); Carlos nombra regente a Felipe (5 de noviembre) y escribe sus primeras «instrucciones » para su hijo antes de partir a los Países Bajos (11 de noviembre).	Estalla la revuelta de Gante (17 de agosto); Carlos entra en Francia de camino a los Países Bajos (noviembre) y se une a Francisco (10 de diciembre).	Francisco de Vitoria pronuncia su *Relectio de Indis* en la Universidad de Salamanca (enero).
1540	Carlos aprueba la creación de un archivo estatal en el castillo de Simancas (septiembre)	Entrada triunfal de Carlos en París (1 de enero); entra en Gante a la cabeza de sus tropas (14 de	Cortés regresa a España (junio); Enrique VIII contrae matrimonio con Ana de Cleves (6

		febrero) y castiga a los líderes rebeldes (3 de mayo).	de enero), la repudia (9 de julio) y se casa con Catherine Howard (28 de julio).
1541	El marqués del Vasto, gobernador de Milán, organiza el asesinato de los embajadores franceses Antonio Rincón y Cesare Fregoso (3 de julio), posteriormente aprobado por Carlos; Carlos se reúne con Pablo III en Lucca (15-18 de septiembre) antes de ponerse a la cabeza de sus ejércitos para llevar a cabo un frustrado ataque sobre Argel (23-28 de octubre); regresa a España (1 de diciembre).	Carlos preside la Dieta de Ratisbona (23 de febrero - 29 de julio); parte hacia Italia (29 de julio); los otomanos derrotan a las fuerzas Habsburgo que asedian Buda (21 de agosto) y ocupan casi toda Hungría.	Los aliados de Almagro asesinan a Pizarro (26 de junio); Catherine Howard es ejecutada (23 de noviembre).
1542	Estando en Monzón para reunirse con las Cortes de Aragón (junioseptiembre), Carlos se plantea por primera vez abdicar y retirarse a un monasterio; fracasa el asedio francés de Perpiñán (septiembre).	Dinamarca y el duque de Cleves declaran la guerra a Carlos (junio), seguidos por Francia (10/12 de julio): los aliados atacan los Países Bajos, Cataluña y Navarra.	Carlos se alía con Enrique VIII para atacar Francia y Escocia (11 de febrero), y firma las Leyes Nuevas, eliminando las encomiendas en América (20 de noviembre); los ingleses derrotan a los escoceses en Solway Moss (24 de noviembre);

			muere Jacobo V de Escocia (14 de diciembre) y su heredera, María Estuardo, huye a Francia.
1543	Carlos zarpa rumbo a Génova (1 de mayo) y deja preparadas en Palamós unas instrucciones ológrafas secretas para el príncipe Felipe, al que deja como regente (4 y 6 de mayo); Carlos se reúne con Pablo III en Busseto (20-23 de junio); Felipe se casa con su prima María Manuela de Portugal (14 de noviembre); Barbarroja y la flota otomana pasan el invierno en Tolón.	Carlos marcha a través de Alemania y ataca Cleves, y conquista Düren (24 de agosto); las fuerzas franco-otomanas saquean Niza (6 de septiembre); el duque Guillermo de Cleves se entrega y rinde Güeldres a Carlos (7 de septiembre); Carlos continúa avanzando hasta Landrecies y presenta batalla a Francisco, que se retira (3 de noviembre).	Carlos nombra a don Blasco Núñez Vela su primer virrey del Perú (28 de febrero); Enrique VIII contrae matrimonio con Catherine Parr (12 de julio).
1544	Victoria francesa sobre el ejército imperial comandado por Vasto en Ceresole d'Alba (14 de abril).	Carlos preside la Dieta de Espira (febrero-junio), que vota a favor de una dotación de fondos para la guerra contra Francia; Carlos invade Francia, toma St Dizier (17 de agosto) y firma la Paz de Crépy, que incluye muchas concesiones por el lado francés (entre ellas, una promesa secreta de prestar ayuda contra los luteranos alemanes), pero obliga a Carlos a entregar Milán o los Países Bajos al	Núñez Vela llega al Perú (mayo); los encomenderos del Perú se rebelan, con Gonzalo Pizarro a la cabeza (agosto).

		hijo de Francisco, el duque Carlos de Orleans (18-19 de septiembre).	
1545	Llega a España la noticia de la rebelión del Perú (mayo); nace don Carlos (8 de julio); muere María Manuela de Portugal (12 de julio); Pablo III ofrece enviar dinero y tropas a Carlos para la guerra contra los luteranos (junio) e inviste a su hijo Pedro Luis duque de Parma y Piacenza (septiembre); se inaugura el Concilio de Trento (13 de diciembre).	Carlos anuncia su decisión de rendir Milán a Carlos de Orleans (1 de febrero); muere Carlos de Orleans (9 de septiembre), lo que permite a Carlos quedarse tanto con Milán como con los Países Bajos; Felipe de Hesse y el elector de Sajonia derrotan y encarcelan al duque Enrique de Brunswick y se apoderan de sus tierras (octubre).	Los Cobos recomienda el nombramiento de Pedro de la Gasca para pacificar el Perú (30 de junio); fuerzas francesas invaden la isla de Wight (21 de julio).
1546	Pedro de la Gasca sale de España para ir a restaurar el orden en el Perú (marzo); Carlos envía a Felipe su «carta de emancipación» (30 de junio).	Carlos celebra el capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro en Utrecht (enero); muere Martín Lutero (18 de febrero); Carlos viaja a Ratisbona a reunirse con la Dieta (febrero-junio), seduce a Bárbara Blomberg, y recluta tropas en Alemania y los Países Bajos con la aparente intención de reponer al duque de Brunswick (junio); Felipe de Hesse, el elector de Sajonia y otros líderes de la Liga de Esmalcalda se movilizan y firman una Declaración de Desobediencia; no reconocen la autoridad de Carlos (11 de agosto); el ejército de la Liga	El virrey del Perú Núñez Vela es derrotado y ejecutado por los rebeldes (18 de enero); Francia e Inglaterra firman la paz (6 de junio); La Gasca llega a Panamá (agosto).

		bombardea a Carlos y su ejército en su campamento a las puertas de Ingolstadt (31 de agosto-4 de septiembre); el ejército de la Liga se retira (4 de septiembre) y se disuelve (22 de noviembre); Federico del Palatinado y Ulrico de Wurtemberg se rinden a Carlos (noviembrediciembre).	
1547	Levantamiento de Fieschi en Génova (2-3 de enero); disturbios en Nápoles contra la introducción de la Inquisición (mayo-agosto); muerte de Los Cobos (17 de mayo); tregua de 5 años entre Carlos y Solimán (19 de junio); el duque Pedro Luis Farnesio es asesinado en Piacenza (10 de septiembre) y las tropas imperiales ocupan la ciudad.	Bárbara Blomberg da a luz en Ratisbona al hijo de Carlos, llamado Jerónimo, que luego será Juan de Austria (24 de febrero); Pablo III retira sus tropas de Alemania y ordena que el concilio general se traslade de Trento a Bolonia (febrero); muere Francisco I (31 de marzo), y le sucede Enrique II; Carlos derrota y captura en Mühlberg al elector de Sajonia (24 de abril), que rinde sus territorios y sus títulos; Felipe de Hesse se rinde a Carlos (19 de junio), que le manda encarcelar; Carlos envía guarniciones españolas a Wurtemberg, preside la Dieta Armada de Augsburgo (inaugurada el 1 de septiembre) y convoca a Felipe y a María para que se reúnan con él en Alemania (25 de diciembre).	Muere Enrique VIII (28 de enero), y le sucede Eduardo VI; los ingleses derrotan a los escoceses en Pinkie (10 de septiembre); muere Cortés (2 de diciembre); La Gasca desembarca en el Perú y avanza hacia Cuzco.
1548	Enviados imperiales en Venecia asesinan a Lorenzino	Carlos escribe su Testamento político para Felipe (18 de enero); la	La Gasca derrota a los encomenderos

	de Médici, asesino del duque Alejandro (26 de febrero); María, hija de Carlos, se casa con Maximiliano, hijo de Fernando, y se convierten en regentes de España (septiembre); Felipe parte de España con destino a Génova (octubre) y cruza el norte de Italia hasta Alemania.	Dieta de Augsburgo promulga el *Interim* (15 de mayo); Carlos ordena a Felipe que se reúna con él en Bruselas una vez Maximiliano llegue y se case con María (9 de abril); la Dieta declara a los Países Bajos como Círculo independiente del Imperio (30 de junio); Carlos comienza la purga de los ayuntamientos alemanes (agosto) y regresa a los Países Bajos.	sublevados del Perú en una batalla a las afueras de Cuzco (8 de abril), hace ejecutar a Gonzalo Pizarro (10 de abril) e inicia la purga de los rebeldes y sus familiares.
1549	Muere Pablo III (10 de noviembre).	Felipe se reúne con Carlos en Bruselas (1 de abril) y ambos hacen un recorrido por las ciudades del sur, asistiendo a varios festejos, entre los que destaca el de Binche (21-31 de agosto); el Concilio de Trento/Bolonia es prorrogado indefinidamente (17 de septiembre); las diecisiete provincias Habsburgo de los Países Bajos quedan unificadas por la Pragmática Sanción (4 de noviembre).	
1550	Giovanni del Monte es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «Julio III» (7 de febrero); Carlos hace su cuarto testamento (19 de mayo); el hijo ilegítimo de Carlos, Jerónimo, es enviado a España (junio); fuerzas Habsburgo	Carlos viaja a Alemania con Felipe y comienza a escribir sus Memorias (mayo); preside la Dieta de Augsburgo; muere Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela (27 de agosto); agrias disputas con Fernando sobre las sucesión imperial.	El Tratado de Bolonia reconcilia a Inglaterra con Francia y Escocia (24 de marzo); Carlos nombra a don Antonio de Mendoza virrey del Perú y a don Luis de Velasco virrey de México (abril); la Junta de

	conquistan al-Mahdiye (8 de septiembre).		Indias se reúne en Valladolid para debatir sobre las políticas de la monarquía en América (agosto-septiembre); La Gasca regresa a España con dos millones de ducados procedentes del Perú (septiembre).
1551	Felipe parte de Augsburgo con destino a España (25 de mayo); el duque Octavio Farnesio se pasa al bando de Francia y las fuerzas imperialespontifi cias tienden asedio a Parma y Mirandola (julio); los otomanos capturan Trípoli (15 de agosto).	En Augsburgo, Fernando y Felipe firman un «Acuerdo Familiar» respecto a la sucesión imperial (9 de marzo); vuelve a convocarse el Concilio de Trento, con la insistencia de Carlos en que debe invitarse a los protestantes (1 de mayo); representantes de Carlos empiezan a remodelar los estatutos de 25 ciudades del sur de Alemania (octubre); Enrique II y algunos príncipes protestantes alemanes encabezados por Mauricio de Sajonia firman el Tratado de Lochau (5 de octubre); Carlos ordena a las guarniciones españolas en Wurtemberg que se sumen al asedio de Parma (octubre) y se traslada a Innsbruck con su corte (noviembre).	Vuelve a convocarse la Junta de Indias en Valladolid (abril-mayo); Carlos crea instituciones de enseñanza superior en México y el Perú (mayo).
1552			

	La infanta Juana se casa con el príncipe Juan de Portugal (11 de enero); fin de la guerra de Parma (25 de junio); triunfa el levantamiento profrancés en Siena (26 de julio).	Fuerzas protestantes ocupan Augsburgo (5 de abril); Metz reconoce a Enrique II como su monarca protector (21 de abril); Carlos huye de Innsbruck a Villach (19 de mayo); accede a liberar a los gobernantes de Hesse y Sajonia encarcelados; ratifica el Tratado de Passau, poniendo fin a la guerra alemana (15 de agosto); el ejército imperial marcha a través de Alemania y sitia Metz (23 de octubre), donde Carlos se une a ellos (22 de noviembre).	Bartolomé de las Casas publica la *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* en Sevilla.
1553		El ejército imperial abandona el asedio de Metz (1 de enero); Carlos llega a Bruselas (6 de febrero) y dirige una alocución ante los Estados Generales (13 de febrero); manda llamar a Felipe a los Países Bajos; tropas imperiales asedian y destruyen Thérouanne y Hesdin, en manos francesas (junio).	Eduardo VI de Inglaterra muere (6 de julio) y María Tudor le sucede; Carlos insta a Felipe a casarse con María (30 de julio); Francisco Hernández Girón se rebela en el Perú (12 de noviembre).
1554	Muere el príncipe Juan de Portugal (2 de enero); la infanta Juana da a luz al príncipe Sebastián (20 de enero); Felipe instruye a Juana para que actúe como regente de España y a continuación marcha a Inglaterra (13 de julio); Carlos abdica	Carlos aprueba las condiciones matrimoniales de Felipe y María Tudor (4 de enero); Carlos escribe el borrador de su quinto y último testamento y codicilos secretos (6 de junio), y parte de Bruselas para unirse a sus tropas (7 de julio); Carlos libera Renty, obligando a los	María aplasta la rebelión de Wyatt (3 de febrero) y mete en prisión a su hermana Isabel; Felipe contrae matrimonio con María Tudor (25 de julio), se convierte en rey consorte y reside en Inglaterra;

	como rey de Nápoles a favor de Felipe (24 de julio).	franceses a retirarse (14 de agosto), y entra triunfal en Bruselas (9 de octubre).	Inglaterra se reconcilia con Roma; Hernández Girón es derrotado en la batalla de Pucara, el Perú (8 de octubre) y es ejecutado.
1555	Muere Julio III (23 de marzo); muere la reina Juana, madre de Carlos (12 de abril); Siena se rinde a las fuerzas florentino-imperiales (17 de abril); Marcello Cervini es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «Marcelo II» (9 de abril) y al poco fallece (1 de mayo); Gian Pietro Caraffa es elegido Papa y toma el nombre de «Pablo IV» (23 de mayo).	Felipe regresa a Bruselas (8 de septiembre); Fernando firma la Paz de Augsburgo (25 de septiembre), que garantiza tolerancia con los luteranos del imperio; Carlos abdica como soberano de los Países Bajos (25 de octubre) y como soberano de la Orden del Toisón de Oro (26 de octubre) en favor de Felipe.	Felipe parte de Inglaterra con destino a los Países Bajos (4 de septiembre).
1556	Pablo IV excomulga y declara la guerra a Carlos y Felipe (septiembre); Carlos desembarca en Laredo (28 de septiembre) y viaja a Jarandilla.	Carlos abdica como rey de Sicilia, Aragón y Castilla, en favor de Felipe (16 de enero), a quien nombra vicario imperial en Italia; tregua de Vaucelles con Francia (febrero-julio); Carlos y sus hermanas Leonor y María parten de los Países Bajos con destino a España (17 de septiembre).	
1557	Carlos se muda a Yuste (3 de febrero); Felipe suplica a su	El ejército de Felipe derrota al francés en la batalla de San Quintín (10	Felipe regresa a Inglaterra (18 de marzo-6 de julio);

	padre que deje Yuste y vuelva a gobernar España, pero este se niega (23-24 de marzo); Felipe emite su primer Decreto dejando en suspenso todos los pagos de la Hacienda de Castilla (mayo); muere Juan III de Portugal (11 de junio) y le sucede el infante su nieto Sebastián, con Catalina, hermana de Carlos, como regente; las tropas españolas obligan a Pablo IV a firmar la paz (14 de septiembre).	de agosto) e invade Francia (septiembreoctubre).	Inglaterra declara la guerra a Francia y Escocia (7 de junio).
1558	Muere Leonor de Austria (25 de febrero); Luis Quijada lleva a Jerónimo a Yuste y le presenta ante Carlos (julio); Carlos repasa su último testamento e introduce algunos cambios (9 de septiembre); muere Carlos (21 de septiembre); muere María de Hungría (18 de octubre); exequias por Carlos en Valladolid y otros lugares de España e Italia (diciembre).	La abdicación de Carlos como emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano es aceptada por el Colegio Electoral (14 de marzo), y Fernando le sucede, pero niega a Felipe el título de vicario imperial en Italia; el ejército de Felipe derrota al francés en la batalla de Gravelinas (13 de julio); exequias por Carlos en Bruselas y otros lugares de los Países Bajos (diciembre).	Inglaterra pierde Calais (7 de enero); muere María Tudor (17 de noviembre) y le sucede su hermana Isabel; exequias por Carlos en Londres (diciembre).
1559	Muere Pablo IV (18 de agosto); Giovanni Angelo de Médici es elegido	Exequias por Carlos en Augsburgo (24 de febrero); la paz de Cateau-Cambrésis pone fin a las	La paz de Cateau-Cambrésis pone fin a las guerras

	Papa y toma el nombre de «Pío IV» (25 de diciembre); Felipe regresa a España, se reúne con su hermanastro Jerónimo, a quien le cambia el nombre por el de «don Juan de Austria» y le acoge en su corte (septiembre).	guerras Habsburgo-Valois (3 de abril); Felipe nombra a su hermanastra Margarita regente de los Países Bajos y embarca rumbo a España (agosto).	angloescocesas y anglofrancesas (3 de abril); exequias por Carlos en Lima (11-12 de noviembre), Ciudad de México (30 de noviembre) y otros lugares de la América española.
1562		Tadea, hermanastra de Felipe, entonces monja en Roma, ruega permiso para ir a España (12 de octubre); Fernando consigue la elección de su hijo Maximiliano como rey de Romanos (24 de noviembre).	Gonzalo Méndez, un fraile franciscano de Guatemala, contempla la ascensión del alma de Carlos desde el purgatorio al cielo.

Abreviaturas utilizadas en las notas y las fuentes

AA: Biblioteca de Liria, Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de los Duques de Alba, con caja y folio.

ADN: Archives du département du Nord, Lille.

B: Archives Civiles, Série B (Chambre des Comptes de Lille), con legajo y registro (cuando lo hay).

AGI: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

IG: Indiferente General.

Pat.: Patronato.

AGRB: Archives Générales du Royaume/Algemene Rijksarchief, Bruselas.

Audience: *Papiers d'État de d'Audience/Papieren van Staat en Audientië*.

Gachard: Collection Gachard/Collectie Gachard.

MD: Manuscrits divers/Handschriftenverzameling.

AGNM: Archivo General de la Nación, México D. F.

Mercedes: Instituciones coloniales: Mercedes.

AGS: Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid).

CC: *Cámara de Castilla*.

CJH: *Consejos y Juntas de Hacienda*.

CMC: Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (con época y legajo).

CSR: Casas y Sitios Reales.

E: Negociación de Estado.

GA: *Guerra Antigua*.

PR: Patronato Real.

AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

Inquisición: Sección de Inquisición.

AHN Nobleza: Sección Nobleza del Archivo Histórico Nacional, Toledo.

Frías: Archivo de los duques de Frías (hasta 1987 sito en el castillo de los duques de Frías en Montemayor, Córdoba).

ANF: Archives Nationales de France, París, Archives de l'Ancien Régime.

Série J: Trésor des Chartes.

Série K: Monuments historiques.

ASF: Archivio di Stato, Florencia.

MP: Mediceo del Principato.

SDO: Signori, Dieci di Balia e Otto di Pratica. Legazioni e commissarie, missive e responsive.

ASMa: Archivio di Stato, Mantua.

AG CE: Archivio Gonzaga: Corrispondenza estera.

ASMo: Archivio di Stato, Módena.

CDA: Cancellaria ducale: ambasciatori.

ASP: Archivio di Stato, Parma.

CF: Carteggio Farnesio.

GG: Fondo Famiglie: Gonzaga di Guastalla.

AST: Archivio di Stato, Turín.

LT: Lettere di ministri.

B & S: Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V., con número de edición (serie de 22 fascículos publicados en *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* entre 1930 y 1942 por Karl Brandi y sus alumnos. Véase bibliografía en *Berichte und Studien* para más detalles).

BAE: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

BAV: Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, Ciudad del Vaticano, colección de manuscritos.

Vat. Lat.: Codex Vaticanus Latinus.

BCRH: Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire.

BL: British Library, Londres, Departamento de manuscritos occidentales.

Addl.: *Additional Manuscripts*.

Cott.: *Cotton Manuscripts*.

Eg.: *Egerton Manuscripts*.

BMECB: Bibliothèque Municipale d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon.

Ms. Granvelle: *Collection Manuscrite Granvelle*.

BNE *Ms:* Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, *colección de manuscritos*.

BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, París, *Section des Manuscrits*.

Dupuy: Collection manuscrite Dupuy.

F. f.: Fonds français.

Ms. Esp.: Manuscrit espagnol.

Ms. Port.: Manuscrit portugais.

BNMV: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venecia, colección de manuscritos.

BNP: La Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. Notice et extraits des manuscrits qui concernent l'histoire de la Belgique, ed. L. P. Gachard, 2 vols. (Bruselas, 1877).

BR *Ms*: Biblioteca Real (antes Biblioteca del Real Palacio), Madrid, *colección de manuscritos. BRAH: Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*.

BRB: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

BSLE *Ms*: Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, *colección de manuscritos*.

BZ: Biblioteca de Zabálburu, Madrid, colección de manuscritos (con caja y folio).

CCG: *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle*, ed. E. Poullet y C. Piot, 12 volúmenes (Bruselas, 1877-1896).

CDCV: Corpus Documental Carlos V, ed. M. Fernández Álvarez, 5 vols. (Salamanca, 1974-1981).

CLC: Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla, IV (Madrid, 1882).

CMH: Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie avec Charles-Quint et Nicolas de Granvelle, ed. L. Gorter-van Royen y J.-P. Hoyois (Lovaina, 2009).

CODOIN: Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España, 112 vols. (Madrid, 1842-1895).

CODOIN América: Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizació n de las antiguas posesiones de América y Oceanía, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884).

CODOIN Ultramar: Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizació n de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar, 25 vols. (Madrid, 1885-1932).

CR: Corpus Reformatorum, ed. K. G. Bretschneider y otros, 101 vols. hasta la fecha (Halle, 1834-).

CSPF: Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, ed. W. B. Turnbull (Londres, 1861).

CSPSp: Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna, Simancas, Besançon,

Brussels, Madrid and Lille, 13 vols., ed. G. A. Bergenroth, P. de Gayangos y otros (Londres, 1862-1954).

CSPSp: Supplement to volume I and volume II of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives of Simancas and elsewhere, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (Londres, 1868).

CSPSp: Further Supplement to Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna and elsewhere, 1513-1542, ed. G. Mattingly (Londres, 1947).

CSPV: Calendar of State papers and manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice, ed. H. F. Brown y otros, 38 vols. (Londres, 1864-1947).

CWE: The Complete Works of Erasmus. The Correspondence, ed. W. K. Ferguson, J. Estes y otros, 18 vols. hasta la fecha (Toronto, 1974-2017).

DRA: Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V., ed. A. Kluckhohn y otros, 20 vols., algunos en varias partes (Gotha y Múnich, 1893-2009).

EHR: English Historical Review.

GRM*: Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste. Lettres inédites publiées d'après les originaux conservés dans les archives royales de Simancas*, de L. P. Gachard, *Introducción* y 2 vols. (Bruselas, 1854-1856).

HHSTA Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Viena.

Belgien DD: Belgien Repertorium DD.

Belgien PA: *Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung A*.

Belgien PB: Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung B.

Belgien PC: Belgien Repertorium P Abteilung C.

Hs. Blau: Handschrift Blau: Registros de copias de cartas enviadas por Carlos a Fernando.

HMC: Historical Manuscripts Commission.

HR: Historical Research (anteriormente *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*).

HSA: *Hispanic Society of America*, Nueva York, colección de manuscritos.

Altamira: Manuscritos de la «colección Altamira», con caja, carpeta y documento.

B: Manuscritos de la colección principal de manuscritos de la Sociedad.

HC: Documentos adquiridos por la HSA a Karl Hiersemann, con catálogo y documento.

Hunt: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens,

San Marino (California).

HA: Hastings Manuscripts.

LP: La Gasca - Pizarro (colección).

IVdeDJ: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, con envío y folio.

KFF: Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. Die Familienkorrespondenz, ed. W. Bauer y otros, 5 volúmenes hasta la fecha (Viena, 1912-2014).

LCK: Correspondenz Kaiser Karls V., aus dem königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de Bourgogne zu Brüssel, ed. K. Lanz, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1844-1846).

L & P Henry VIII: *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gardiner y R. H. Brodie, 21 vols., algunos divididos en

varias partes (Londres, 1872-1920), más ediciones revisadas de los dos primeros volúmenes.

LWB: Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 4: Briefwechsel, 18 vols. (Weimar, 1930-1985).

LWS: Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 1: Schriften, 56 vols. (Weimar, 1883-1929).

NBD: Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. Nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, Erste Abteiliung 1533-1559, ed. W. Friedensburg, L. Cardauns y otros, 17 vols., más dos *Ergänzungsbände* que cubren el periodo 1530-1532 (Gotha, 1892-1981).

ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Viena, colección de manuscritos.

PEG: Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, ed. C. Weiss, 9 vols. (París, 1841-1852).

RAH *Ms*: Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, *colección de manuscritos*.

Muñoz: Colección manuscrita Muñoz.

Salazar: Colección manuscrita Salazar y Castro.

RVEC: Rodríguez Villa, A., *El Emperador Carlos V y su corte según las cartas de don Martín de Salinas, embajador del Infante don Fernando, 1522-1539* (Madrid, 1903).

SCJ: Sixteenth Century Journal.

SLIP: Sánchez Loro, Domingo, *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V*, 3 vols. (Cáceres: Biblioteca Extremeña, 1957-1959).

SP: State papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. King Henry the Eighth, 5 partes en 11 vols. (Londres, 1830-1852).

TNA: The National Archives (antes, The Public Record Office), Kew.

SP: State Papers.

Nota sobre las fuentes

«La historiografía del reinado de Carlos V —escribió Benito Sánchez Alonso en su clásica obra *Fuentes de la historia española e hispanoamericana* en 1952— es «la más interesante de las que ofrecen los diversos periodos»; pero es también «extremadamente copiosa, y muy enmarañada por su heterogeneidad». A continuación, enumeraba unas 2.500 fuentes distintas en diez idiomas sobre «España en el período 1516-1556». Su literatura se ha ido haciendo más copiosa y enmarañada a partir de 1952, tanto en lo que respecta a España como a otras partes del imperio de Carlos: el excelente volumen de ensayos historiográficos *The histories of emperor Charles V*, publicado en 2005, ocupaba casi 300 páginas, teniendo en cuenta que solo incluía las obras publicadas en varios países europeos y el antiguo imperio otomano, ignorando el retrato que de él habían hecho escritores latinoamericanos.[1] No obstante, las fuentes primarias más importantes sobre la vida y reinado del emperador pueden dividirse en cinco amplias categorías: colecciones de datos, egodocumentos, archivos administrativos, informes diplomáticos y crónicas e historias.

I. Colecciones de datos

Siete colecciones de datos —cuatro de ellas impresas y tres manuscritas— proporcionan abundante información sobre Carlos y su mundo:

1. Los viajes de Carlos

Manuel Foronda escudriñó de arriba abajo todas las fuentes de las que disponía para establecer exactamente dónde pasó Carlos cada noche y cada día de su vida, y (cuando era posible) lo que hizo allí. Publicado en su forma definitiva en 1914, actualmente el libro se encuentra disponible en línea —junto con muchas otras fuentes— a través del enlace http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/historia/CarlosV/5_3_foro

Dos recopilaciones de Cadenas y Vicente, *Diario del emperador Carlos V* y *Caminos y derroteros*, aportan, según se mire, más y menos que Foronda: desde el punto de vista positivo, incluyen muchos acontecimientos importantes para Carlos, aunque él no estuviera presente en persona; desde el negativo, omiten las copiosas referencias archivísticas aportadas por Foronda.[2]

2. Correspondencia política de Carlos: la colección de Constanza

A finales del siglo xx, Horst Rabe y un equipo de la Universidad de Constanza reunieron fotocopias procedentes de archivos y bibliotecas en Austria, Bélgica y España de más de 100.000 misivas enviadas a o por Carlos V desde 1517 en adelante, escritas en neerlandés, francés, alemán, italiano, latín y español. A cada documento le asignaron un número y a continuación publicaron un índice, ordenado por fecha y por corresponsal (Rabe, *Karl V., politische Korrespondenz*), así como una reseña de la colección (Rabe, «Die politische Korrespondenz»). Las fotocopias de las cartas de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Constanza se encuentran en *Schuber*, según el archivo, serie y legajo, generalmente con dos listas de contenidos en la tapa: una organizada por el código alfanumérico de cada documento de la caja, y la otra por el folio del legajo del archivo original. Los detalles esenciales —remitente y destinatario; fecha y lugar de la firma; número de catálogo y número de Schuber; formato (original, minuta, cifrado, etcétera)— se han introducido igualmente en la base de datos POLKAweb (http://karl-v.bsz-bw.de/). La organización de todas las cartas mediante una sola secuencia numerada por fecha permite medir el flujo de papeleo y tomar el pulso del imperio casi como lo hizo Carlos, lo que en sí ya constituye una extraordinaria obra de reconstrucción histórica.[3]

3. La correspondencia de Carlos: la colección Bergenroth

Tras una pintoresca vida en Europa y California, Gustave Bergenroth pasó su última década localizando y leyendo manuscritos sobre Carlos. Contrató a nada menos que 10 copistas para hacer las transcripciones, especialmente de las relaciones de Carlos con el papado, y en el momento de su muerte, en 1869 (a causa del tifus que contrajo mientras vivió en Simancas) había reunido ya 20.000 páginas de copias. Casi inmediatamente después, un «íntimo amigo» de Bergenroth, Paul Friedmann, ofreció su «colección de Carlos V» al Museo Británico por 1.500 libras, y el encargado de la sección de manuscritos pidió al historiador lord Acton que hiciera una estimación de su valor. Aunque Acton lamentó que «la capacidad de detectar lo que era importante y novedoso era sin duda muy superior a su forma de utilizar lo que había obtenido», consideró la colección de Bergenroth «absolutamente digna de encontrarse entre los tesoros del Museo». El Consejo de Administración del museo aprobó su compra en 1870. Encuadernados por orden cronológico, sin tener en cuenta el archivo en el que fueron encontrados, los 26 gruesos tomos de la colección Bergenroth (BL *Addl. Ms* 28.57228.597) permiten la oportunidad inigualable de ver el mundo a través de los ojos de Carlos.[4]

Poco después de comprar la colección, el Museo Británico averiguó que Friedmann se había quedado con otros 11 volúmenes. Aunque más adelante volvió a ofrecerlos para su compra, esta vez el museo declinó la propuesta, y en 1896 Friedmann los donó a la Preussische Staatsbibliothek de Berlín. Tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial, fueron adquiridos por la Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej (Biblioteca Jagellónica) de Cracovia, con el número de catálogo *Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 27-37. Los primeros seis tomos contienen descripciones realizadas por Bergenroth, ordenadas por temas (así, *Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 29 contiene copias de los documentos de varias colecciones relacionadas con Carlos y

la Inquisición; *Ms. Hisp. Fol.* 30, de la correspondencia de Carlos sobre el Concilio de Trento, etcétera). El resto contiene el listado de Bergenroth de todos los documentos que había consultado y transcrito, organizado por archivo y serie.[5] Los 11 volúmenes han sido escaneados y se encuentran disponibles en línea en http://info.filg.uj.edu.pl/fibula/pl/manuscripts/5.

4. La corte de Carlos

José Martínez Millán y un grupo de colegas (principalmente de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) publicaron un estudio en cinco volúmenes sobre la corte y el gobierno de Carlos. Los dos primeros contienen ensayos; el resto incluye listas y biografías de numerosos ministros y funcionarios de la casa real.[6] Todos los volúmenes se encuentran disponibles en línea en https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=4519.

5. Posesiones de Carlos

Fernando Checa y un equipo internacional de expertos transcribieron y publicaron casi todos los inventarios existentes que dejaron Carlos, sus hermanos y otros parientes cercanos, cada uno de los cuales incluye un listado y una descripción detallada de cuáles fueron sus propiedades en diversas etapas de sus vidas. El inventario de cada miembro de la familia va precedido de un útil ensayo escrito en inglés y en español.[7]

6. El retiro de Carlos

El periodo de la estancia final de Carlos en España (de septiembre de 1556 a septiembre de 1558) es el mejor documentado de toda su vida. Inmediatamente después de su muerte, a petición de la princesa Juana, el prior Martín de Angulo de Yuste escribió una breve y objetiva *Vida y fin que ha tenido la cesárea, sacra y real majestad de nuestro señor don Carlos, en este monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste*.[8] Algunas décadas más tarde, fray Hernando del Corral escribió una mucho más detallada *Historia breve y sumaria de cómo el emperador don*

Carlos V, nuestro señor, trató de venirse a recoger al monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste, que comenzaba con la abdicación del emperador y terminaba con el traslado de su cuerpo a otro monasterio jerónimo, el de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial en 1574, pero centrándose en los diecinueve meses pasados en el aposento imperial anejo al convento. Su más célebre sucesor, fray José de Sigüenza, plagió descaradamente a Angulo y Del Corral para el volumen III de su *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, publicada en 1605, si bien con algunos sutiles añadidos y omisiones.[9]

Por otro lado, toda la correspondencia del emperador, así como la de gran parte de su séquito, las cuentas de su casa y el inventario de sus posesiones mientras estuvo en Yuste se conservan prácticamente intactos en Simancas. Muchas de estas fuentes aparecieron por primera vez impresas en la década de 1850, aparentemente como preparación al tercer centenario de su muerte, algunas de ellas transcritas por los archiveros de Simancas, Tomás y Manuel González, y otras por su sucesor, Manuel García González, mientras trabajaba para el archivero e historiador belga Louis Prosper Gachard.[10] En 1957-1958, Domingo Sánchez Loro publicó casi todas las fuentes existentes de los dos últimos años del emperador en tres volúmenes que suman casi 2.000 páginas. El volumen III presenta una reconstrucción día a día del «Retiro, estancia y muerte de Carlos V en Yuste», recopilada a partir de los documentos de Simancas transcritos por Tomás González, con los textos de los documentos correspondientes insertados en más de 500 notas a pie de página.[11]

El último día de la vida de Carlos puede reconstruirse casi minuto a minuto gracias a los testimonios de 20 de las personas reunidas en torno a su lecho de muerte en Yuste respecto a si se había visto expuesto o no a los puntos de vista luteranos a través del arzobispo de Toledo, Bartolomé de Carranza. José Ignacio

Tellechea Idígoras realizó un trabajo exhaustivo sobre el juicio por herejía a Carranza, y publicó el testimonio procedente de Yuste en tres lugares distintos: junto a otros documentos en *Fray Bartolomé Carranza: documentos históricos*; en *BRAH*, CXLII-CXLIII (1958); y en un volumen especial titulado *Así murió el emperador* (1995).

7. Las deudas de Carlos

AGS *CSR* legajos 128-180, conocido como *Descargos de Carlos V*, comprende 52 cajas llenas de cuentas y peticiones manuscritas a los albaceas del testamento de Carlos por parte de quienes afirmaban que el emperador todavía les debía dinero: el total superaba los 500.000 ducados. Entre los solicitantes había desde ministros y funcionarios de su casa a herederos suyos (incluida la viuda de Francisco de los Cobos, que tuvo que mostrar su testamento antes de recibir los atrasos debidos a su esposo como secretario principal de Carlos), pasando por Bárbara Blomberg, la madre de don Juan de Austria (que todavía en 1597 seguía suplicando el pago de las deudas de su hijo). Sus relatos arrojaron una luz singular acerca de cómo era el mundo del emperador. Un índice de los nombres de todos los peticionarios mencionados en la colección, recopilado en 1898, se encuentra disponible en la Sala de los Investigadores de Simancas.[12]

Sin embargo, las 7 colecciones de datos siguen incompletas. Aunque Foronda consultó manuscritos de colecciones por toda España y en Lille, en los demás lugares se basó en gran medida en obras publicadas. Los investigadores de Constanza excluyeron deliberadamente todo lo relativo a los primeros años de Carlos (las primeras cartas de Carlos en su colección datan de junio de 1517) y también pasaron por alto muchos documentos conservados en archivos privados. Bergenroth reunió copias de muchos, pero ni mucho menos de todos los manuscritos

importantes relacionados con Carlos. Checa y su equipo omitieron un inventario parcial de los ítems que Carlos se llevó de los Países Bajos en su primera visita a España, en 1517.[13] Las entradas del índice correspondientes a los *Descargos de Carlos V* no mencionan los documentos adjuntos, y en todo caso la serie solo incluye a los acreedores de Carlos en Castilla.

II. Egodocumentos

En 1958, el historiador holandés Jacob Presser acuñó el término «egodocumento» para describir «aquellas fuentes históricas en las que el usuario se encuentra con un "yo", o en algunos casos (César, Henry Adams) con un "él", presente de forma continua en el texto como autor y a la vez tema de la narración».[14] Los historiadores, especialmente los historiadores en la Europa de principios de la era moderna, han desarrollado posteriormente importantes metodologías para tratar los problemas que rodean a los egodocumentos, como el de los recuerdos tan dolorosos o vergonzosos que los escritores o bien no podían contarlos o (de forma consciente o inconsciente) trataban de maquillarlos. Aunque ninguno de sus contemporáneos parece haber registrado las conversaciones que Carlos mantenía durante las comidas, como sí hicieron con su hermano Fernando o Martín Lutero, el emperador escribió una autobiografía, pronunció artículos políticos a partir de notas escritas de su puño y letra, y redactó innumerables instrucciones, informes y cartas en los que revelaba sus más íntimos pensamientos.[15]

1. Autobiografías

Mientras ascendía por el río Rin en su barcaza, en 1550, Carlos escribió, con la colaboración de su ayuda de cámara Guillermo van Male, unas *Memorias* que cubrían lo que fue su vida pública entre 1515 y 1548 (véase Apéndice I). Dos miembros del círculo más íntimo de Carlos también escribieron

biografías en las que se hablaba de él. El emperador Maximiliano supervisó la elaboración de una autobiografía ilustrada en cuatro partes: *Theuerdank* (1505-1516); *Der Weisskunig* (1510-1517); *Freydal* (1512-1516); e *Historia Frederici III et Maximilianoi I* (1515-1516). De las cuatro mandó hacer unas copias especiales para regalárselas a su nieto Carlos (véase capítulo 2).[16] El gran canciller de Carlos, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara, escribió su autobiografía, en latín, justo antes de zarpar de Barcelona con destino a Italia junto con Carlos en julio de 1529. En 1915, Carlos Bornate publicó el texto en latín de la *Autobiografía*, de una extensión de 47 folios de gran tamaño escritos con la característica y pulcra caligrafía de Gattinara, con abundantes correcciones y algunas notas y cartas que aclaraban las afirmaciones del canciller (Bornate, «Historia»). Casi un siglo después, Rebecca Arde Boone publicó una traducción inglesa como apéndice a su estudio sobre el canciller, incluyendo la mayoría, aunque no todas las notas aclaratorias de Bornate (Boone, *Mercurino*). Como Bornate comentó con pesar, el estilo de Gattinara «es ampuloso y prolijo», y a veces «sus razonamientos se perdían en frases interminables y digresiones sin fin», por lo que (en palabras de Manuel Rivera Rodríguez), al leer la *Autobiografía*, «Tenemos la impresión de encontrarnos ante un monólogo». En cualquier caso, contiene mucho material que no se encuentra en ninguna otra parte.[17]

2. Instrucciones

Como otros soberanos de su tiempo, siempre que nombraba a alguien para desempeñar una tarea importante —ya fuera diplomática, militar, administrativa o personal—, Carlos escribía unas instrucciones detalladas, algunas públicas y otras secretas. Por ejemplo, cuando partió de España en mayo de 1543 redactó y firmó docenas de instrucciones para aquellos encargados de gobernar en su ausencia, entre ellas dos escritas de

su puño y letra para su hijo Felipe, cada una de las cuales ocupaba más de 20 páginas. El segundo documento, destinado exclusivamente a su hijo, incluía sus pensamientos no solo sobre cómo debía gobernar Felipe, sino también sobre los puntos fuertes y débiles de los que quedaban a cargo de ayudarle.[18]

3. Informes de situación

En 1551, el embajador veneciano Mario Cavalli señaló que cuando se enfrentaba a una decisión complicada, a Carlos le gustaba «escribir las razones en pro y en contra para ver cuál estaba mejor fundamentada». Muchos de estos documentos han sobrevivido, comenzando por una reflexión introspectiva de sus dilemas de febrero de 1525, cuando escribió «aun sabiendo que no hay nadie que los sepa más que yo, mas quiero yo poner mi opinión a modo de confidencia por escrito» *(véase lámina 12)*.[19] Algunas de las cartas ológrafas a su hermano cumplían el mismo propósito: véase, por ejemplo, su mensaje ológrafo sobre el «estado del imperio» de enero de 1530, de 14 folios de extensión, algunos con abundantes correcciones, escrito expresamente con el fin de que «sirva de recordatorio cuando estemos juntos, y así pueda explicarte todo lo necesario respecto a lo que he escrito».[20]

4. Discursos

Pese a que Lutero le llamara «nuestro silencioso emperador», sabemos que en ocasiones Carlos podía mostrarse bastante locuaz, porque los embajadores siempre dejaban registrado, con frecuencia palabra por palabra, lo que decía en las audiencias (véase más abajo); y algunas de sus alocuciones oficiales (por ejemplo, en la inauguración de una reunión de la asamblea de representantes de varios de sus dominios) aparecieron impresas. Sus extensas respuestas a las críticas sobre su conducta,

expresadas por los caballeros del Toisón de Oro en los capítulos oficiales que celebraban, quedaron debidamente recogidas por el secretario de la Orden.[21]

Sus contemporáneos prestaban especial atención a los discursos públicos de Carlos, como por ejemplo su arenga al colegio de cardenales de Roma en abril de 1536, que duró bastante más de una hora, y su discurso de abdicación ante los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos, pronunciado en Bruselas en octubre de 1555.[22] Aunque en ambas ocasiones Carlos habló a partir de unas notas, y no de un texto, muchos testigos presenciales dejaron registrado lo que creían que había dicho. Las versiones más detalladas eran entregadas a gobiernos extranjeros por sus respectivos embajadores, y dado que estos ocupaban los primeros asientos durante las audiencias, cabe suponer que oían y veían todo lo que era de importancia.[23] Otros eran menos afortunados; el informe de un testigo presencial español sobre el discurso de abdicación probablemente fuera típico: «De lo que pasó, no puedo decir otra [cosa] que las ceremonias que ví, porque hubo tanta gente que no se podia nada entender». Pero algunos de los que lo escucharon desde el fondo de la sala tomaron notas y más tarde las publicaron.[24] Ponto Heutero, de Holanda, fue uno de ellos: en 1598 publicó en sus *Asuntos de los Países Bajos y de Austria* una versión en latín del discurso de Carlos pronunciado 43 años antes, pero esta difería significativamente de otras versiones, incluyendo el texto más detallado: «Receuil de ce que lempereur dit de bouche aux estatz generaulx de pardeça le xxve d'octobre 1555… noté par quelque bon personnaige estant à ladicte assamblée», probablemente recopilado por Antoine Perrenot a partir de las notas utilizadas por Carlos.[25] Lamentablemente, el texto más conocido, el publicado por Prudencio de Sandoval en el último volumen de su *Historia* (1606), se basaba en el de Heutero. Como consecuencia, los que se basan en Sandoval

(como Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V. El César*, 782-788) incluyen los mismos errores que Heutero. Por poner solo un ejemplo, Heutero, Sandoval y Fernández Álvarez afirmaban todos que el emperador dijo que «mi muy amada madre, que ha poco que murió, *desde la muerte de mi padre quedó con el juicio estrazado, de manera que nunca tuvo salud para poder gobernar*» —una admisión insólita—, mientras que, según el «Receuil», el emperador declaró (mucho más plausiblemente) que él había ido a España en 1517 «*pour supporter les indispositions de la royne sa mère* (laquelle il auoit puis peu de temps pleu a Dieu appeller à soi»).

5. Cartas

«Las cartas—escribió James Atlas recientemente— son la base de la biografía»; y tras trabajar una década entera en su historia del reinado del emperador, Hermann Baumgarten opinó que su «fuente más importante es la correspondencia completa de Carlos V». No obstante, no todas las cartas son iguales. Como Lyndal Roper nos recordaba en su admirable estudio de la correspondencia de Martín Lutero (que comprende 18 volúmenes), en el siglo xvi, «Las cartas eran como el correo electrónico de hoy en día, fáciles de reenviar y semipúblicas».[26] Al igual que Lutero, Carlos escribió algunas de sus cartas con idea de publicarlas, como por ejemplo aquella en la que desafiaba a Francisco I a un duelo en 1528, pero muchas otras eran cifradas para evitar que nadie excepto el destinatario al que iban dirigidas pudiera leerlas. El emperador también escribió otras cartas completamente de su puño y letra, a veces incluso escribiendo él mismo la dirección en el sobre, para que ni siquiera sus secretarios supieran lo que había escrito.[27]

Casi 100.000 cartas intercambiadas entre Carlos y sus hermanos (y regentes) Fernando y María han sobrevivido en media docena de archivos y bibliotecas diferentes. La

correspondencia de María hasta 1532 ha aparecido en una edición moderna, y se esperan más volúmenes: la correspondencia de Fernando con otros miembros de la familia, incluido Carlos, ha llegado ya hasta 1536 en cinco volúmenes, el más reciente acompañado de resúmenes en inglés de los documentos y una traducción inglesa de la introducción.[28] Aunque está prevista la publicación de más volúmenes, Christopher Laferl (el editor de la serie) ha advertido que, aunque la publicación de esta serie comenzó en 1912, solo se ha impreso una cuarta parte de las cartas que han sobrevivido. «A este ritmo —concluía con un humor un tanto amargo— la publicación de su correspondencia familiar podría completarse en el año 2558, justo a tiempo para la conmemoración del milenio de la muerte de Carlos V».[29]

Carlos también intercambió cartas íntimas con su esposa, pero no parece que haya sobrevivido ninguna. De las 114 cartas impresas de la emperatriz a su marido escritas entre 1528 y 1538, ninguna expresa muestras de afecto o intimidad, si bien en ellas se hace alusión a otras misivas personales que hasta hoy siguen aparentemente perdidas.[30] Dos de las cartas escritas por Carlos en 1536 a Ursolina de la Penna, que había dado a luz a una hija suya 14 años antes, eran sin duda personales, pero trataban de «nuestra hija Tadea» y estaban escritas en francés por un secretario, con una frase en italiano instándola a llevar las cartas a un fraile de la localidad «por si no entendéis lo que he escrito». Carlos solo añadió de su mano la firma «Charles».[31] No encontramos nada como la apasionada carta de amor escrita a su hermana Leonor por el conde palatino Federico en 1517, dirigida a «Ma Mignonne» (que ha sobrevivido solo porque Carlos la confiscó y, tras leerla, se la llevó consigo a España y la guardó en los archivos de Simancas).[32] Lo mismo puede decirse de la correspondencia de Carlos con su hijo y heredero: de las 500 cartas que se conservan escritas a Felipe entre 1543 y 1558,

muchas de ellas ológrafas, solo una expresa verdadera calidez (su mensaje de condolencia al enterarse de la muerte de la esposa de Felipe, María Manuela).[33] Carlos ciertamente sí era capaz de tratar de temas íntimos con sus hijos, como hizo con su hija Margarita de Parma, pero las 60 cartas que le escribió perecieron cuando los soldados alemanes destruyeron gran parte del Archivio di Stato de Nápoles en 1943. Solo unas pocas ya han aparecido publicadas.[34]

En cambio, algunas cartas íntimas enviadas a Carlos por otros dos miembros de su círculo sí han aparecido impresas. Aude Viaud publicó cuarenta y cinco epístolas que su hija menor, Catalina, escribió a Carlos entre 1528 y 1532, con una brillante introducción que destaca la importancia de dicha correspondencia a la hora de mantener unida a la familia.[35] En 1530, Carlos mandó a su confesor, García de Loaysa y Mendoza, como enviado especial a Roma, y durante los tres años siguientes Loaysa bombardeó al emperador con cartas llenas de consejos íntimos frecuentemente referidos a temas igualmente íntimos que habían tratado cuando estaban juntos, en la década de 1520. Dos ediciones de las cartas de Loaysa a Carlos aparecieron casi simultáneamente, pero las minutas de muchas de las respuestas de Carlos, en AGS *Estado* 1558/56-96, continúan sin publicarse (salvo por algunos resúmenes en inglés en *CSPSp*, IV/2).[36] Aunque en la década de 1540 fray Pedro y fray Domingo de Soto acompañaron al emperador para ayudarle en la negociación de la paz con Francia e instarle a la guerra contra los protestantes alemanes, pocos de sus consejos han sobrevivido, lo que es de lamentar, ya que Domingo posteriormente afirmaría en una carta a Carlos que «nadie como yo conosce el ánimo christiano de Vuestra Magestad».[37]

Otra correspondencia que ha llegado hasta nosotros y que revela detalles personales sobre el emperador es la que intercambiaron su tía Margarita y su abuelo Maximiliano entre

1506 y 1519 (más de 1.000 de sus cartas, muchas de ellas sobre Carlos, han aparecido publicadas: ver páginas posteriores); informes médicos elaborados por sus doctores (las cartas de Fernando de Escoriaza en español a la emperatriz en 1530-1532; las cartas de Cornelis van Baersdorp en francés a María de Hungría en 1548-1552; las cartas de Corneille Henri Mathys en titubeante español a Juan Vázquez de Molina en 1556-1558); y 34 cartas en latín de su ayuda de cámara Guillermo van Male a un colega entre 1550 y 1553.[38] Francisco de Borja, uno de los consejeros de más confianza del emperador, que luego se hizo jesuita, describió más adelante sus conversaciones con Carlos en Yuste a Pedro de Ribadeneira, que dejó constancia de ellas en su *Vida* del futuro santo.[39]

III. Los archivos administrativos de Carlos

Para cuando Carlos abdicó, todos los territorios en los que reinaba contaban como mínimo con un archivo gubernamental, en algunos de los cuales eran especialmente abundantes los documentos sobre su vida y reinado:

1. Austria

(a) Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Viena (HHStA)

Como sugiere su título, HHStA contiene documentos referentes a las dinastías que han gobernado Austria, así como sus casas y gobiernos, y colecciones de otros territorios gobernados por los Habsburgo. Tres secciones son de especial interés para los biógrafos de Carlos:

- *Habsburgische-Lothringische Hausarchive: Hausarchiv*, *Familienkorrespondenz*, que contiene 4 cajas con correspondencia de Carlos entre 1534 y 1555.
- *Länderabteilungen: Belgien-Niederländisches Departement*, que contiene la extensa correspondencia administrativa tanto de Carlos como de María (gran parte de ella sacada de los archivos de Bruselas en el siglo xviii).

Rabe, «Stückverzeichnis» (con nueve partes), proporcionaba datos básicos en 7.165 documentos pertenecientes a la serie *Belgien PA* 1 - 35/1 (nuevos números de catálogo).

• *Handschriften Blau* 595 y 596/1-2, tres registros que contienen copias de las cartas de Carlos a su hermano (1524-1548, 1548-1551 y 1551-1558, respectivamente).

En la década de 1930, Karl Brandi publicó una guía a estas colecciones en la serie *Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V*: «Die Überlieferung der Akten Karls V. im Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien», organizada en cuatro partes: I, «Die Burgundische Kanzlei» (la correspondencia del emperador con su tía Margarita y su hermana María: *B & S*, IV, 241-277); II y III, «Die Kabinettskanzlei des Kaisers» (correspondencia con sus territorios en Austria y con potencias extranjeras: *B & S*, V, 18-51, y VII, 229-259); y IV «Die deutsche Reichskanzlei Karls V» y «Die österreichische Kanzlei» (*B & S,* XI, 513-578). Posteriormente, HHStA cambió muchos números de catálogo, lo que hace más complicado el uso de las listas de Brandi, pero en todo caso indican lo que consta allí. Voltes Bou, *Documentos*, ofreció unas breves descripciones de los artículos existentes en HHStA en relación con España, ordenados en una lista cronológica.

Karl Lanz, *Monumenta Habsburgica*, vol. I, prometió una edición completa de las cartas y documentos de Estado de Carlos en HHStA, pero lamentablemente su primer volumen (que contenía 170 documentos) resultó ser el último: *Aktenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte Kaiser Karls V (1513-1521)*.[40] La colección Carlos V de la universidad de Constanza contiene fotocopias de la mayoría de las cartas escritas a o por el emperador en HHStA (ver más arriba); y Von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, vol. IX, «Urkunden

Band», publicó extractos de muchos documentos (incluidas numerosas cartas intercambiadas entre Fernando y su hermano) citados en volúmenes anteriores. Actualmente se encuentran disponibles en http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10015425.html.

(b) Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)

La colección contiene numerosos artículos no relacionados entre sí referentes a Carlos. Aquí presento cuatro ejemplos, con su procedencia:

- *Códice 1859*: libro de horas en latín y francés que le regaló a Carlos su tía Margarita, con 76 miniaturas, del Colegio jesuita de Wiener Neustadt, que a su vez lo adquirió del archiduque Leopoldo Guillermo, gobernador general de los Países Bajos.[41] http://archiv.onb.ac.at:1801/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=7174926.xml&dvs=1527614220163~484&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=1&divType=&usePid1=true&u

- *Códice 2591*: el manuscrito original del «Solemnelle entrée faicte sur l'advenement de Charles Archidux d'Autriche en Bruges 1515», de Rémy du Puys, legado a la biblioteca por el emperador Matías en 1619. http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13947423

- *Códice Vindobonensis Palatinus* 9363: una colección de documentos en latín de la cancillería imperial sobre el encarcelamiento de Juan Federico de Sajonia y el landgrave de Hesse en 1547-1552. Véase un análisis detallado en: http://www.vhmml.us/research2014/catalog/detail.asp?MSID=19262.

- *Códice Vindobonensis* S. N. 1600: las *Cartas de relación* enviadas a Carlos por parte de Hernán Cortés y muchos otros documentos importantes sobre América de la década

de 1520, reenviados al rey Fernando. Véase la edición facsímil en: *Cartas de Relación de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. C. Gibson (Graz, 1960).

2. Bélgica

Carlos pasó más tiempo de su vida en Bélgica que en ningún otro país, y dio varios pasos para modernizar el gobierno central (sobre todo mediante la creación de tres «Consejos Colaterales» en 1531 y un secretariado alemán especial en 1548). Algunos archivos fueron destruidos a causa de la guerra (el archivo del Consejo de Brabante se quemó durante el bombardeo de Bruselas en 1695) o el fuego (casi todo el archivo del Conseil des Finances pereció en el incendio que sufrió el palacio real en 1731). Otros se guardaban en lugares que hoy se hallan fuera de Bélgica (principalmente en ADN *Chambre des Comptes*, en Lille, hoy Francia), o fueron trasladados a Viena cuando en la década de 1790 el gobierno Habsburgo llegó a su fin. Por otro lado, el Gobierno belga ha patrocinado la publicación de muchas fuentes que han sobrevivido, incluidos seis enormes tomos que contienen todas las ordenanzas emitidas por el gobierno central durante el reinado de Carlos (Laurent y otros, *Receuil*).

Bruselas

(a) Archives Générales du Royaume, Bruselas/ Algemeen Rijksarchief (AGRB)

- *Chambre des Comptes/ Rekenkamer*. El estado borgoñón descentralizó la tarea de auditar a sus diversos funcionarios. La mayoría de las cuentas presentadas por los ministros del gobierno central se encuentran en ADN (ver más adelante), pero la Chambre des Comptes de Bruselas también auditaba las cuentas presentadas por varios cargos del gobierno central además de todas las del ducado de Brabante y algunas del condado de Flandes: véase Janssens, «Fuentes flamencas», 200.

• *Colección Gachard/ Collectie Gachard*. Louis-Prosper Gachard (1800-1885) entró a trabajar como archivero en 1822, y fue jefe del AGRB desde 1831 hasta su muerte, realizando numerosas visitas a archivos extranjeros en busca de documentos relacionados con la historia de los Países Bajos y publicando sus conclusiones. En 1842, otro eminente historiador belga le denominó, exagerando tan solo ligeramente, «emperador de los archivos».[42] Aunque Gachard publicó miles de páginas de documentos editados (véase la bibliografía de este volumen), sus papeles contienen notas, resúmenes y transcripciones sin publicar de muchos más manuscritos, algunos de los cuales se hallan actualmente perdidos (por ejemplo, AGRB *Collectie Gachard* 565, 569 y 572 contienen notas de la serie del AS de Nápoles, destruida en 1943), así como materiales reunidos para sus publicaciones (e.g. AGRB *Collectie Gachard* 628-637, material para su proyectada biografía de Carlos V).[43] Wellens, *Inventaire*, presenta una guía de la colección (parte de ella anteriormente en AGRB *Manuscrits Divers*): véanse artículos 467-840 sobre el material referido a Carlos.[44]

• *Papiers d'État et d'Audience/Audientie*. Esa larga serie contiene documentos tanto del Consejo de Estado como del Consejo Privado bajo el poder de Carlos, incluida su correspondencia con su tía Margarita y su hermana María, y con Granvela, así como la correspondencia de María mientras fue regente de los Países Bajos: véase Janssens, «Fuentes flamencas», 204-205.

• *Secrétairerie d'État allemande/Duitse Staatssecretarie*. Gran parte de la correspondencia de Carlos con los gobernantes, personal militar e instituciones alemanas (en especial la Dieta y el Reichskammergericht) se encuentra archivada aquí. En la década de 1840, Karl Lanz publicó

algo más de mil documentos de la *LCK* de Bruselas junto con otros cien en *Staatspapiere*: muchos procedían de la Secrétairerie d'État allemande.[45]

(b) Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Bruselas (BRB)

La colección de manuscritos de la BRB contiene artículos de la biblioteca de Carlos como duque de Borgoña además de otras adiciones posteriores, como la primera carta íntima escrita por Carlos que ha llegado hasta nosotros: una misiva ológrafa a su confidente el conde Enrique de Nassau («mi Enrique») de 1518, una de las muy escasas cartas en las que comentó su vida sexual *(véase lámina 8)*. La BRB la compró en una subasta celebrada en 1892 como parte de una colección de cartas autógrafas reunida por Johannes van Vollenhove, capellán del Stadholder-rey Guillermo III (que heredó el archivo de «mi Enrique»).[46] Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, VII, 278-290 y 418-430, describe manuscritos de la colección relacionados con Carlos, pero dado que su publicación es de 1907, varios artículos han migrado a AGRB: por ejemplo, el importante BRB *Mss*. 16068-72, «Recueil de documents relatifs à Marguerite d'Autriche 1515-1530» (Van den Gheyn, VII, 430-432), se encuentra actualmente en AGRB *Audience* 41bis.

Mons

Archives de l'État, Mons

Charles de Croÿ, príncipe de Chimay (1455-1527), fue uno de los padrinos de Carlos V, y a mediados del siglo XIX los archivos de sus descendientes guardados en el castillo de Beaumont todavía contenían varios artículos relacionados con el emperador. En 1835 Émile Gachet publicó un breve inventario de la colección y diez años más tarde Louis-Prosper Gachard publicó una descripción más detallada: ambos hacían referencia a un «Registre tenu par le seigneur de Boussu des sommes reçues

et payées par lui, par le commandement de l'empereur», 1 de agosto de 1530 - 31 de enero de 1532. Carlos revisaba y firmaba la cuenta de Boussu al final de cada mes.[47] Algunos de los papeles que anteriormente se hallaban en Beaumont se encuentran ahora en los Archives de l'État, Mons, *Dossier famille de Caraman-Chimay*, con un inventario realizado por P.-J. Niebes, *Inventaire des archives de Chimay. Château de Beaumont* (2013: disponible en línea), que correlaciona los artículos que aparecen en el listado de Gachet con la colección de Mons. Lamentablemente, el «Registre» no se cuenta entre ellos. El castillo de Beaumont se vendió en 1931, y parte de su archivo se había vendido en una subasta antes de 1986, cuando AGRB compró lo que quedaba: de nuevo, el Registre no estaba entre ellos. Cabe suponer que en la actualidad adorna las estanterías de alguna biblioteca privada que yo no he podido localizar. Pero ¿qué hay del gasto personal de Carlos de otros años? No parece probable que el registro de 1530-1532 fuera el único, pero E. Gachet y Gachard no mencionaron ningún registro similar anterior a 1530 o posterior a 1532, por lo que pertenecen a la intrigante categoría de «Desconocidos no conocidos» (véanse páginas 727-728 más adelante).[48]

3. Alemania

La web http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de ofrece los listados de 90.000 manuscritos (muchos de ellos digitalizados) que se hallan en bibliotecas alemanas. Si tecleamos «Personenname» y «Karl V. Kaiser» aparecen 187 enlaces. Entre 1873 y 1896, 4 volúmenes de *Briefe und Akten*, editado por August von Druffel (el último volumen completado por Karl Brandi), incluían extractos (con frecuencia largos) de documentos guardados en los principales archivos de Alemania, complementados por algunos de HHStA y AGS, referidos a las relaciones de Carlos con sus súbditos alemanes entre 1546 y

1555. Véanse también las secciones correspondientes en *Deutsche Reichstagakten* más adelante y Universidad de Constanza más arriba.

4. Italia

Milán y Nápoles

Los archivos correspondientes a dos importantes áreas bajo el dominio de Carlos —Milán y Nápoles— desaparecieron en su mayor parte en 1943: en agosto, un bombardeo aéreo destruyó gran parte del AS de Milán, y en septiembre, algunos soldados alemanes prendieron fuego a las series más importantes de AS de Nápoles (incluyendo su gran colección de documentos de los Farnesio). Sin embargo, aún quedan unos pocos documentos de importancia (como el *Autografi*, en AS de Milán, carpetas 220-230, que contiene muchas de las cartas recibidas por el gobernador de Milán); y algunos artículos destruidos en 1943 se han seguido conservando en otros lugares (como la correspondencia del gobernador Vasto de Milán entre 1540 y 1542: página 698; y las notas de Gachard de AS de Nápoles: páginas 691-692). Otros ya han aparecido publicados: por ejemplo, Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, publicó varias cartas ológrafas que intercambiaron Francisco Sforza y su novia apenas adolescente, Cristina; Chabod, *Lo Stato*, publicó numerosas citas del AS de Milán; y *CSP Milan*, 381-588 (disponible en formato digital a través de *BHO*), publicó extractos en inglés de numerosos documentos del reinado de Carlos que antes estaban en el mismo almacén.[49] Gachard publicó dos de las cartas ológrafas de Carlos a su hija Margarita sobre el infeliz matrimonio de esta con Octavio Farnesio en AS de Nápoles (página 688 anterior). No obstante, la mayoría de los documentos de estos dos archivos destruidos en 1943 son insustituibles.

Parma

El Archivio di Stato de Parma (ASP) también sufrió graves daños durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, pero gran parte de la correspondencia de Ferrante Gonzaga, cortesano imperial y comandante, así como virrey de Sicilia y gobernador de Milán, ha sobrevivido: ASP *Fondo Famiglie: Gonzaga di Guastalla*. También ha sobrevivido alguna correspondencia del duque Octavio Farnesio (1547-1586) en ASP *Carteggio Farnesio*.

5. México

Archivo General de la Nación, México DF (AGNM)

Los primeros cuatro registros de la serie AGNM *Libros de Mercedes* (adecuadamente titulados *Libros de Gobierno*), complementados con tres volúmenes en otras colecciones, contienen en un solo orden cronológico casi todos los mandamientos dictados por los dos virreyes de Nueva España nombrados por Carlos: don Antonio de Mendoza (1535-1550) y don Luis de Velasco (1550-1564). En palabras de Peter Gerhard, que elaboró una síntesis e índice de los cuatro volúmenes que abarcan de 1548 a 1553: «En efecto tenemos a mano las minutas de lo que se negociaba diariamente en la corte de México en un periodo de gran transcendencia, con la intervención de personas de todos los estratos de la sociedad y de todas las distintas regiones».[50] Nada similar ha sobrevivido en ningún otro lugar del imperio. He aquí la secuencia completa en orden cronológico:

- AGNM *Civil* 1271: copias de 92 expedientes emitidos entre diciembre de 1537 y septiembre de 1538, y en marzo de 1550.[51]
- AGNM *Mercedes* I: copias de casi 500 expedientes emitidos entre marzo y octubre de 1542.
- AGNM *Mercedes* II: copias de 760 expedientes de órdenes, enero de 1543-abril de 1544.

• AGNM *Mercedes* III: copias de casi 800 expedientes emitidos entre marzo de 1550 y mayo de 1551.

• Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., *Kraus Ms.* 140: copias de unos 800 expedientes emitidos entre noviembre de 1550 y mayo de 1552.

• Newberry Library, Chicago, *Ayer Ms*. 1121: copias de unos 800 expedientes emitidos entre mayo de 1552 y diciembre de 1553.

• AGNM *Mercedes* IV: copias de más de 200 expedientes emitidos entre marzo de 1554 y septiembre de 1556.

Varias órdenes citan el texto de una cédula real exigiendo tomar medidas, y existen copias de otras de este mismo tipo en AGNM *Cédulas reales duplicadas* I, que abarca de abril de 1548 a noviembre de 1566. AGNM *Hospital de Jesús* contiene el archivo de una institución fundada por Hernán Cortés donde se encuentra su cadáver y muchos de sus documentos. AGI guarda muchos más documentos referentes al virreinato (ver más adelante).

Semboloni Capitani, *La construcción*, Gráfica 3 y Mapa 10, utilizó los expedientes registrados en los primeros «libros de gobierno» para trazar la constante expansión geográfica de la autoridad virreinal en Nueva España. Martínez, *Documentos cortesianos*, publicó prácticamente todos los documentos relacionados con Cortés entre 1518 y 1547, actualmente en AGNM y AGI.

6. El Perú

El Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, *Sección histórica*, *Papeles importantes*, contiene copias de más de 30 cédulas reales emitidas por Carlos, pero la mayoría de los documentos de su

reinado concernientes al virreinato solo se conservan en AGI (página 700 más adelante) o en la Huntington Library (páginas 705-706 más adelante).

7. España

A partir de 1992, PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles) ha permitido el acceso en línea a miles de documentos del reinado de Carlos V procedentes de varios archivos españoles, de tal manera que alguien que se encuentre por ejemplo en Columbus (Ohio) puede localizarlos, leerlos e imprimirlos, sin necesidad de tener ningún carnet de lector ni de pagar nada, incluso cuando los archivos donde se conservan los originales están cerrados.[52] Las series archivísticas principales son:

Simancas (Valladolid)

Archivo General de Simancas (AGS)

A partir de 1540, Carlos quiso convertir la fortaleza real de la villa en un almacén para su biblioteca y los documentos generados por el Gobierno de España, sito en aquel entonces en Valladolid, a 8 kilómetros de distancia. Incluso después de que la sede del gobierno se trasladara a Madrid, los archivos siguieron en Simancas. Las series más importantes en cuanto al material referente al reinado de Carlos son:

- *Consejos y Juntas de Hacienda*. Cartas y documentos dirigidos al rey «en manos del secretario de Hacienda», y consultas enviadas a Carlos por el Consejo de Finanzas, en ocasiones incluyendo un real decreto. Las cuentas auditadas de aquellos que desembolsaron fondos o concedieron préstamos al gobierno pueden encontrarse en otras cuatro series AGS: *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas*, *Contaduría del Sueldo*, *Contadurías Generales* y *Dirección General del Tesoro*.[53]

• *Estado*. Los documentos del Consejo de Estado organizados geográficamente, con una serie para cada país gobernado por el rey (Aragón, Castilla, «Flandes», Milán, Nápoles, Sicilia, etcétera) o gobernado por otros (Inglaterra, Francia, Alemania, Portugal, Roma, Saboya, etcétera), más «Armadas y Galeras» (sobre la flota mediterránea) y «Despachos diversos» (incluidos los registros de la correspondencia saliente del secretario de Estado).

• *Guerra Antigua*. Contiene documentos manejados por el consejo de guerra sobre la defensa de España por tierra y mar, incluidas las guarniciones del norte de África.

• *Junta de Obras y Bosques*. Fundada en 1545 para ocuparse de edificios y obras públicas: sus documentos se encuentran hoy repartidos entre AGS *Casas y Sitios Reales* y AGPM *Sección histórica* (véase más adelante). AGS *CSR* también contiene las cuentas de las casas de los miembros de la familia real, incluidos los registros de la casa de Felipe como príncipe de Asturias a partir de 1535 (AGS *CSR* 36), y AGS *CSR* legajos, 128-180 contiene los «Descargos de Carlos V»: ver más arriba).

• *Patronato Real*. Colección de 92 legajos con documentos a los que el gobierno central asignaba una especial importancia, como testamentos, tratados e instrucciones. La serie completa está disponible a través de PARES.

Muchos documentos en AGS del reinado de Carlos han aparecido impresos. Manuel Danvila y Collado, *Historia crítica* (*MDE*, XXXV-XL), publicó unos 4.000 documentos de AGS relacionados con la rebelión de los comuneros, si bien con numerosos errores de transcripción (tal vez porque Danvila trabajó a partir de copias del siglo XIX en lugar de originales de

las series AGS *PR*).[54] Von Höfler, «Zur Kritik und Quellenkunde», publicó 755 documentos (en su totalidad o en parte) a partir del año 1521; Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, publicó casi 100 «Akten aus dem spanischen Staatsarchiv von Simancas» relacionados con la política alemana del emperador entre 1530 y 1555; y otros más aparecieron en Von Döllinger, *Dokumente*, en *CODOIN* y en *CDCV* (véase más abajo). *CSPSp* publicó extensos resúmenes en inglés de muchos documentos en AGS, si bien a menudo tomados de las transcripciones realizadas por o para Gustave Bergenroth y no de los originales (véase más arriba). Todos los volúmenes de *CSPSp* se encuentran disponibles en formato digital vía *BHO*.

La mayoría de los documentos al respecto que se encuentran en los AGS continúan no obstante sin publicarse. Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 75-82, presentó una útil guía sobre el material de Carlos en la serie *Patronato Real* y las secciones de *Estado* para las que existía un catálogo publicado; pero omitió la serie *Estado K* (papeles del Consejo de Estado referentes a Francia, guardados en los Archives Nationales franceses entre 1812 y 1941) y en *Estado* 8334-8343 (la mayoría, documentos robados de los archivos españoles en el siglo XIX, mantenidos hasta 1941 por CADMA).[55] En la década de 1930 Hasenclever, «Die Űberlieferung», elaboró un listado de todos los documentos de estas colecciones del reinado de Carlos V: *B & S*, X, 437-469. Por su parte, Looz-Corswarem, «Die römische Korrespondenz Karls V.», *B & S*, XIII, 109-190, hizo lo propio con toda la correspondencia mantenida con Roma que se encontraba en los archivos de Simancas y en Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca Real, Real Academia de la Historia) ordenada en una sola serie por año (las primeras cartas dirigidas a Carlos y luego las escritas por Carlos). Igualmente, «Die Korrespondenz Karls V. mit Philipp und mit der Regentschaft in Spanien (1539-1556)», *B & S*, XV, 227-268, presentaba un listado de la

correspondencia de Carlos con sus regentes en España conservada en el AGS, ordenada por año (las primeras cartas dirigidas a Carlos y a continuación las escritas por Carlos).

Madrid

(a) Archivo de la Casa de los duques de Alba (AA)

La caja 4 contiene las cartas de Carlos al III duque de Alba en la década de 1540 y de 1550, la mayoría de ellas publicadas en Berwick y Alba, *Epistolario*, I. Otros dos ítems importantes del archivo también han sido publicados: las cartas de Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, embajador español en la corte de Borgoña entre 1500 y 1509 (Berwick, *Correspondencia*); y las cartas del marqués del Vasto, gobernador de Milán, al emperador, escritas entre 1540 y 1542 (Alba, «Correspondencia», pero adviértase que las cartas a Vasto escritas por Carlos durante su estancia en Ratisbona e Innsbruck fechadas en «1542» en el artículo en realidad se escribieron en 1541).

(b) Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid (AGPM)

Sección histórica, *Cédulas reales*, 1-3, contiene las copias del registro de las cédulas emitidas por la Junta entre 1545 y 1556.

(c) Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE)

La *Sección de manuscritos* es una colección de colecciones que contiene muchos documentos importantes escritos por Carlos o que tratan de él. Por ejemplo, *Ms*. MR43/283 (antes *Ms*. 283), «Descripción de parte de Francia por donde entró el emperador», es el enorme mapa que al parecer se encargó para ayudar a Carlos a preparar su invasión de Francia en 1544 *(véase lámina 24)*; *Ms*. 5578 y 5938 contiene propuestas de Juan Páez de Castro sobre cómo escribir una historia del emperador; y *Ms*. 18.634/58 es una consulta enviada por Francisco de los Cobos a Carlos mientras este se batía en retirada en la Semana Santa de 1531, devuelta con el célebre reproche «confesar y escreuir

mucho son dos recias cosas juntas». Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 87-99, describió este y otros manuscritos de la BNE relacionados con Carlos mediante temas («Alcabalas», «Alianzas y tratados», etcétera). Muchos han sido digitalizados y pueden leerse a través de http://www.bne.es/es/Colecciones/Manuscritos/.

En 1899 la BNE adquirió la biblioteca de Pascual de Gayangos, en la que se incluían numerosos manuscritos referentes a Carlos y su séquito, en especial siete volúmenes de correspondencia que en su día pertenecieron al cardenal Granvela: actualmente *Ms*. 20209 – 20217, muchos de ellos digitalizados y disponibles en línea. Roca, *Catálogo*, ofreció una descripción de la colección de Gayangos, que ha sido poco utilizada por los historiadores.

(d) Biblioteca Real (anteriormente Biblioteca del Palacio Real) (BR)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 415-416, hizo un listado de algunos manuscritos de la BR relacionados con Carlos, pero sin facilitar muchos detalles. También omitió la colección más importante: los papeles de Antonio Perrenot de Granvela, principal ministro tanto de Carlos como de Felipe II, que falleció en Madrid en 1586, dejando un archivo con papeles de su padre Nicolás Perrenot, así como suyos propios. Actualmente, puede que unas 100.000 de sus cartas se encuentren dispersas por archivos de distintos países, desde Suecia a Sicilia y desde Austria a América, escritas en cientos de caligrafías distintas y en siete idiomas (neerlandés, francés, alemán, griego, italiano, latín y español). Una gran parte del archivo de Granvela —unas 14.000 cartas— llegó a la colección de manuscritos de la BR en 1806, y actualmente se encuentran encuadernadas en más de 100 volúmenes: II/2188, II/2192-2194, II/2201, II/2203-2204, II/2206, II/2210, II/2248-2325 y II/2549, y partes de II/2229-2233 y II/2238. Abundan especialmente documentos de la

década de 1550.[56] Por otra parte, BR *Ms*. 1960 contiene los papeles de La Gasca respecto a su nombramiento como pacificador del Perú (BR *Ms*. 409 contiene copias del mismo).

(e) Real Academia de la Historia (RAH)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 101-413, elaboró un listado de los manuscritos referentes a Carlos presentes en la colección *Salazar y Castro* de la RAH, en orden cronológico. El catálogo digital de la colección, disponible en línea, incluye una descripción detallada de cada documento, organizada por volumen y folio. De especial importancia es RAH *Salazar y Castro* A-17 a A-44, donde se guarda la correspondencia de Carlos con sus ministros en Italia entre 1521 y 1529.

RAH también adquirió el archivo de Lope de Soria, uno de los diplomáticos más veteranos de Carlos en Italia. Ibarra Rodríguez y Arsenio de Izaga, «Catálogo», hicieron una descripción de la colección: RAH *Ms.* 9/1951-1954. Los dos primeros volúmenes contienen casi cien cartas originales de Carlos a Soria entre 1523 y 1538 (en ocasiones duplicando ítems en *Salazar y Castro*). Por otro lado, RAH *Ms*. 9/4817 (antes Muñoz A-83) incluye minutas y borradores de las cartas de Carlos al duque de Sessa, su embajador en Roma, 1522-1526, a menudo con anotaciones del canciller Gattinara a quien al parecer perteneció en su día este volumen. Véanse detalles en *Catálogo de la colección de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz*, I (Madrid, 1954), 205-216.

Looz-Corswarem, «Die römische Korrespondenz», proporcionó una útil guía para las cartas intercambiadas entre el papado y la corte española que se encuentran en AGS y en la mayoría de los archivos de Madrid: ver detalles más arriba.

El Escorial (Madrid)

Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (BSLE)

Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 83-85, indicó que un catálogo de los manuscritos españoles de la biblioteca describía 303 códices relacionados con Carlos, muchos de ellos recopilados por los cronistas reales Florián de Ocampo, Bernabé Busto y Juan Páez de Castro. Por otra parte, el Panteón de los Reyes contiene los restos del cadáver momificado de Carlos: véanse detalles en el Apéndice II.

Sevilla

Archivo General de Indias (AGI)

AGI contiene la mayoría de los documentos manejados por el Consejo de Indias. Como en el caso del AGS, los documentos que el gobierno consideraba especialmente importantes (tratados, concesiones, bulas papales) se encuentran archivados en el *Patronato*. La serie denominada con el encantador título *Indiferente General* contiene muchas de las consultas del consejo al rey. La correspondencia del consejo con los funcionarios reales y otras instancias de América está organizada geográficamente (AGI *México*, *Perú*, etcétera); y sus documentos sobre temas judiciales (incluidos los generados por la Visita encargada de someter a escrutinio las acciones de don Antonio de Mendoza, el primer virrey de Nueva España) se hallan en AGI *Justicia*.

Sant Cugat del Vallès

Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (ANC)

ANC Fons *Arxiu del Palau-Requesens*, lligalls/legajos 35-100, contiene los documentos de don Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, ayo del príncipe Felipe, incluida su correspondencia con Carlos, publicada por March, *Niñez y juventud* (si bien March remilgadamente censuró pasajes de algunos documentos). Los *lligalls*/legajos 118-157 de la colección contienen papeles dejados por doña Mencía de Mendoza, marquesa de Zenete, y sus maridos, el conde Enrique de Nassau y Fernando de Aragón,

duque de Calabria.[57] Bofarull y Sans, *Predilección*, publicó los textos completos de 131 cartas (algunas escritas en catalán) dirigidas por Carlos y sus regentes a los funcionarios e instituciones catalanas, conservadas en los archivos catalanes.

Por otra parte, los archivos y bibliotecas de otros dos países han adquirido importantes colecciones de documentos generados por el gobierno de Carlos: se trata de Francia y Estados Unidos.

8. Francia

Lille

Archives départementales du Nord (ADN)

ADN contiene la mayoría de los documentos que se conservan del periodo correspondiente a los primeros diecisiete años de vida de Carlos, cuando residía en los Países Bajos, además de bastante material de interés que llega hasta 1530. Esto se deriva de dos circunstancias.

a) Los duques de Borgoña crearon cuatro Chambres des Comptes para auditar las cuentas de sus diversos dominios (en Dijon, Lille, Bruselas y La Haya). Los auditores de Lille manejaban no solo las cuentas regionales, sino también las del gobierno central, incluidos los inmensos registros en los que Receveur Général des Finances resumía su contabilidad cada año, siempre organizada conforme a las mismas categorías y acompañada de los archivos donde guardaba los certificados y recibos originales. *Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord: Archives civiles, Série B: Chambre des Comptes de Lille* constituye la mejor guía a esta colección (muchas entradas incluyen citas extensas). Además, cada documento suelto de la serie tiene asignado un único *numéro d'immatriculation*, y en este volumen las referencias aparecen en el siguiente formato: ADN *B* 2170 (72.193), esto es, ADN *Archives Anciennes Série B*, liasse 2170, numéro

d'immatriculation 72.193. Las citas de los registros de la serie mantienen su foliación original, con la salvedad de que yo he traducido los números romanos a números arábigos, de modo que, por ejemplo, el «folio vi-XX xij» (six-vingts douze) pasa a «folio 132».

b) ADN *Lettres missives* incluye las cartas recibidas y enviadas por la cancillería de Margarita de Austria, duquesa viuda de Saboya y regente de los Países Bajos durante la mayor parte del periodo que va de 1507 a 1530: un total de en torno a 20.000 cartas (la mayoría, referentes a los dominios de Margarita en el Franco Condado y Saboya). A su muerte, dichas cartas entraron a formar parte de los archivos de la Chambre des Comptes de Lille, y en la década de 1840 fueron reorganizadas y asignadas a 20 registros. Hasta la fecha, más de 1.000 de las cartas de Margarita correspondientes al periodo comprendido entre 1506 y 1519, muchas de ellas sobre Carlos V, han aparecido publicadas en las siguientes colecciones (en orden cronológico de publicación): Godefroy, *Lettres du roy Louis XII*; Mone, «Briefwechsel»; Le Glay, *Correspondance*; Van den Bergh, *Gedenkstukken*; Chmel, *Urkunden*; Gachard, *Lettres* y *Correspondance de Marguerite*; Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel*; Walther, *Die Anfänge* y «Review of Kreiten»; y Bruchet y Lancien, *L'itinéraire*.

La serie *Lettres missives* presenta tres problemas para los historiadores. El primero, que aproximadamente la mitad de las cartas están sin fechar o como mínimo no figura el año, y muchos editores han propuesto fechas erróneas. Segundo, que varios corresponsales escribían a toda prisa (y, en el caso de Maximiliano, a menudo en estado de embriaguez), por lo que transcribir su prosa puede llegar a representar problemas casi insalvables. Y, por último, que al menos hasta 1517, muchas de las minutas de las cartas de Margarita carecen de dirección (aunque la fórmula empleada para el saludo por lo general

puede servir de pista: «Treschier et bien aimé» indicaba que la carta iba dirigida a embajadores o funcionarios; «Mon cousin» significaba que el destinatario era un príncipe de sangre o un caballero del Toisón de Oro; y «Mon très redoucté seigneur et père» solo podía referirse a su padre, Maximiliano). En caso de duda, he optado por aceptar las fechas, destinatarios y lecturas propuestas por Andreas Walther en su «Review of Kreiten» de 1908, págs. 268-284,[58] para cada carta publicada.

París

Varios archivos y bibliotecas de París contienen documentos creados por el gobierno de Carlos V: véase el listado en Hasenclever, «Die Űberlieferung der Akten Karls V. in Pariser Archiven und Bibliotheken». Las colecciones más importantes son las siguientes:

(a) Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF)

La colección de manuscritos de la biblioteca contiene muchos documentos referentes a Carlos generados por el Gobierno francés (especialmente en la serie *Fonds français* y *Collection Dupuy*), así como muchos otros ítems relacionados o confiscados por los franceses (particularmente en la serie *Manuscrits Espagnols* y *Manuscrits Portugais*). Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 417-421, hizo un listado de todos los ítems de BNF *Ms. Esp*. En concreto, el ítem más interesante es BNF *Ms. Port* 61, una traducción portuguesa de las *Memorias* del emperador, que al parecer es el único texto que ha sobrevivido: véase Apéndice I.

El catálogo en línea http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc7296x ofrece descripciones de los ítems de esta colección, clasificados por idioma, así como un enlace a determinados manuscritos que han sido digitalizados. Así, si tecleamos «Charles-Quint» en la casilla «Refine», aparecen detalles de los manuscritos que pueden

consultarse en línea. Por ejemplo, podemos ir a «Portugais» en la lista de idiomas y elegir «61» para leer en línea las *Memorias* del emperador.

Los dos volúmenes de Gachard, *BNP* ofrecen descripciones y algunos extractos de documentos de la biblioteca que hacían referencia a la historia de Bélgica, con una útil lista de entradas en orden cronológico al final de cada volumen (I, 530-534, y II, 580-586, presenta un listado de los documentos del reinado de Carlos). El vol. II, 36-114, resume los despachos que han sobrevivido de los diplomáticos franceses en la corte imperial: fragmentos de los despachos de La Roche-Beaucourt (1518-1519: 15 cartas) y Vély (1535-1536: 7 cartas); y los tres registros de correspondencia guardados por Marillac (1548-1550).[59]

(b) Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, La Courneuve, anteriormente Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (CADMA)

En el siglo XIX, Melchior Tirán, un funcionario francés enviado para inspeccionar los archivos españoles, robó numerosos documentos, que entregó a CADMA (algunos pasarían más tarde a los Archivos Nacionales), pero, por orden expresa de Adolf Hitler, casi todos ellos fueron devueltos a Simancas en 1941: véase más arriba. En la serie *MDE* quedan fotocopias de todos los documentos devueltos, así como algunos originales y documentos de fuentes no españolas. Véase la descripción de cada volumen en la serie https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/md-espagne-1-369.pdf.[60]

Besançon

Bibliothèque Municipale d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon (BMECB) En 1694, la Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon adquirió 82 volúmenes de documentos pertenecientes

al heredero de Nicolás y Antonio Perrenot de Granvela, que pasaron a convertirse en la *Collection manuscrite Granvelle*. Los primeros 6 volúmenes, «Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé sous le ministère du chancelier et du cardinal de Granvelle», abarcan el reinado de Carlos (*PEG* publicó 700 documentos de esta fuente, aunque no siempre completos). En 1992, BMECB añadió 10 volúmenes más de documentos de Granvela procedentes del archivo del marqués de Downshire (los papeles de Trumbull).

La biblioteca ha escaneado prácticamente toda la colección de Granvela y la ha hecho accesible en línea, junto con un índice y enlaces directos a cada documento: http://memoirevive.besancon.fr.[61] Algunos ítems son extraordinarios, como la transcripción de un codicilo secreto al testamento de Carlos que hace referencia a su hijo ilegítimo, el futuro don Juan, firmado en 1554 (*Ms Granvelle* V/265-8: véase capítulo 15) y los diversos informes escritos por y para Nicolás Perrenot entre 1530, año en el que fue nombrado Garde des Sceaux del emperador, y su muerte en 1550.

La publicación de los papeles de Granvela comenzó a finales del siglo XVI, y la colección más reciente —Grata, *Des lettres pour gouverner*— ofrece un útil listado de las ediciones anteriores de la correspondencia de Antonio, así como el texto de todas sus cartas, contenidas en dos de los volúmenes Trumbull: 149 cartas en italiano intercambiadas con 53 personas entre agosto de 1551 y febrero de 1552. La mayoría de los corresponsales italianos de Antonio eran hombres desconocidos —soldados, abogados, impresores, comerciantes, banqueros, clérigos— que ocupaban puestos modestos en diversos lugares de Borgoña, Alemania, Lorena, los Países Bajos y España, así como Italia, y la mayor parte de las veces escribían sobre temas de importancia menor. Pero, paradójicamente, el hecho de que fueran relativamente poco conocidos resultó una ventaja inesperada, dado que el carácter rutinario de estas cartas revela la naturaleza

del inmenso trabajo que permitió a Perrenot y a su padre aconsejar a Carlos sobre cómo gobernar mejor su imperio. Véase otra importante colección de documentos de Granvela en página 699.

9. Estados Unidos

Dos primos, Archer y Henry Huntington, compartían un gran amor por España y heredaron dinero suficiente para comprar casi todo lo que querían y para albergar sus adquisiciones en un almacén adecuado para su conservación.

Nueva York

The Hispanic Society of America (HSA)

Aunque la HSA contiene relativamente pocos documentos escritos por o dirigidos a Carlos, dos de ellos revisten una importancia excepcional: *Ms.* B 2954 (una colección de 11 cartas autógrafas u ológrafas intercambiadas entre Carlos y otros gobernantes en 1525-1531, que fueron compradas por el fundador de la HSA, Archer M. Huntington, c. 1900) y *Ms.* 2955 (las instrucciones ológrafas enviadas por Carlos a su hijo en 1543, y compradas por Huntington en 1906: véase Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*). El texto mecanografiado «Reference List: Charles V», disponible en la sala de investigación de la HSA, describe este y otros elementos de la colección y proporciona sus números de catálogo.

San Marino (California)

The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens (Hunt)

La rebelión de los colonos del Perú en 1544-1548 fue la que mayor pena causó a Carlos (capítulo 13) y, gracias a una feliz coincidencia, contamos con una colección única de documentos que permiten a los historiadores reconstruir su génesis y su represión. Después de la derrota y ejecución de Gonzalo Pizarro, el lugarteniente de Carlos, Pedro de la Gasca, adquirió su

archivo. Tras su triunfante regreso a España se la confió, junto con muchos otros documentos suyos, a Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, a quien La Gasca había encargado escribir una crónica de sus hazañas (Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, escrita en 1565-1567, pero que no sería publicada hasta el siglo XIX). En 1925 Henry E. Huntington adquirió en una subasta una colección de casi 1.000 documentos de La Gasca, posteriormente clasificados en orden cronológico: Hunt *PL* 1-946. La biblioteca también posee una copia en microfilm de la colección y un volumen de transcripciones del siglo XIX, para las que existe un índice mecanografiado: «*Pizarro-La Gasca transcription volumes: Table of Contents*». En el catálogo de venta de 1925 se publicaron unos resúmenes en inglés, no siempre exactos, bajo el título *From Panama to Peru*. En 1964 Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso publicó *Documentos relativos*, transcribiendo otro grupo de copias del siglo XIX de los originales de la Huntington conservados en la RAH: *Mss*. 9-9-5-1830 y 1831 (anteriormente en la Colección Muñoz), con una extensión de 1.200 páginas impresas.[62]

La consulta de esta importante colección se ve complicada por dos factores:

(a) Los microfilms y transcripciones de Huntington y las copias de la RAH siguen el mismo orden idiosincrásico, copiado por Pérez de Tudela. Los originales (Hunt *PL* 1-946) y los extractos traducidos en *From Panama to Peru*, en cambio, siguen ambos un estricto orden cronológico. Los diversos textos pueden ir cotejándose mediante los números de folio que ambas obras presentan, aunque la tarea se complica aún más debido a que el volumen I de los textos de la RAH, y por tanto de los *Documentos relativos*, corresponde al volumen II de la Huntington, y por tanto de *From Panama to Peru*, y viceversa. Así pues, el resumen en inglés de la carta inicial de Gonzalo Pizarro al emperador de agosto de 1544 en el que consta su

crítica a las Leyes Nuevas se encuentra en las págs. 17-20 de *From Panama to Peru* (del vol. I, ff. 455-60 del Huntington, de la paginación original), y en las págs. II, 383-395 de los *Documentos relativos* (de la RAH 9-9-1831 ff. 455-60). El documento original se encuentra actualmente en Hunt *PL* 623.

(b) Aunque Pérez de Tudela Bueso consiguió un microfilm de los originales de la Huntington Library, y lo utilizó para mejorar sus transcripciones, omitió muchos de los originales, sobre todo del volumen I, ff. 784920, de Huntington, que incluye la mayor parte de la correspondencia de La Gasca con Carlos y el Consejo de Indias entre 1545 y 1551. Por tanto, también faltan de los *Documentos relativos*. En la Huntington Library podemos encontrar un «Inventario Preliminar» de 8 páginas sobre estas omisiones.[63]

IV. Archivos diplomáticos

En el prefacio al último volumen de su *Historia de Carlos V*, Hermann Baumgarten escribió que «en comparación con la correspondencia del emperador y la de sus hermanos, sus consejeros y sus embajadores, las Relaciones Finales y despachos de los embajadores venecianos son una fuente de segunda clase». Esto es injusto. La singular importancia de Carlos atrajo una gran atención internacional, empezando por Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, un embajador especial enviado en 1500 por Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón para informar de la salud y el temperamento del nieto que finalmente iba a sucederles. Gracias a sus despachos, contamos con varias detalladas descripciones de Carlos cuando era niño.[64]

Fuensalida pertenecía a un grupo exclusivo, porque los embajadores residentes eran algo inusual. En 1512, algunos diplomáticos ingleses creyeron necesario instar a Enrique VIII a mantener un representante permanente en la corte de Maximiliano, porque «una carta se ve, se desecha y se olvida

pronto, mientras que la presencia de uno de vuestros embajadores… [puede] obligarle a decir lo que piensa».[65] El número de embajadores residentes en la corte de Carlos fue aumentando de forma constante, a la vez que la frecuencia de sus despachos. Ya en 1476, el duque de Milán advertía a su embajador en la corte de Borgoña de que «os exigimos explícitamente, bajo pena de muerte, que nos escribáis cada día»: y medio siglo más tarde, muchos embajadores lo hacían exactamente así.[66] Llegada la década de 1520, los diplomáticos enviados por el Papa, Inglaterra, Ferrara, Florencia, Francia, Mantua, Milán, Polonia, Portugal, Venecia, y también su hermano Fernando, archivaban los informes que con regularidad recibían sobre cada acto de Carlos, de manera que, para el momento de su abdicación, más de un centenar de diplomáticos habían escrito decenas de miles de despachos en los que describían los acontecimientos, personas y lugares desde la privilegiada atalaya de la corte de Carlos. Cierto es que, como ha señalado Elizabeth Gleason, varios embajadores comenzaron a ejercer como tales siendo muy jóvenes y, como Gasparo Contarini de Venecia, al principio «cometían el error de principiante de llenar sus informes de detalles secundarios», pero a lo largo de su trayectoria, en la que llegó a escribir casi 400 cartas desde la corte de Carlos entre 1521 y 1525, hasta Contarini empezó a ser cada vez más perspicaz y juicioso, y estaba bien informado.[67]

Los embajadores ponían especial cuidado en registrar lo que sucedía en sus audiencias, gracias a lo cual han sobrevivido centenares de relatos sobre cómo se presentaba Carlos ante ellos (su vestimenta, gestos y aspecto general) y con frecuencia sobre lo que les decía exactamente. Por ejemplo, los despachos de sir Thomas Wyatt, un eminente poeta además de embajador inglés ante el emperador desde 1537 a 1540, se encuentra (en palabras de su editor): «entre los textos más interesantes y expresivos que

conozco. Describen al emperador como si lo tuviéramos delante; podemos ver cómo son sus miradas, sus gestos; y en todo lo que dice y hace queda reflejada esa refinada sagacidad política que despertó tanta admiración por él».[68]

Tanto entonces como ahora, un embajador astuto podía tratar de superar dicha sagacidad política a través de un interrogatorio hábil. En diciembre de 1543, Enrique VIII y Carlos acordaron organizar una invasión de Francia, y pocos meses más tarde, Nicholas Wotton, el embajador inglés en la corte imperial, recibió instrucciones para que averiguara si el emperador tenía o no intención de cumplir su promesa y, en tal caso, cuándo y dónde iba a atacar. De modo que planteó a Nicolás Perrenot de Granvela, principal consejero de Carlos, una pregunta capciosa:

> «Confío en que pronto partiremos de este tosco país [Alemania], y volveremos al alegre y afable Brabante de nuevo». Pero Granvela supo leer mi pensamiento y se dio cuenta que no era ni la tosquedad de este país ni la afabilidad de Brabante lo que motivaba mi pregunta y dijo, «Ah, no me pregunte eso, porque ahora no puedo responderle».

No obstante, Granvela dio su autorización a Wotton para decirle a Enrique que el emperador «tenía intención de seguir su consejo y entrar en Francia y hacer lo que el rey le había recomendado y aconsejado hacer». Wotton transmitió esta respuesta con la esperanza de que «aunque a mí se me oculte su significado, tal vez pueda arrojar alguna luz al respecto para su Alteza». Y en efecto, así era, ya que ambos monarcas habían acordado «que el emperador invadirá con su ejército el reino de Francia *atravesando la región de Champaña*, y de allí marchará hacia París». La afirmación de Granvela de que su señor se ceñiría al plan acordado bien podía «ocultársele» a Wotton, pero estaba perfectamente clara para Enrique.[69] Ambos monarcas invadieron Francia conforme a lo que habían planeado meses antes.

Aunque con frecuencia los informes de los embajadores incurrían en rumores y especulaciones —lo que hace que los historiadores tengamos que tomar con cautela sus escritos—, cuando son varios diplomáticos los que describen el mismo hecho en términos similares, deberíamos fiarnos de ellos. Por ejemplo, en septiembre de 1526 Carlos concedió una audiencia conjunta a los embajadores de tres signatarios de la Liga de Cognac —Francia, el Papa y Venecia—, y aunque el embajador inglés no asistió (debido a que carecía de autorización), posteriormente fue informado con detalle. Los diplomáticos escribieron informes completos para sus señores inmediatamente después, y dado que sus respectivos relatos acerca de lo que dijo Carlos se parecen bastante, su fiabilidad parece segura.[70] Como mínimo, los embajadores ofrecen información precisa sobre exactamente cuándo tenían lugar ciertos acontecimientos, lo que puede resultar sorprendentemente difícil de documentar a partir de otras fuentes. Por poner un ejemplo, la fecha y el lugar en el que Carlos vio por primera vez la muestra del tesoro y las «cosas», entre ellas algunos nativos de América, que le envió Hernán Cortés en 1520, siempre han estado envueltas en la controversia, pero los despachos del nuncio y del embajador veneciano demuestran que esto ocurrió en Valladolid a principios de marzo de 1521.

Los embajadores con frecuencia hacían también copias de los documentos importantes que enviaban a sus señores, y en algunos casos estas constituyen el único registro auténtico de ellos. Por ejemplo, carecemos del texto original de la indignada condena que Carlos hizo de Martín Lutero en 1521 durante la Dieta de Worms, redactada la noche siguiente a su único encuentro, pero varios embajadores guardaron copias. El enviado de Enrique VIII, Thomas Spinelly, que había residido en la corte de Carlos durante más de una década y viajado con él

por toda España, los Países Bajos y Alemania, contaba con una asombrosa red de información para complementar sus propios contactos y observaciones: esto probablemente le ayudó a conseguir un texto copiado del original francés escrito de puño y letra de Carlos, que es probablemente lo más cercano al original que los historiadores lleguen a conseguir jamás.[71]

Como todas las fuentes, los despachos diplomáticos tienen sus limitaciones. De vez en cuando los embajadores expresaban su frustración por la falta de información cuando Carlos se negaba a recibirlos, bien porque estuviera enfermo o porque «durante esta emergencia militar no se ocupa de los asuntos del día a día» e intencionadamente generaba un apagón informativo. Así, en septiembre de 1552, justo antes del asedio de Metz, Carlos anunció que «no permitirá que ningún agente, secretario, ni hombre al servicio de ningún embajador escriba o cuente lo que se hace» en su campamento, obligándoles a retirarse a Espira, a 200 kilómetros de distancia. Los embajadores tuvieron que permanecer allí, aislados del soberano ante el que estaban acreditados, durante cinco meses.[72]

Por otra parte, la primera mitad del siglo XVI fue una edad de oro en cuanto a cumbres diplomáticas, en las que los jefes de Estado resolvían sus diferencias políticas mediante la negociación directa. A principios de 1538, tras 18 meses de guerra, Carlos le dijo a un diplomático francés que, aunque él y Francisco continuaban «declarando del vno al otro sus voluntades y intenciones por el medio de los ministros», él creía que un encuentro cara a cara entre ellos «era el verdadero y mejor medio para paruenir a la dicha paz». Más avanzado aquel año, ambos celebraron dos cumbres, la primera en Niza con el Papa como mediador y la segunda en Aigues Mortes entre los dos monarcas a solas.[73] Los dos monarcas también intercambiaron numerosas cartas ológrafas. Carlos escribió muchas cartas de su puño y letra a Francisco, y también a

Enrique VIII (con quien se reunió en 1513, 1520 y 1522), a Clemente VII (cumbres celebradas en 1529-1530 y 1533), y a Pablo III (cumbres celebradas en 1538, 1541 y 1543). Los diplomáticos quedaban excluidos de las cumbres, y con frecuencia los ministros del emperador desconocían el contenido de sus cartas ológrafas.[74] No obstante, los miles de despachos de diplomáticos acreditados en la corte de Carlos que se conservan en los archivos y bibliotecas de Inglaterra, Francia, Polonia, Portugal y los estados independientes de Alemania e Italia constituyen una fuente de valor incalculable sobre el emperador y los problemas a los que se enfrentó.

1. Inglaterra

The National Archives, antes Public Record Office, Kew (TNA)

La serie *State Papers (Documentos de estado)*, dividida por reino, contiene (entre otras cosas) correspondencia entre el gobierno central (en especial el secretario de Estado) y sus diplomáticos en el extranjero.

- *State Papers* 1 (246 volúmenes). Colección artificial de cartas, memorándums y documentos públicos y privados del reinado de Enrique VIII (1509-1547), que en el siglo xix fueron clasificados siguiendo un único orden cronológico, con independencia de su procedencia, y que abarca asuntos exteriores y también internos.

- *State Papers* 2 (20 volúmenes). Colección artificial de cartas, memorándums y documentos públicos y privados de tamaño folio correspondientes al periodo 1516-1539, clasificados en el siglo xix siguiendo un único orden cronológico, con independencia de su procedencia.

- *State Papers* 68 (15 volúmenes). Cartas y documentos del reinado de Eduardo VI (1547-1553) relativos a países extranjeros y a Calais, clasificados por orden cronológico,

primero los países extranjeros y a continuación Calais.

- *State Papers* 69 (13 volúmenes). Cartas y papeles relacionados con países extranjeros correspondientes al reinado de María (1553-1554) y Felipe y María (1554-1558) por orden cronológico.

Véase también información más adelante sobre *SPO*.

The British Library, antes British Museum Library, Londres (BL)

a) *Manuscritos de Cotton*

Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) comenzó a coleccionar manuscritos cuando tenía 18 años y, para el momento de su muerte, poseía «la más importante colección de manuscritos reunida nunca en Gran Bretaña por un particular». Los tenía ordenados por estanterías coronadas por los bustos de doce césares y dos de sus consortes, y la BL ha mantenido esta secuencia (Galba A.1 – E. XIV; Vespasiano A.1 – F. XVII, etcétera). En 1702 el nieto de Cotton donó la colección a la «nación británica» y en 1753 esta pasó al recién inaugurado British Museum (actualmente, British Library). BL *Cotton Mss.* contiene actualmente más de 1.400 manuscritos, muchos de ellos de principios del siglo XVI. En la década de 1990 un equipo de la universidad de Sheffield recatalogó toda la colección y proporcionó nuevas descripciones de sus contenidos: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/cotframe.htm.

b) *Manuscritos adicionales*

Otras colecciones de manuscritos de la BL, en particular *Addl, Ms.*, contienen documentos escritos de Carlos o que tratan sobre él. Actualmente pueden identificarse a través del sitio web de la BL «Explore archives and manuscripts» («Explorar archivos y manuscritos»):

http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.d
dscnt=1&fromLogin=true&dstmp=1527634162558&_ga=2.90
99752169.1527376045&vid=IAMS_VU2&fromLogin=true.

Si tecleamos «Emperor Charles V» («Emperador Carlos V») dentro de la opción «Advanced Search» («Búsqueda avanzada»), aparecen más de 600 ítems: algunos son cédulas individuales (*Addl. Charter* 74.946, nombramiento efectuado por Carlos de Johann Obernberger como su secretario en lengua alemana en 1538), otros son volúmenes enteros (por ejemplo, *Addl. Ms.* 28.706, volumen de 114 folios referente a los matrimonios de los hijos de Carlos, Felipe y Juana, con sus primos portugueses en 1542-1543 reunidos por el secretario de Carlos Alonso de Idiáquez, encargado de coordinar los enlaces). BL *Addl. Mss.* 28.572-28, 597 contiene transcripciones de miles de documentos relacionados con Carlos hechas en archivos europeos por o para Gustave Bergenroth: ver más arriba.

Varias herramientas facilitan la consulta de estas series, especialmente la empresa comercial *State Papers Online* (en adelante, *SPO*), accesible solo mediante suscripción institucional. *SPO* proporciona acceso en línea mediante su función «Browse manuscript» («explorar manuscrito») a todos los volúmenes de TNA *SP*, así como a los volúmenes de BL *Cott. Ms.* que en su día pertenecieron a dicha serie. Se accede mediante su firma de archivo (TNA *SP* 1/220; BL *Cotton Ms.* Galba B.VI; etcétera). *SPO* también ofrece acceso en línea, mediante su función «Browse Calendar» («explorar calendario»), a varias fuentes impresas:

- *State papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission … King Henry the Eighth*, vols. VI-II («Part V: foreign correspondence»), contiene una

transcripción completa de casi toda la correspondencia mantenida con diplomáticos ingleses destinados en el extranjero entre 1473 y 1547 en TNA *SP* 1 y 2.

• *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, XXI vols.: una excepcional serie que resume todos los documentos generados por el gobierno de Enrique VIII actualmente conservados en TNA *SP* 1 y 2, así como en BL *Cott. Mss* y numerosas fuentes impresas. Cada entrada incluye una sinopsis, a menudo con extensas citas. El editor original, J. S. Brewer, catalogó en primer lugar todos los materiales correspondientes al reinado de Enrique VIII ordenándolos según una única serie cronológica, tarea nada desdeñable, ya que los documentos no solo se encontraban repartidos en varias localizaciones, sino también en numerosas series, y la mayoría no muestran el año, por lo que «la cronología solo puede establecerse a partir de evidencias internas halladas tras un elaborado y exhaustivo estudio de toda la correspondencia, mucho antes de producirse ningún intento de resumir sus contenidos en un calendario».[75] Brewer publicó los primeros cuatro volúmenes de la serie que había creado y su ayudante, el archivero James Gairdner, completó el proyecto después de la muerte de Brewer, ayudado por otro archivero, R. H. Brodie, que a su vez publicó una «segunda edición revisada y notablemente ampliada» del primer volumen, correspondiente al periodo 1509-1514 (actualmente en dos partes). Estos eruditos editores llegaron en algunos casos a poder leer palabras que hoy resultan ilegibles, y localizaron documentos que posteriormente se perdieron.

• *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign Series*, correspondientes a los reinados de Eduardo y María. De nuevo, existe una estrecha correlación entre el calendario y

TNA *SP* 68 y 69, ambos ordenados según los números de entrada del calendario.

Pocos manuscritos de importancia escaparon a estos diligentes editores, entre ellos BL *Cott. Ms*. Cleopatra C.1, n.º 4, «A diary iournall of the actions in Francia done by Henry 8th in the 5 yeare of his raigne» («Diario de las acciones realizadas por Enrique VIII en el quinto año de su reinado»), en el que John Taylor, secretario del Parlamento, llevó un registro en latín de la campaña de 1513, incluida una descripción de Carlos en su primer encuentro con otros jefes de Estado (f. 92).

Aunque *SPO* casi siempre proporciona un enlace entre el resumen del calendario y el documento original, estos no siempre coinciden. Así, *L & P Henry VIII* y *SPO* utilizan la antigua foliación de BL *Cotton Mss*., no la actual, y por tanto es necesario hojear el volumen escaneado para localizar el documento original y su número de catálogo actual. En cambio, en el caso de los documentos de TNA *SP*, la mayoría de las entradas en *State Papers* y *L & P* presentaban números de catálogos obsoletos o bien no tenían número de catálogo, pero el personal de *SPO* utilizaba «una clave disponible en los National Archives» para identificar los documentos originales. Por este motivo, los textos de *SPO* sobre *L & P Henry VIII* incluyen un enlace llamado «Browse Manuscript» («Explorar manuscrito») que nos lleva directamente al ítem resumido y proporciona su número de catálogo actual; un recurso estupendo.

2. Francia

A finales del siglo xix, los archiveros de CADMA adoptaron la técnica del calendario introducida por TNA y publicaron resúmenes de los despachos de tres embajadores de Francisco y Enrique II para Inglaterra: Castillon y Marillac (1537-1542: Kaulek, *Correspondance*) y Selve (1546-1549: Lefèvre-Portarlis,

Correspondance). Gachard, *BNP*, proporcionó útiles resúmenes de los despachos que se conservan de los embajadores franceses ante la corte de Carlos en BNF, junto con los números de catálogo, pero todavía no se ha publicado ninguno: ver detalles más arriba.

3. ALEMANIA

Solo un gobernante alemán tuvo un representante permanente en la corte de Carlos: su hermano Fernando (quien hasta 1527 también fue el heredero de Carlos), y el libro de cartas llevado por don Martín de Salinas fue publicado en *RVEC* (con la omisión de material que el editor consideró poco interesante). Salinas reconoció desde un primer momento la importancia de las nuevas tierras que Hernán Cortés había adquirido para Carlos, y no solo animó a Fernando a mantener correspondencia directamente con el conquistador de México, sino que además hacía copias de documentos importantes referentes a América y se los enviaba de vuelta a su señor. Gradualmente, el sobrino de Salinas, Alonso Gamiz, fue asumiendo sus funciones: AGS *Estado* 641bis contiene cartas de Fernando a Gamiz, 1542-1556, adquiridas en una subasta celebrada en 1983, así como otro material procedente del *Archivo Familiar Gamiz* del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Álava, adquirido en 1998 (y accesible mediante PARES, tecleando «Alonso de Gamiz» en «Búsqueda Sencilla»; muchas cartas están digitalizadas).

4. ITALIA

Florencia

Archivio di Stato (ASF)

Aunque la República Florentina y el duque Alejandro de Médici, yerno de Carlos, tenían un embajador permanente con residencia en la corte imperial, pocos de sus despachos han sobrevivido. En cambio, desde el momento en que Cosme es

nombrado duque en 1537, los despachos en la serie ASF *Medici del principato* empiezan a abundar, concentrándose la mayoría de los documentos en los volúmenes de la subsección *Germania-Corte Imperiale*.[76] Muchos despachos de Averardo Serristori fueron publicados por Serristori, *Legazioni*.

Muchos documentos de estas *fil z e* , y de muchos otros, han sido analizados e incorporados al Medici Archive Project (MAP), disponible en línea. Los usuarios tienen que obtener un nombre y una clave de usuario y, una vez han accedido, teclear «Habsburg Karl V» en el campo «Simple Search» («Búsqueda sencilla») que aparece en la parte de arriba del menú principal y hacer clic en «go» («ir»). La pantalla de la derecha mostrará a todas las personas cuyos nombres contienen estos elementos; si hacemos clic sobre el nombre del emperador, aparece su perfil en la pantalla de la izquierda. Otra alternativa es acceder y a continuación seguir este enlace: http://bia.medici.org/DocSources/src/peoplebase/SharePerson.d personId=253.

que lleva al perfil del emperador. En este punto, si hacemos clic en el botón «More info» («Más información»), encontraremos al menos 569 documentos relacionados con Carlos V (el número sigue aumentando de forma constante a medida que los investigadores continúan trabajando en el MAP). Cada entrada contiene una transcripción y traducción (a menudo parcial) en inglés. Aunque el proyecto comenzó siendo una base de datos sobre material cultural, y por tanto no se centra en asuntos políticos o militares, contiene no obstante fascinantes detalles como una descripción del escritorio de madera portátil de 3,65 metros de largo y 3,35 de ancho, que acompañó a Carlos en sus viajes en 1541 y que le permitía ocuparse de los asuntos públicos mientras se trasladaba de un lugar a otro.[77] Por otra parte, dado que el MAP está

digitalizando los archivos Médici, cada vez son más los documentos relacionados con Carlos V que se encuentran íntegramente disponibles en línea.

Por último, aunque los documentos relacionados con el emperador se encuentran dispersos por todo el ASF, existe una notable excepción: *MdP: Carteggio Universade filza* 329 contiene solamente cartas y diplomas enviados por Carlos V a los duques de Florencia entre 1530 y 1556 y está completamente digitalizada. Las búsquedas pueden hacerse mediante «Basic Search» o bien a través de este enlace: http://bia.medici.org/DocSources/src/volbase/ShareVolume.do?summaryId=890.

Roma

Los despachos de los nuncios papales destinados en Alemania entre 1533 y 1556, actualmente en el Archivio Segreto Vaticano, fueron publicados en forma de calendario en los 17 volúmenes de *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. Nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, Erste Abteilung*. Los vols. VI y VII (1540-1544), VIII-XI (1545-1549), XII-XIV y XVI (1550-1556) contienen abundante material sobre Carlos. Más adelante, aparecieron dos importantes *Ergänzungsbande* en la misma serie, que comprenden la embajada de Lorenzo Campeggio y la nunciatura de Girolamo Aleandro en 1530-1532, cuando Carlos se encontraba en Alemania. Por otra parte, Pastor, «Correspondenz», Dittich, «Nuntiaturberichte», y Schultze, «Dreizehn Depeschen», todos publicaron los despachos de agentes papales durante la Dieta de Ratisbona en 1541.

La correspondencia de Aleandro en 1521 se ha publicado dos veces: Balan, *Monumenta*, publicó las cartas originales, y Brieger, *Quellen*, utilizó el registro de correspondencia del propio Aleandro. Aunque Brieger corrigió dos tercios de las fechas sugeridas por Balan sobre las cartas del legado, en

ocasiones las interpretaciones de Balan fueron mejores. Pierantonio Serassi, *Lettere del conte Baldessar Castiglione*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1769-1771), publicó muchos de los despachos del nuncio Castiglione enviados desde España entre 1525 y 1527.

Mantua

Archivio di Stato (ASMa)

El *Archivio Gonzaga* guarda despachos de los diplomáticos de Mantua residentes en la corte imperial. El duque obviamente compartía muchos de ellos con Venecia, porque Sanuto los copiaba —al menos en parte— en su *Diarii*. Pero ¿compartía el duque el despacho entero y nada más que eso? Solo podemos saberlo haciendo una minuciosa comparación de los dos textos.

Módena

Archivio di Stato (ASMo)

Cancellaria ducale: ambasciatori, subserie «Alemagna», «Italia» y «Spagna» contienen despachos de los diplomáticos enviados a la corte de Carlos por los duques de Ferrara.

Turín

Archivio di Stato (AST)

Las tropas francesas invadieron el ducado de Saboya en 1536, obligando de este modo al duque Carlos y a su heredero el príncipe Manuel Filiberto a huir, hasta que se firmó la paz de Cateau-Cambrésis en 1559. Dado que el apoyo del emperador constituía la única oportunidad realista para poder expulsar a los franceses, el duque mantuvo un embajador permanente en la corte imperial, Jean-Thomas de Langosco, conde de Stroppiana, cuyos despachos tanto al duque como al príncipe eran muy abundantes en detalles. Los originales se encuentran en AST *Lettere di ministri: Viena*, mazzi 2, 3 y 4. Greppi, «Extraits»,

publicó resúmenes en francés de muchos de ellos entre 1546 y 1559 (a menudo con transcripciones de los originales italianos en las notas).

Venecia

Todos los embajadores venecianos redactaban una *Relazione* cuando regresaban sanos y salvos a casa después de su embajada, y a partir de 1524 cada una de estas *Relazioni* tenía que leerse en voz alta ante el Senado, presentarse por escrito dos semanas después, y a continuación registrarse en la cancillería. Estos documentos revestían gran importancia: Gasparo Contarini tardó más de tres horas en leer su *Relazione* en 1525, tras haber pasado cincuenta y dos meses en la corte de Carlos V, y su texto ocupa sesenta páginas impresas.[78] La mayor parte de cada *Relazione* trataba de los mismos temas: geografía y recursos; tamaño y riqueza de las ciudades y de los nobles; historia reciente; y carácter, aspecto y salud del gobernante, su familia inmediata y sus principales asesores. Gracias a esta costumbre, los historiadores pueden encontrar retratos íntimos del emperador realizados en diferentes edades de su vida, como los de Vincenzo Quirini en 1506, Francisco Corner en 1521, Gasparo Contarini en 1525, Niccolò Tiepolo en 1532, Bernardo Navagero en 1546, Alvise Mocenigo en 1548, Marino Cavalli en 1551 y Federico Badoer en 1557.[79] En el siglo XIX, Eugenio Alberì publicó la *Relazioni* de la mayoría de los embajadores venecianos (aunque, al parecer, en un orden aleatorio); y un siglo más tarde Luigi Firpo comenzó a publicar muchos de ellos de nuevo, junto con algunos más publicados en otras fuentes, ordenados primero por país y luego por fecha. Los volúmenes II y III (*Germania 1506-1554* y *1557-1654*) y IX (*Spagna 1497-1598*) contienen las *Relazioni* escritas por los embajadores ante Carlos V. Todas excepto las de Quirini y Corner se encuentran disponibles en línea en http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it.[80]

Además, como enviados al servicio de otros gobernantes, cada embajador veneciano remitía despachos regulares a su gobierno local, algunos al Dogo y al Senado, otros al Consejo de los Diez, y algunos fragmentos de ellos aparecen en dos fuentes impresas: el *Diarii* de Marino Sanuto y los *Calendars of State Papers Venetian* (disponible en formato digital a través de *BHO*).

Sanuto era ya un historiador con varias obras en su haber cuando en 1496 decidió escribir una crónica de su época dejando constancia de documentos y debates que él consideraba importantes, hasta septiembre de 1533. La elite política de la república reconoció el valor de su empresa y le concedió un permiso especial para rastrear en sus archivos para que pudiera mantener actualizado su Diario. El propio Sanuto presumía de que «He visto y entendido la verdad, no solo sobre esta ciudad sino sobre el mundo entero, y puedo afirmar que ningún escritor podrá aspirar a escribir una buena historia de la época actual sin consultar mi *Diarii*».[81] Su material llegó a ocupar 58 grandes volúmenes impresos, ordenados (según el diseño de Sanuto) por el año, mes y día en el que cada documento llegó a Venecia. Esto puede resultar confuso para los historiadores que tratan de seguir un determinado «hilo» de correspondencia, porque los despachos de los diplomáticos destinados en diferentes lugares que describen un mismo hecho llegaban a un ritmo desigual; pero Sanuto muestra a los historiadores de Venecia lo que el gobierno supo y cuándo lo supo, y permite a los historiadores de la comunicación medir la velocidad de los mensajeros en misión oficial *(véase figura 2)*. No existe nada similar en el caso de ningún otro gobierno. Véase: http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/metabook?id=sanudodiary.

Rawdon Brown, que editó los primeros volúmenes de *CSPV*, con frecuencia utilizó la transcripción de Sanuto de los despachos entrantes, en lugar de los originales, pero lo hizo

antes de que la publicación de los *Diarii* hiciera constar el volumen y el folio del original, que difieren de las referencias del texto publicado, lo que hace difícil calibrar los dos. Por otra parte, Brown cometió varios errores de transcripción.[82]

Los despachos de cuatro embajadores se han publicado en su totalidad o en parte: Von Höfler, «Depeschen» de Quirino; Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni*, VI, de Andrea Navagero; Gachard, *Trois années*, de Bernardo Navagero; Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, de Badoer. Además, han sobrevivido los registros de las cartas escritas por dos embajadores: BNMV *Ms Italiani Clase VII*, cod. 1009, contiene cartas de Contarini desde la corte de Carlos, 1521-1525; y BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753, contiene las de su sucesor, Andreas Navagero, 1525-1528. A partir de marzo de 1538, Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, ofrece los resúmenes y extractos de los despachos enviados por los embajadores con sede en la corte imperial, actualmente conservados en el Archivio di Stato de Venecia.

5. Polonia

Johannes von Höfen, un poeta y humanista de Danzig (de ahí que fuera llamado Johannes Dantiscus en latín, Dantisco en español, y Dantyszek en polaco) sirvió como embajador del rey Segismundo de Polonia-Lituania en la corte de Carlos en 1518-1519, 1522-1523 y 1525-1532. Tal vez por aburrimiento (una de las numerosas quejas que son recurrentes en su correspondencia), llenaba sus despachos de descripciones de los lugares y personas que veía, y también de los hechos acaecidos, por lo que proporcionaba más información que la mayoría de los diplomáticos. También mantuvo correspondencia con Cortés y otros sobre América, y reunió materiales procedentes del Nuevo Mundo que envió a su vez a Polonia.[83]

Muchos de los despachos oficiales de Dantisco fueron publicados en Górsky, *Acta Tomiciana*: los documentos del estadista polaco Piotr Tomicki, recopilados y conservados por su secretario. Los primeros trece volúmenes están disponibles en línea: http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/32217. Muchas de las 6.000 cartas supervivientes (la mayoría en latín y en alemán) escritas por y para Dantisco se hallan también disponibles íntegramente, y en un formato que permite realizar búsquedas, en: *Corpus of Joannes Dantiscus' texts and correspondence* (http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?menu=clat&f=clat). En 1994, Axer y Fontan, *Españoles y polacos*, publicó una traducción española de más de cuarenta de los despachos diplomáticos enviados por Dantisco desde España (junto con muchos otros ítems fascinantes, incluida su correspondencia sobre América).

6. Portugal

Las casas de Austria y de Avis mantuvieron estrechos lazos familiares: el rey Manuel se casó con dos tías de Carlos y después con su hermana Leonor; Carlos se casó con la hermana de Juan III, que a su vez se casó con Catalina de Austria; el hijo de Juan III y Catalina, el príncipe Juan, se casó con Juana, hija de Carlos, y Felipe, el hijo de Carlos, se casó con la hermana del príncipe, María Manuela. Estos lazos hacían que los embajadores portugueses en la corte imperial pusieran particular cuidado al describir la conducta de Carlos, especialmente con la emperatriz. Véanse, por ejemplo, los despachos correspondientes a 1526-1527, cuando la pareja imperial todavía estaba «muy namorados he muy contentes», publicados por Braamcamp Freire, «Ida». Estos despachos procedían de la ANTT *Corpo cronológico*, una serie creada a raíz del caos desencadenado en Lisboa por el terremoto de 1755, en la que los documentos que sobrevivieron fueron ordenados conforme a una única secuencia cronológica, independientemente de su

procedencia. ANTT *CC*, Parte I, *maço* 21 (1517) a *maço* 103 (1558) contiene (entre otros muchos documentos) despachos recibidos del emperador y de diplomáticos de su corte. La página https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3767259 ofrece una descripción de cada documento de la serie.

V. Crónicas e historias

El último grupo de fuentes sobre Carlos son las crónicas recopiladas por sus protagonistas. Carlos escribió su propio relato de los principales acontecimientos de su reinado (sus *Memorias*: ver Apéndice I), y nombró cronistas oficiales de Castilla a nueve eruditos: Antonio de Nebrija (1509-1522), Pedro Mártir de Anghiera (1520-1526), Bernardo Gentile (1523-1536), Antonio de Guevara (1525-1545), Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1536-1573), Florián de Ocampo (1539-1558), Bernardo Bustos (1546-1557), Pedro Mexía (1548-1551) y Juan Páez de Castro (1556-1568). Todos ellos poseían una formación humanista y una licenciatura universitaria, pero solo tres (Mexía, Ocampo y Sepúlveda) tenían experiencia previa en escribir sobre Historia. Todos pasaron demasiado tiempo investigando (o trabajando en otros proyectos) y demasiado poco escribiendo.[84]

Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles-Quint. Première partie* (1913), llevó a cabo una sobresaliente evaluación del trabajo de cada uno de ellos, aunque en varios casos haya aparecido posteriormente una nueva edición. A partir del manuscrito de Santa Cruz, *Crónica del emperador Carlos V*, se creó un texto mecanografiado de casi 4.000 páginas publicado en Madrid en cinco volúmenes entre 1920 y 1925; en 1945 se publicó una edición crítica de la crónica de Mexía; en 1964 salió la edición completa de la historia de Girón; y una traducción española de *De rebus gestis Caroli Quinti Imperator* de Sepúlveda apareció en 6 volúmenes entre 1995 y 2010.[85]

De los cronistas oficiales, solo Sepúlveda consiguió entrevistar a Carlos sobre su propia historia, y (según él afirmó) el emperador le prometió que «si quieres saber algo de mí, pregunta, que yo no negaré a responderte», y le instó a publicarla; pero la obra de Sepúlveda no apareció impresa hasta 1788.[86] Otros tres cronistas no necesitaron hacer ninguna entrevista dado que conocían bien al emperador: Guevara fue su capellán, Girón sirvió como su alcalde de Casa y Corte y Santa Cruz enseñó matemáticas a Carlos además de acompañarle en sus viajes.[87] Entre otros historiadores contemporáneos que pasaron tiempo con el emperador cabe citar también a (por orden cronológico):

1. Jean Vandenesse, que dejó constancia en un diario de los movimientos de Carlos de 1506 a 1551, incluyendo descripciones detalladas de varios acontecimientos importantes.

2. Sancho Cota hizo lo propio desde aproximadamente 1510 hasta octubre de 1518, cuando marchó con Leonor.

3. Laurent Vital llevó un registro diario de la vida en la corte de Carlos entre junio de 1517, cuando partió de los Países Bajos junto a Carlos, y abril de 1518, cuando regresó acompañando a Fernando.

4. Francesillo de Zúñiga, «chismógrafo official de la corte española», acompañó a Carlos entre 1517 y 1529 (ocupando el puesto de bufón a partir de 1522). A raíz de su caída en desgracia se dedicó a elaborar un lacerante relato de la vida en la corte, repleto de comentarios hirientes acerca de sus moradores, que casi de inmediato comenzó a gozar de una amplia difusión en forma manuscrita. El hecho de que uno de los blancos de sus pullas lo hiciera apuñalar hasta la muerte ilustra hasta qué punto podían resultar hirientes sus invectivas.[88]

5. Don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga escribió y publicó un halagador *Comentario* de la guerra de Esmalcalda basado en su experiencia junto a Carlos, y también actuó como proto-cronista imperial, supervisando la labor de otros historiadores.[89]

6. Martín García Cerezada, *Tratado*, es un relato de las campañas libradas al servicio de Carlos por un arcabucero entre 1522 y 1545, con gran lujo de detalles (sobre todo del día a día) sobre aquellos periodos en los que, «como testigo de vista», vio al emperador en acción, a la cabeza de sus tropas.

7. Carlos protagonizaba la segunda mitad de la *Historiae suae temporis* de Giovio, publicada por primera vez en latín en 1550-1552 y en italiano en 1553, y basada en una extensa investigación. Aparte de todas sus lecturas, Giovio realizó entrevistas (bien en persona, o si no, por carta) a Carlos y sus principales lugartenientes, así como a sus enemigos (entrevistó en persona a algunos musulmanes capturados en Túnez que el emperador llevó consigo a Roma en 1536; y por escrito a Juan Federico de Sajonia y al landgrave de Hesse en agosto de 1547, cuando ambos se hallaban recluidos en prisión, pidiendo sus opiniones sobre por qué había fracasado su rebelión).[90] También se basaba en su experiencia personal, por ejemplo, al describir el aspecto de Carlos durante sus encuentros con él, acaecidos en 1529-30, 1536 y 1543.[91]

8. En 1555, Johannes Sleidan sacó sus «Comentarios sobre el estado de la religión y los asuntos públicos bajo el reinado del emperador Carlos V» inicialmente en latín, aunque al poco se hicieron varias traducciones. La condición de Sleidan como historiador oficial de la Liga de Esmalcalda queda patente en su decisión de dedicar 50

páginas a la reciente guerra de Alemania, y solo 6 líneas a la campaña de Túnez; y tampoco escribió nada del aspecto o los pensamientos de Carlos, salvo en el episodio de su enfrentamiento con Lutero en la Dieta de Worms. No es de extrañar por tanto que a Carlos le desagradara su obra, pese a que Sleidan aportó interesantes análisis sobre las políticas alemanas del emperador y sus enemigos.[92]

9. Francisco López de Gómara escribió sus *Anales de Carlos V* en 1557-1558, aunque algunos pasajes continúan en forma de notas más que de obra definitiva. El autor había acompañado a Carlos en la expedición de Argel y es posible que presenciara también otros acontecimientos, lo que dota a su texto de gran vivacidad.[93]

10. La vida de Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, nacido en 1551-1552, apenas coincidió en el tiempo con la del protagonista de *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, publicada por primera vez en 1604-1606, por lo que el fraile tomó prestadas muchas cosas —con frecuencia literalmente— de las crónicas recopiladas por Gómara, Guevara, Mexía y Santa Cruz. No obstante, sus repetidas afirmaciones de que él había visto o tenido en su mano el documento citado en su *Historia* nos recuerdan que tuvo acceso a numerosos documentos de estado, incluidos algunos que actualmente están perdidos. Por otra parte, cuando el original sí ha sobrevivido, confirma que Sandoval citaba sus fuentes con exactitud.[94]

Carlos apareció en muchos otros relatos de su época sobre los que no tenía ningún control. Se le menciona con frecuencia en las *Memoirs* de Bartholomaus Sastrow, procedente de Stralsund, y en la biografía de Federico, primer conde y posteriormente elector palatino, escrita por Thomas Hubert (conocido también como «Leodius»), que estuvo al servicio de Federico como

secretario y luego enviado especial desde 1522 hasta su muerte en 1555. Hubert dejó constancia de muchas conversaciones con su señor y sobre miembros de la familia imperial (incluida Leonor, hermana de Carlos, con quien Federico intentó casarse en 1517 y de nuevo en 1522), además de incluir citas de documentos de los archivos palatinos.[95] Carlos también aparece en la multitud de crónicas dedicadas a cada una de sus campañas (muchas de ellas escritas por orden suya). Voigt, «Die Geschichtschreibung», publicó artículos basados en una exhaustiva investigación sobre las operaciones de Túnez y Esmalcalda, los cuales pese a su antigüedad siguen siendo valiosos. Nordman, en *Tempête*, reunió una ejemplar colección de textos, tanto cristianos como musulmanes, sobre el fiasco de Argel.

VI. Fuentes visuales

Edificios

Los cuatro palacios de los Países Bajos en los que residió Carlos no han sobrevivido. En Gante, unos frescos conmemorativos en los que se describen sus grandes hazañas fueron instalados en 1685 en la sala en la que nació, en Hof Ten Walle (posteriormente rebautizado como Prinsenhof en su honor), pero ardieron en 1835. El Keizerhof, en Malinas, donde Carlos pasó casi toda su adolescencia, fue convertido en un monasterio y se demolió a comienzos del siglo xviii. El enorme palacio ducal de Bruselas, escenario de muchos acontecimientos clave para Carlos, como su emancipación en 1515 y su abdicación cuarenta años más tarde, fue casi completamente destruido por el fuego en 1731, aunque unas excavaciones recientes han dejado al descubierto varios añadidos realizados durante el reinado del emperador. De la casita a la que se retiró en 1554 no queda nada: fue demolida en 1778.[96]

Solamente dos de los palacios de Carlos se conservan más o menos intactos, ambos en España. Carlos encargó la construcción renacentista situada en el mismo centro de la Alhambra de Granada durante su visita a Mantua en 1532 (página 297), y aunque en más de una ocasión hizo planes para volver, en realidad nunca llegó a verla.[97] En cambio, supervisó y autorizó los planos arquitectónicos para otra obra importante: el aposento real de Yuste, donde pasaría los últimos diecinueve meses de su vida. Este pasó a formar parte del convento poco después de su muerte, pero en 1809 las tropas francesas saquearon, desvalijaron y quemaron el lugar, y una vez el monasterio fue abandonado en 1837, todo el complejo quedó convertido en ruinas. Justo antes del 400 aniversario de la muerte de Carlos, en 1958, dio comienzo un importante trabajo de restauración que quedó felizmente completado entre 1999 y 2002.[98]

Representaciones

Carlos y su séquito supervisaban con detalle representaciones visuales del imperio llevadas a cabo por pintores, escultores, grabadores y otros artistas. Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, y Burke, «Presenting», ofrecen excelentes reseñas, destacando la aparición de los retratos de cuerpo entero y a tamaño real, que hoy en día los estudiosos de historia del arte denominan «retratos de Estado» (*véase lámina 20: Carlos con su perro de caza inglés*, por Seisenegger y Tiziano), y la diversidad de los medios empleados: estatuas en madera *(véase lámina 16)*, metal *(véase lámina 30)* y piedra *(véase lámina 22)*; tapices *(véase lámina 21)*; miniaturas *(véase lámina 33)*; camafeos *(véase lámina 32)*; monedas y medallas *(véase lámina 19)*. Las piezas utilizadas para los juegos de mesa también podían emplearse como propaganda colocando el retrato del emperador y de su familia en la parte superior *(véase lámina 31)*.[99] Todas estas imágenes podían ser producidas en masa gracias a la imprenta, y lo mismo puede decirse de las

entradas ceremoniales del monarca en las ciudades de su reino, comenzando en Brujas en 1515 *(véase lámina 7 y capítulo 3)*. Jacquot, *Fêtes et cérémonies,* incluyó numerosos ejemplos, y hoy en día continúan apareciendo nuevos estudios de conmemoraciones concretas, como en Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal*, en el friso de Tarazona (España), para conmemorar la coronación de Carlos como emperador celebrada en Bolonia en 1530.

Muchos de los ministros de Carlos adquirieron retratos y otros objetos que les sirvieran de recuerdo de su difunto señor (o bien intentaron adquirirlos: véanse los infructuosos esfuerzos del primer conde de Olivares por conseguir una copia del cuadro de Tiziano de Carlos en Mühlberg), pero al parecer solo uno de ellos creó un museo en su honor: don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, que algunos consideraban el *privado* del emperador. Él fue casi con toda seguridad el que convenció a Carlos para que se retirara a Yuste, cerca de su propio palacio, situado en Plasencia, donde creó un verdadero Museo Carolino, con un hermoso busto de mármol realizado por Pompeo Leoni en 1555, frescos de las principales batallas del emperador (cuando don Luis describió el de la batalla de Renty, Carlos objetó que no era exacto) y objetos referidos al emperador o que este le había regalado. El Palacio de Mirabel, en Plasencia, todavía ostenta un Salón de Carlos V, pero es posible que sus contenidos no continúen allí por mucho tiempo: el busto de Leoni de esta colección se puso a la venta en subasta en 2017 por 400.000 euros, pero fue retirado de la puja.[100]

VII. Las ausencias

En su excelente estudio sobre las biografías y la obsesión de sus autores, James Atlas comentó: «Siempre va a faltar algo. La historia nunca puede darse por terminada. Son gajes del oficio… La biografía, al igual que el psicoanálisis, queda

incompleta; el personaje, como el paciente, continúa siendo un desconocido».[101] Sin embargo, existen dos tipos de desconocidos: los que sabes que existen y el resto.

1. Los desconocidos que conocemos

La guerra ha destruido muchos de los documentos escritos por, para o sobre Carlos. Los archivos de los Estados de Brabante perecieron en 1695 cuando los franceses bombardearon Bruselas; las tropas alemanas destruyeron en su avance los de Lovaina e Ypres en 1914; en 1943, también tropas alemanas destruyeron los de Nápoles. Otros documentos se perdieron a causa de naufragios. En 1542 Carlos pidió perdón a un embajador porque no podía encontrar algunos documentos importantes debido a que se habían «perdido durante la campaña de Argel» del año anterior.[102] En 1559, cuando Felipe II zarpó de los Países Bajos de regreso a España, «se perdieron en la mar todos los papeles del Emperador y del Rey Nuestro Señor desde el año de [15]40 hasta el de [15]59, que Su Magestad embarcó para estos reynos, y con esto lo que podía dar luz de las cosas pasadas».[103] Otra pérdida importante —la de los mensajes ológrafos de Carlos a su hermano— ha llegado a conocerse debido a que, poco después de la muerte de su hermano, los archiveros de Fernando copiaron toda su correspondencia a partir de 1522 en dos registros a tal efecto: HHStA *Handschriften Blau* 595, 596/1-2 y 597/13. Sus archiveros «cotejaban sus copias con las cartas originales», pero sistemáticamente omitían las posdatas ológrafas del emperador, tal vez porque Fernando las consideraba demasiado delicadas. Por tanto, lo que Carlos escribió de su puño y letra solo lo sabemos en los casos en los que han sobrevivido los originales de dichas cartas.[104]

Muchos otros documentos que han llegado hasta nosotros siguen ocultando, como mínimo, ciertos secretos a los investigadores. Algunos ni siquiera eran muy comprensibles para sus contemporáneos: Thomas Cromwell, secretario de Estado de Enrique VIII, reprochó en cierta ocasión a un enviado destinado en la corte de Carlos que las cartas de este eran «tan oscuras que a cualquiera le resultaba difícil entenderlas».[105] Aparte de su prosa enrevesada, los documentos relativos a Carlos que se conservan están escritos en una desconcertante variedad de letras distintas, algunas de ellas completamente indescifrables. Uno de los editores de *La correspondencia familiar de Fernando I* comentó desalentado «que en todas las generaciones de historiadores debería haber alguno que pudiera editar las cartas intercambiadas entre Fernando I y sus hermanos, cartas que son en ocasiones extremadamente difíciles de descifrar». El propio Carlos era uno de los peores en este aspecto. Su hermana María a menudo le reprochaba la ilegibilidad de sus cartas: «Sin ánimo de ofender, le diré que había una o dos palabras tan mal escritas que no las pude leer y no estoy segura de haberlas adivinado correctamente»[106] (véanse ejemplos de la difícil caligrafía de Carlos en las láminas 8 y 9). Dado que Carlos contaba con que todos los destinatarios de sus cartas eran capaces de leer lo que escribía, los historiadores también deben intentarlo.

Muchos documentos que en el siglo XVI eran legibles han sufrido daños con el tiempo. Por ejemplo, varios volúmenes de los manuscritos reunidos por sir Robert Cotton resultaron quemados por el fuego antes de llegar a la British Library, por lo que actualmente es imposible leer las partes más cercanas a los márgenes de los despachos de los diplomáticos ingleses residentes en la corte de Carlos (véase más arriba). Las inundaciones también han causado daños en muchos documentos del AS de Parma que habían sobrevivido a la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

Pero, sobre todo, no ha sobrevivido el texto sin cifrar de miles de documentos escritos en clave, bien porque el receptor la conocía tan bien que no necesitaba un libro con los códigos, o bien porque la clave no ha sobrevivido. Fernando el Católico recordaba en cierta ocasión a su hija, Catalina de Aragón, «que el secreto y la cautela siempre son necesarios en las grandes empresas», por lo que su esposo Enrique VIII debía «en adelante solamente escribir en sus cartas sobre cosas que los franceses pudieran leer sin que ello suponga peligro. El resto de las comunicaciones debía escribirlas con la clave de ella, o la del embajador, hasta que llegue el nuevo embajador». En 1516 el emperador Maximiliano recibió al menos una carta de su hija «que habéis cifrado vos misma»; y una década más tarde Carlos tranquilizaba a su hermano diciendo que «Yo mismo he decodificado lo que me escribisteis en vuestra carta del 9 de mayo», por citar solo algunos ejemplos.[107]

Gustave Bergenroth, que en la década de 1860 estuvo trabajando en muchos archivos de Europa occidental sobre manuscritos de Carlos o referidos a él (véase más arriba), encontró unas cincuenta claves diferentes solo en España, y llevó a cabo una «inmensa labor, con daño para mi salud», tratando de descodificarlos, hasta que tropezó con una caja que contenía las claves de la mayoría de ellos. Algunas le fueron «útiles a la hora de descifrar una página tras otra; otras solo me sirvieron para leer unas cuantas líneas», pero gracias a sus esfuerzos, las transcripciones realizadas por él y por los archiveros y paleógrafos que trabajaban para él pueden leerse íntegramente, mientras que los originales que se encuentran en los archivos contienen largos fragmentos codificados todavía. En cuanto al resto, Stix, «Die Geheimschriftenschlüssel», proporcionó las claves para 24 códigos utilizados por la cancillería de Carlos (junto con varias láminas donde se muestra el código y el desencriptado).[108]

Por último, nos consta que carecemos de alguna información porque en ocasiones un corresponsal anunciaba misteriosamente que cierto tema era demasiado importante o delicado para tratarlo por escrito. Por ejemplo, el emperador Maximiliano informó a su hija Margarita de que había «explicado nuestros planes de palabra» a enviados especiales que «pueden aconsejaros con mayor secreto y franqueza sobre lo que hemos decidido hacer»; Margarita a su vez le dijo al cardenal Wolsey que su enviado especial le explicaría mejor sus planes en persona «porque estos temas se comunican mejor de viva voz que por escrito»; y la regente de Carlos en España asimismo comunicaba la información más sensible a través de mensajeros de confianza, porque «las cosas aquí están mucho peor de lo que puedo expresar en mis cartas».[109] Aunque el propio Carlos dejó muchísimas cosas por escrito, a veces también tomaba sus medidas para ocultar asuntos de Estado. En 1515 envió a un ministro en misión confidencial de Bruselas «a España para ver al rey de Aragón y hablar con él *de algunos importantes asuntos secretos que no es necesario explicar*». La misma frase aparece con frecuencia en los documentos de su gobierno en los Países Bajos durante todo su reinado: cuarenta años más tarde, su tesorero en Bruselas le dio a un ministro más de 500 libras esterlinas «por algunos temas importantes en relación con el servicio a su Majestad *que no es necesario especificar*», y entregó otras 50 «para que fueran distribuidas por él en relación con algunas cuestiones secretas que *su Majestad no desea especificar*».[110]

Carlos también insistía en tratar algunos temas delicados verbalmente. En cierta ocasión comunicó a un noble español que «para hablaros algunas cosas que mucho cumplen a mi servicio, es menester que vengáis» a su corte; y le dijo a Fernando que «La importancia de esta cuestión hace más que necesario tratarla los dos en persona… No puede ser manejada

por terceros ni por escrito». Su previsión era «hablarlo juntos durante cuatro o cinco días». (La «cuestión» era hacer la guerra a los luteranos alemanes).[111]

Por otra parte, Carlos ordenó en ciertas ocasiones la destrucción de documentos comprometidos. En 1536, ante la inminencia de la guerra con Francia, ordenó a sus embajadores en la corte francesa «quemar las minutas y otros documentos en vuestro poder que no deberían ser vistos por nadie».[112] Siete años después escribió un prefacio similar al documento más revelador que escribió jamás: doce folios ológrafos de consejos secretos dados a su hijo Felipe en la víspera de otra guerra con Francia: «Os escribo y envío esta [instrucción] secreta que será para vos solo y así la tendréis secreta y debajo de vuestra llave sin que vuestra mujer ni otra persona viva la vea». El emperador concluía con severidad:

> Ya veis, hijo, cuanto conviene que esta carta sea secreta y no vista de otro que de vos… Y porque todos somos mortales, si Dios os llevase para sí, no os descuidáis de ponerla en tal recaudo que ella me sea vuelta cerrada, o quemada en vuestra presencia.[113]

2. Los desconocidos que desconocemos

Por suerte para los historiadores, la «carta» de 1543 no fue «quemada», porque la redactó el emperador él solo y no hizo ninguna copia. Con un poco de suerte y de ingenuidad, muchos otros «asuntos secretos que su Majestad no desea especificar» pueden ser recuperados, porque los secretarios solían por lo general guardar una copia, o minuta, de las cartas salientes, o bien hacer duplicados e incluso triplicados, de los cuales al menos ha sobrevivido una copia. No obstante, es inevitable que queden algunas lagunas sin resolver. La saga de los Registros de los gastos particulares de Carlos (página 693 anterior) aclara este problema: sabemos de la existencia de uno, correspondiente a 1530-1532, porque, aunque ahora se encuentre perdido, fue inventariado a mediados del siglo xix, aunque no hay duda de

que en su día existieron otros volúmenes correspondientes al periodo anterior a 1530 y posterior a 1532 que han desaparecido sin dejar rastro.

El problema de los «desconocidos que desconocemos» es especialmente grave en el caso de la historia política y militar, como descubrió Robert Caro mientras escribía su monumental biografía de Lyndon Johnson. Él comenzó este trabajo en 1975, dos años después de la muerte de su personaje, cuando «la mayoría de sus contemporáneos todavía vivían» y se les podía entrevistar. Esto era una ventaja crucial. Aunque la cantidad de fuentes escritas sobre el trigésimo sexto presidente que han sobrevivido asombra a los biógrafos de Carlos V (la Biblioteca y Museo Presidencial Lyndon B. Johnson, sita en Austin [Texas], contiene 34.000.000 documentos), todavía dejan muchas cosas sin aclarar; pero Caro podía acudir a los que habían conocido y observado a Johnson en persona, «y cuando el significado de los documentos de la Biblioteca no estaba claro, ellos a menudo lo aclaraban». La mayor frustración de Caro era que las fuentes escritas de las que disponía «no eran reveladoras» sobre un elemento crucial en la biografía de cualquier estadista: «el poder, y cómo Johnson adquirió y utilizó ese poder». Por otra parte, las fuentes «no era reveladoras» principalmente porque «muchos temas cruciales —como negociar, tratar de convencer al otro, adoptar compromisos— no se resolvían por escrito, sino verbalmente, cara a cara… entre las personas implicadas». Por tanto, la única manera de recrear el mundo político de Johnson y su «papel en él, era hablar con esas personas»; pero Caro no tardó en darse cuenta de que no todos los entrevistados eran iguales. «Realmente no sabes cómo se está utilizando el poder hasta años más tarde —se quejaba—, cuando papeles y documentos quedan al descubierto y las personas están más dispuestas a hablar en las entrevistas. Entonces vuelves y ves lo que estaba pasando realmente».[114]

En el caso de Carlos, esta opción no existe, aunque Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent realizó un loable intento en sus *Entrevistas con el Emperador Carlos V*: tras haber publicado numerosas fuentes relacionadas con el emperador, utilizó sus conocimientos para trasladarnos más de mil preguntas y las respuestas (por lo general breves) del «emperador», seguidas de referencias y extractos de documentos reales que sirven de «prueba de apoyo». Aunque Cadenas y Vicent hacía hincapié en que su intención no iba más allá de presentar unos meros «entremeses», muchas de sus preguntas identificaban cuestiones acerca de las que cualquier historiador desearía conocer la verdadera respuesta, pero, dado que es imposible, seguirán quedando muchos «desconocidos que desconocemos».

VIII. Fuentes primarias impresas

El historiador y archivero belga Louis-Prosper Gachard, que publicó más documentos sobre el emperador que nadie antes ni después de él, solo detectó una laguna cronológica en su historial: «La Historia no se tomó ningún interés en [Carlos] hasta que comenzó a brillar», se quejaba en 1842.

> Sería interesante saber cómo fue educado un príncipe cuya fama y poder se extendería por todo el mundo. Sobre todo, sería interesante seguir, paso a paso, el desarrollo de la mente que durante casi medio siglo ejercería tanta influencia en el destino de Europa… Pero lamentablemente no parece que las fuentes hayan sobrevivido.

Por una vez, Gachard se equivocaba: en 2011, Anna Margaritae Schlegelmilch publicó un estudio de 650 páginas precisamente sobre este tema, basado en una deslumbrante diversidad de fuentes, en siete idiomas, titulado *La adolescencia de Carlos V. El ambiente cultural y la educación de un príncipe borgoñón*. Su meticuloso estudio multilingüe demostró que han sobrevivido cantidades asombrosas de material sobre Carlos «antes de que empezara a brillar».[115]

Por lo que respecta al resto de la vida de Carlos, las fuentes que han publicado material de un único archivo (AGS, ASV), o de solo una fuente (las *Relazioni* venecianas), se describen arriba en las entradas correspondientes a dicho archivo concreto; pero algunas publicaciones importantes han publicado material procedente de muchas fuentes. Las principales son:

España

CODOIN: serie de 112 volúmenes que contiene numerosos documentos escritos por Carlos o referentes a él, procedentes de archivos públicos y privados de España (Laiglesia, *Estudios*, III, 61-73, los enumeró por orden alfabético). *CLC*, vols. IV y V, publicó material sobre las Cortes de Castilla durante el reinado de Carlos.

J. M. Calderón Ortega, M. Fernández Álvarez y J. L. de la Peña publicaron ediciones facsímil de las últimas voluntades de Fernando el Católico y de Carlos en 2016 y 1983, respectivamente.

En 1956, don Manuel Fernández Álvarez recibió la instrucción: «"Álvarez: Se acerca el centenario de Carlos V y hay que hacer algo". Y desde entonces —y ha pasado la friolera de 22 años— me dediqué a acumular material sobre Carlos V».[116] Gracias a importantes becas para investigación extranjera y una subvención de 500.000 pesetas destinada a publicaciones, aparecieron las 2.800 páginas de *CDCV* reunidas en cinco volúmenes entre 1973 y 1981 que contienen 825 documentos (casi todos publicados íntegramente) y una traducción española de las *Memorias* del emperador, junto con índices acumulativos.[117]

Alemania

En 1893 apareció el primer volumen de *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V*, donde se publicaba una historia documental del

proceso por el que Carlos llegó a convertirse en rey de Romanos (1516 - julio de 1519). El volumen II (1896) cubría el periodo comprendido desde su elección hasta el fin de la Dieta de Worms (julio de 1519 - mayo de 1521). Ambos volúmenes publicaban despachos de embajadores extranjeros así como documentos internos que, como Henry Cohn ha apuntado, «invalidaban todo lo escrito anteriormente», pese a lo cual no han sido muy utilizados por los historiadores fuera de Alemania.[118] Del resto de asambleas que Carlos presidió en persona, el volumen X (1992, 1.602 páginas divididas en 3 partes) publicaba documentos del Reichstag de Ratisbona fechados en 1532; el volumen XV (2001, 2404 páginas divididas en 4 partes), documentos de Espira correspondientes a 1544; el volumen XVI (2003, 1.740 páginas en dos partes), los de Worms, de 1545; el volumen XVII (2006, 596 páginas), los de Ratisbona, de 1546; el volumen XVIII (2006, 2.760 páginas divididas en tres partes), los de Augsburgo en 1547-1548; y el volumen XIX (2005, 1.681 páginas divididas en 3 partes), los de Augsburgo en 1550-1551. Actualmente se están preparando otros volúmenes correspondientes a los otros dos Reichstags que presidió Carlos: el de Augsburgo en 1530 (IX) y el de Ratisbona en 1541 (XIV). La ausencia del primero puede verse cubierta en parte por las fuentes publicadas por K. E. Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Reichstages zu Augsburgo im Jahre 1530*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1833-1835); mientras que en Von Druffel y Brandi, *Briefe und Akten*, vols. II-IV, aparecen publicados muchos documentos relativos al Reichstag de 1546-1555.

Kohler, en *Quellen*, publicó 120 documentos importantes sobre Carlos, todos ellos traducidos al alemán moderno. La mayoría procedían de fuentes impresas primarias y secundarias (véase listado en págs. 15-22). Pocas de estas fuentes estaban originalmente en alemán, pero la n.º 10 constituye una

excepción fascinante: las cuentas del recaudador general de Carlos en Alemania correspondientes a 1520, donde se registran los pagos efectuados en nombre de Carlos para garantizar su elección como rey de Romanos.[119] Kohler citó y comentó cada documento en su biografía, *Carlos V*.

En 2001, la Akademie der Wissenschaften unde der Literatur de Mainz comenzó a digitalizar su proyecto Regesta Imperii, un registro cronológico de todas las actividades de todos los papas y emperadores que se remonta hasta 1519, en forma de sinopsis («Regesten»: más de 130.000 se encuentran ya disponibles). Desde entonces ha añadido detalles sobre la literatura que cita el Regesta, por ejemplo, facilitando un listado minucioso de los contenidos de importantes volúmenes y colecciones de ensayos editados, con enlaces a todas las contribuciones, disponibles en línea. Actualmente se encuentran disponibles más de dos millones de títulos. Véanse más detalles en http://www.regesta-imperii.de/en/research/ri-online.html#c958. Para una descripción detallada de un volumen editado sobre Carlos V a modo de muestra (Boone y Demoor, *Charles V in context*), con un capítulo disponible en línea, véase http://opac.regesta-imperii.de/lang_en/anzeige.php?sammelwerk=Charles+V+in+context.+The+making+of+a+Europ

IX. Fuentes secundarias

Sobre Carlos han aparecido miles de biografías en al menos doce idiomas, las primeras ya en vida del emperador, llegando a sumar más de 100 para 1600. En 1956, Royall Tyler opinó que, entre todos los estudios disponibles, «el lugar de honor» lo ocupaba la biografía de Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, publicada por primera vez en 1937 y traducida al poco tiempo a numerosas lenguas. Brandi comenzó a trabajar en una biografía de Carlos en 1907 con la intención de completar el inacabado estudio en

tres volúmenes de Hermann Baumgarten, pero más tarde decidió comenzar desde cero y empezó a trabajar a partir de fuentes primarias y secundarias durante las siguientes tres décadas. Aunque su biografía carecía de aparato crítico, cuatro años más tarde Brandi publicó un volumen complementario, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen und Erörterungen*, en el que describía y a veces transcribía las fuentes citadas en cada página de la versión alemana de su biografía (complementada por un artículo en *B & S*, XIX, 161-257, «Aus den Kabinettsakten des Kaisers», que incluía algunos documentos de destacada importancia que descubrió después de la publicación de su biografía).[120] Algunos podrían criticar a Brandi por dedicar demasiado espacio a los acontecimientos políticos y religiosos ocurridos en Alemania, y demasiado poco a cuestiones económicas y sociales, o por omitir muchos documentos pertenecientes a los archivos de Lille y de España, pero su biografía —especialmente si se leen los tres volúmenes seguidos, como Brandi pretendía— continúa ocupando ese lugar de honor y puede considerarse el referente para medir todas las demás biografías de Carlos.[121]

En 1958 y fechas inmediatamente posteriores, con motivo del cuarto centenario de la muerte de Carlos hubo una avalancha de biografías sobre él, además de 67 ponencias publicadas en varios idiomas en cuatro conferencias internacionales: Kohler, *Carlos V*, 403-404, ofrece los detalles. Lo mismo ocurrió en torno al año 2000, el quinto centenario de su nacimiento. La Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V patrocinó cinco conferencias internacionales y seis grandes exposiciones en 2000, y posteriormente publicó las actas (275 aportaciones individuales) y catálogos, así como numerosas monografías y fuentes relacionadas con Carlos; alrededor de un total de 25.000 páginas impresas. Blockmans y Mout, *The world*, 1-11 y 337-247, ofrecen detalles. Bélgica también celebró el centenario: el informe de la flamenca

Comisión de Carlos V ocupaba 286 páginas con detalles sobre las diversas actividades relacionadas con el tema del emperador que se llevaron a cabo en 2000, e incluía un listado con 38 publicaciones importantes.[122]

Chaunu y Escamilla, *Charles*, 1133-1160, ofrece un excelente estudio de publicaciones que se remonta hasta 2000, y también pueden buscarse publicaciones posteriores tecleando «Karl V» en el *Katalog der deutschen Nationalbibliothek*, disponible en línea: https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&query=118560093; y tecleando «Carlos V», «Karl V» y «Charles-Quint» en Dialnet.unirioja.es. Quizás Google, actualmente el motor de búsqueda más popular de Internet, constituye hoy en día el mejor indicador de la abrumadora y asfixiante cantidad de material disponible sobre la vida y la época de Carlos. Claudia Möller Recondo ha apuntado que si un investigador tecleaba en 2001 «Carlos V» en el motor de búsqueda Google.es encontraba 668.000 entradas (entre ellas un hotel, un dentista y una marca de chocolate mexicana), pero que en 2008 el total había aumentado a los casi tres millones de entradas, es decir, cinco veces más en solo siete años. El sitio web con más visitas era la Wikipedia, seguida del portal «Carlos Quinto» de la Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes, que recibió una media de 40.000 visitas por mes entre 2001 y 2008.[123] La expansión ha seguido en aumento: una búsqueda similar en febrero de 2018 arrojaba más de 4 millones de entradas en Google.es (incluyendo todavía la de la chocolatina, ahora disponible también en Estados Unidos). Por otra parte, «Karel V» registró 368.000 entradas tanto en Google.nl como en Google.be; «Karl V.», 863.000 entradas tanto en Google.de como en Google.at; «Carlo V», casi dos millones de entradas en Google.it; «Charles-Quint» registró más de 3,5 millones de entradas en Google.fr; y «Charles V» registró no menos de 11

millones de entradas tanto en Google.co.uk como en Google.com. De modo que, amables lectores polímatas con tiempo disponible, ahí lo dejo…

Fuentes y bibliografía

Se ha escrito tanto sobre Carlos V que una bibliografía completa ocuparía un libro entero. La lista que presento a continuación ofrece detalles únicamente de las obras publicadas que aparecen citadas en las notas.

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2. Los jóvenes Habsburgo estudian en la escuela (1510). *Der Weisskunig,* Hans Burgkmair, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A 57.40.

3. Primera carta de Carlos en francés (1508). BL *Cotton Ms* Galba B/III fo.109, Carlos a María Tudor, 18 de diciembre de 1508.

4. Artes marciales para muchachos (1514). A) Hans Burgkmair, *Der Weiss Kunig*, fo. 101; B) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Viena, Hofjagtund Rüstkammer/, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerke, Inv 81, 82.

5. Familia feliz (1511). Stadarchief, Malinas, B-MEa-ms-ss., «Mechels Koorboek», fo. 1v, miniatura en parte superior izquierda.

6. El caballero determinado se encuentra con la horma de su zapato (1552). BNE *Ms* 1475, manuscrito español original.

7. Carlos hace su entrada ceremonial en Brujas como conde de Flandes en 1515. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Viena, Codex 2591: «Le tryumphante et solomnelle entrée faicte sur le joyeulx advenement de… Charles prince des Espagnes… en la ville de Bruges», fo. 41r.

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9. Instrucción secreta de Carlos al príncipe Felipe, Palamós, 6 de mayo de 1543, Hispanic Society of America, Ms B 2955/17v, Carlos V a su hijo, 6 de mayo, de 1543, ológrafo.

10. Carlos «casi» escribe en alemán (1519). Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Kasten Blau (Pfalz), K. Bl. 103/2, Carlos al elector palatino, Barcelona, 2 de mayo de 1519.

11. María Tudor con un broche donde se lee «the emp[er]our» (1522). National Portrait Gallery, Londres, 6453. Miniatura de Lucas Horenbout.

12. Carlos reflexiona sobre su futuro (principios de 1525). HHStA *Belgien PA* 65/3/24-29, meditaciones originales de Carlos a principios de 1525, aparentemente con apostillas de Gattinara.

13. Francisco I capturado en la batalla de Pavía. Museo de Capodimonte, Nápoles, tapiz diseñado por Bernhard van Orley y tejido en el taller de Willem y Jan Dermoyen entre 1528 y 1531.

14. Una armadura para Carlos (1525). Armería Real, Madrid, Inv. 19000265.A19.

15. Lista de «cosas» a tratar elaborada antes de uno de los encuentros de Carlos con Clemente VII en Bolonia (1529). AGS *PR* 16/96, *Las cosas que Su Magestad ha de tener memoria para hablar y suplicar a Su Santidad son las siguientes*.

16. Carlos y sus abuelos en Brujas (1531). Renaissancezaal, Paleis van het Brugse Vrije.

17. Juana y Carlos, monarcas de Aragón (1528). BNF, *Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques, Espagne* 33/44.

18. Carlos con un libro y guantes en 1532, por Cristobal Amberger, Berlín, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Inv 556.

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23. Entrada triunfante de Carlos en Roma (1536). Frontispicio del folleto en el que se celebra la solemne entrada de Carlos en Roma el 5 de abril de 1536, publicado en Núremberg tres semanas después por Christopher Scheurl.

24. Mapa del este de Francia en 1544. BNE MR/43/283, «Descripción de parte de Francia por donde entró el emperador».

25. Carlos sitiado en su campamento a las afueras de Ingolstadt, septiembre de 1546. Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, *Commentarium de Bello Germanico* (Amberes, 1550), dibujo después del folio 21.

26. Carlos en la batalla de Mühlberg (1547). Museo Nacional del Prado, Inv. P00410.

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28. Carlos en Augsburgo (1548). Alte Pinakothek, Múnich, Inv. 632.

29. Obtención de una dispensa para el primer e incestuoso matrimonio del príncipe Felipe. BL *Addl* 28.706/52.

30. *Carlos y el Furor*, de Leone y Pompeo Leoni (1549-1564). Museo del Prado, Inv. E00273.

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32. Carlos y Felipe, por Leone Leoni. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nueva York, The Milton Weil Collection, 1938 [38.150.9].

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34. Grabado de Carlos abdicando (1555). Frans Hogenberg, *Events in the History of the Netherlands, France, Germany and England between 1535 and 1608,* Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nueva York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, 59.570.200(1-368).

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37. Exequias funerarias por Carlos en Bruselas (1558). BNE, *E. R. 2901 n.º 15:* Frans Hogenberg, *Sucesos de Europa* (Amberes, 1559), n.º 15 «Cortejo fúnebre de Bruselas».

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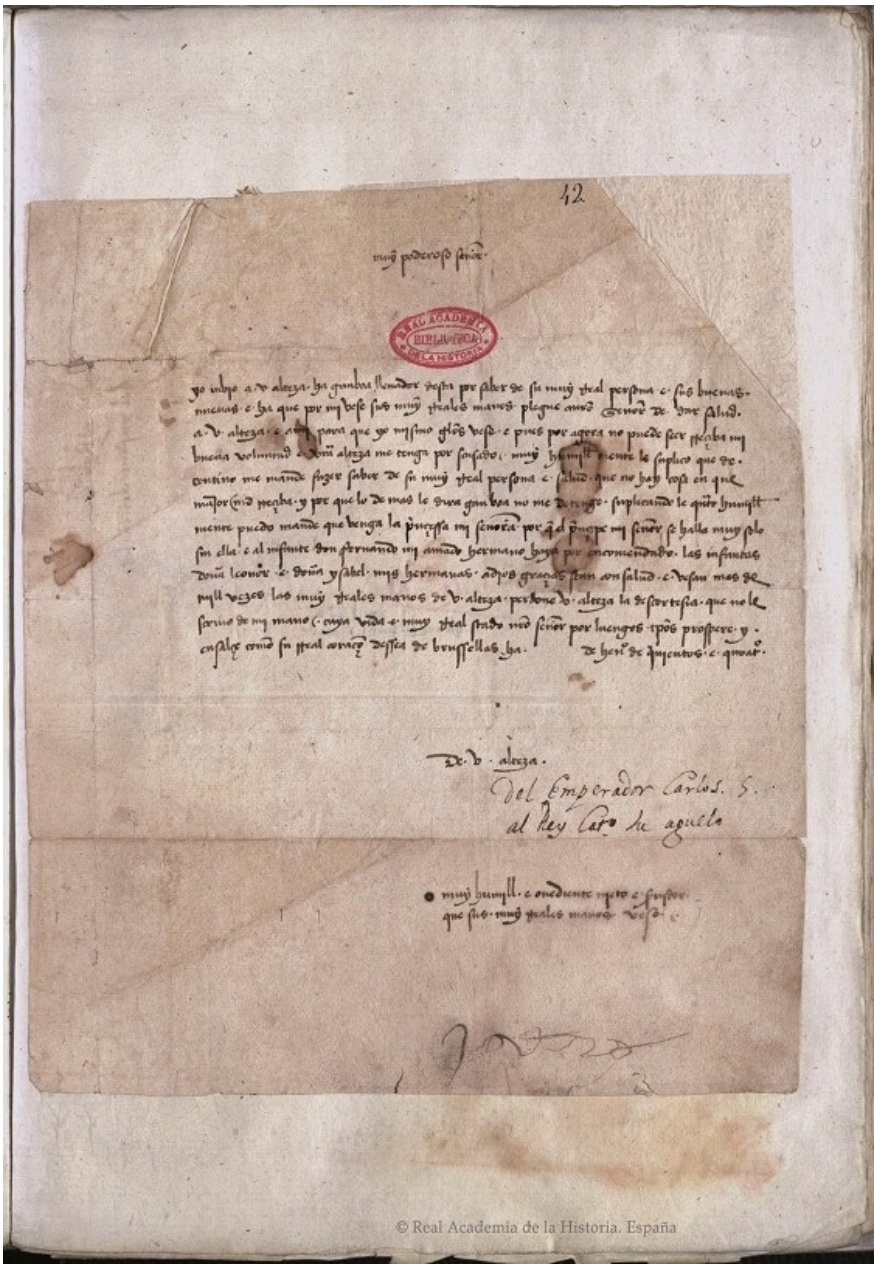
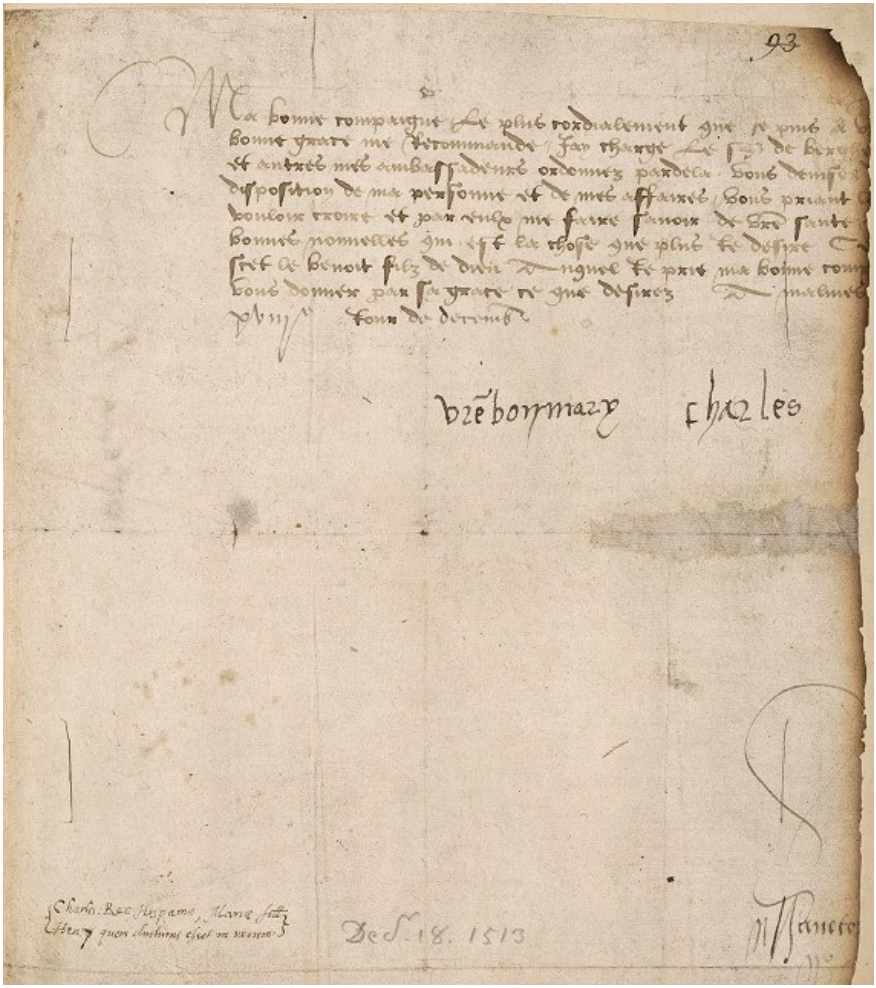
39. Carlos en su sarcófago (1871). Postal, colección privada.



1. Primera firma de Carlos. En enero de 1504, cuando aún no había cumplido los cuatro años, se dice que dictó el príncipe esta carta rogándole a su abuelo Fernando que permitiera a su madre Juana («la princesa») regresar a los Países Bajos, pero no parece posible que un niño de su edad pudiera redactar un documento tan complejo (y menos aún en una lengua extranjera). Ni siquiera podría haberlo firmado sin ayuda: al final, la

«C» inicial de «Carlos» está al revés y escribió las siguientes cinco letras sin levantar la pluma del papel, lo que indica que probablemente estuviera copiando algo escrito por su tutor.

2. Los jóvenes Habsburgo estudian en la escuela, c. 1510. Aunque no tenemos ninguna imagen de Carlos y sus hermanas en la escuela, el relato autobiográfico de cómo fue su educación, dictada por su abuelo Maximiliano, incluye un grabado en madera de Hans Burgkmeier, realizado en torno a 1515 bajo la supervisión del emperador, que posiblemente refleje cómo era el aula que él mismo vio cuando fue a visitar a sus nietos en Malinas.



3. Primera carta de Carlos en francés, 1508. Aunque algunos eruditos han asignado la fecha de 1513 a esta carta, tanto la inmadurez de la caligrafía como el contenido demuestran que Carlos firmó esta «carta de amor» en la que expresa su devoción por su «esposa», la princesa María Tudor, cinco años antes.

4. Artes marciales para muchachos, c. 1514. La autobiografía de Maximiliano, *Der Weisskunig* (que significa a la vez «El rey blanco» y «El rey sabio»), contiene un grabado en madera que muestra cómo el futuro rey aprendía sobre la guerra jugando con caballeros de juguete que se batían en justas imaginarias —con un cañón en miniatura, un arco y una ballesta—, precisamente los mismos juguetes que luego regalaría a su nieto Carlos. Dos caballeros de justas de la colección imperial, tal vez los mismos que le regaló Maximiliano, sobreviven en un museo de Viena.

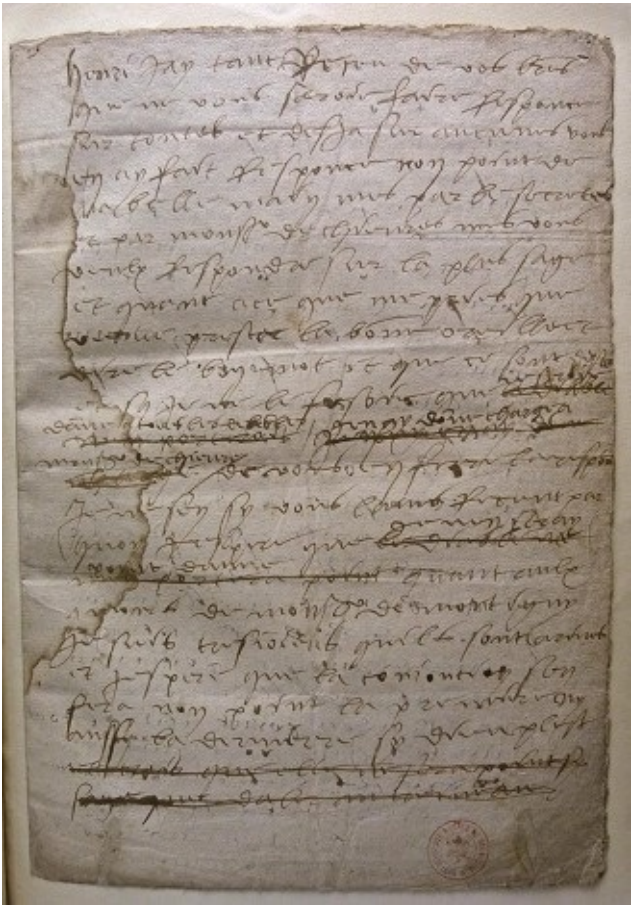
5. Familia feliz, 1511. El frontispicio de un himnario ilustrado que Maximiliano le regaló a su hija Margarita en 1511 muestra al emperador sentado bajo el águila bicéfala de los Habsburgo, con Margarita y Carlos sentados a sus pies y sus nietas Leonor (con un libro abierto), Isabel y María (de espaldas al espectador) en primer plano.

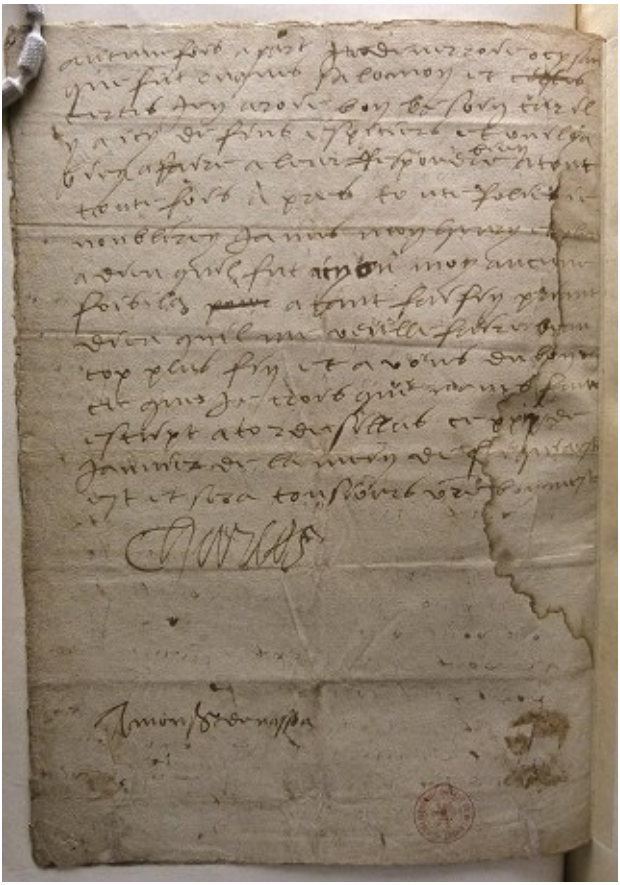
Hizose el año de mill
y quatro cientos yochenta
y tres, quando (como vil)
huye el Inuierno y se ausenta
llegando ya el fin de abril
y este libro (a luz salido)
deue ser bien recibido
(como su intencion merece)
de aquellos, aquien se ofrece
por el que tanto ha sufrido,
Tant a souffert
La Marche
Tanto a sufrido
la marcha
126

6. *El caballero determinado*. A Carlos V le impresionó tanto la ficción literaria de Olivier de la Marche sobre los caballeros de la corte de Borgoña que en 1551 comenzó a traducir este poema épico del francés al español, llevándose consigo a su retiro en Yuste tanto el manuscrito ilustrado como un ejemplar de la edición española impresa.

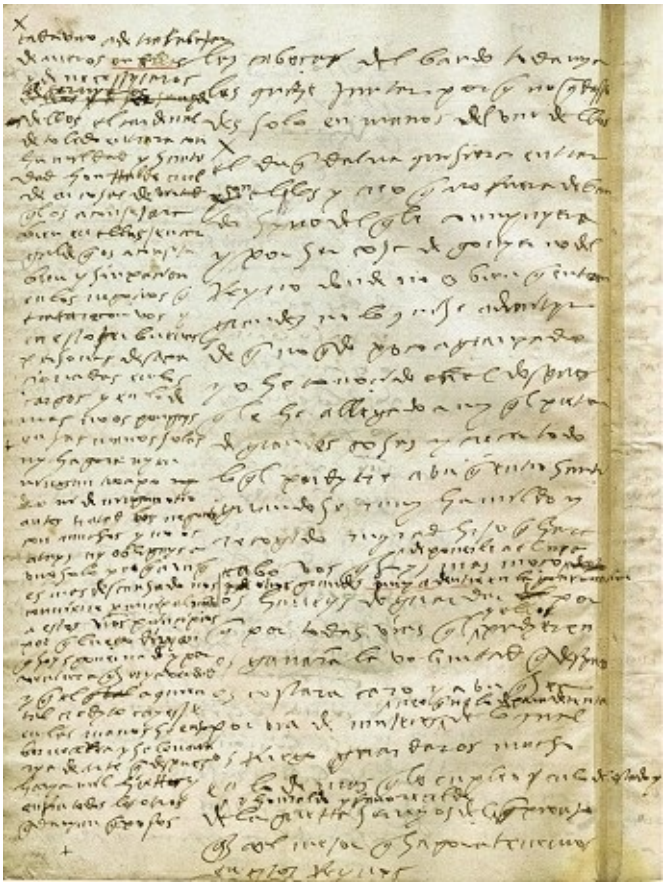
7. Carlos de Habsburgo hace su entrada ceremonial en Brujas como conde de Flandes en 1515. Rémy de Puys realizó este bello ejemplar dedicado del manuscrito para Carlos, y además supervisó una versión impresa para el público en general. La primera representación de la secuencia se asemejaba al nacimiento de Cristo, con tres

ángeles entregándole al joven príncipe una corona, un escudo de armas y las llaves de la ciudad, del mismo modo que los tres reyes magos habían presentado sus regalos al Niño Jesús.

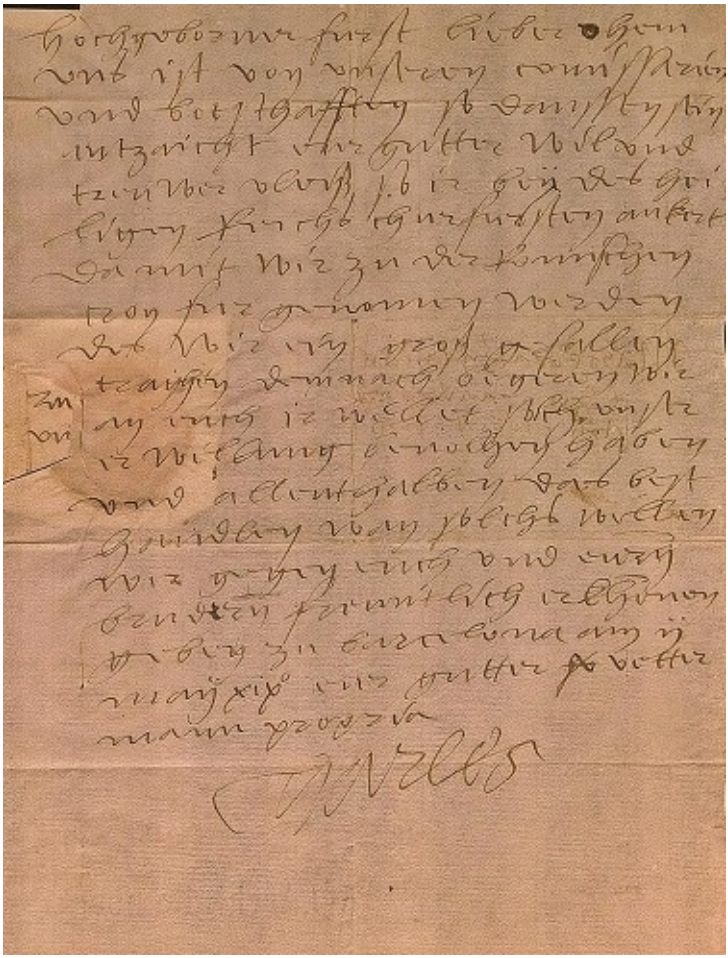




8. Carlos V se sincera en una nota ológrafa con su mejor amigo, el conde Enrique de Nassau, 1518. El nuevo rey de Castilla, con el ánimo abatido mientras se encontraba en Tordesillas con su madre pese a sus paseos en trineo por la nieve y estar cortejando a una posible amante, echaba de menos a sus amigos y el estilo de vida familiar que llevaba en los Países Bajos.

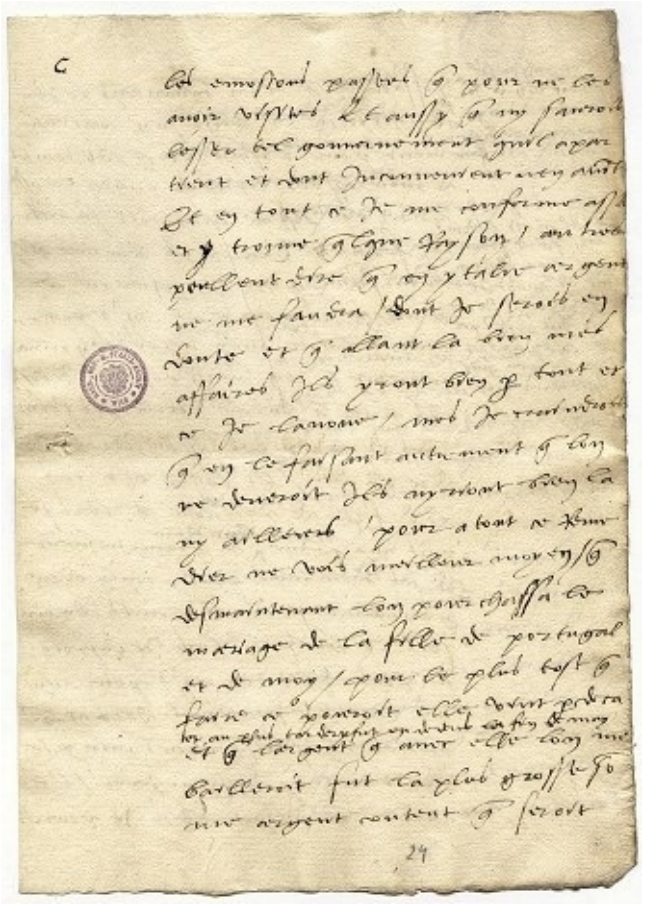


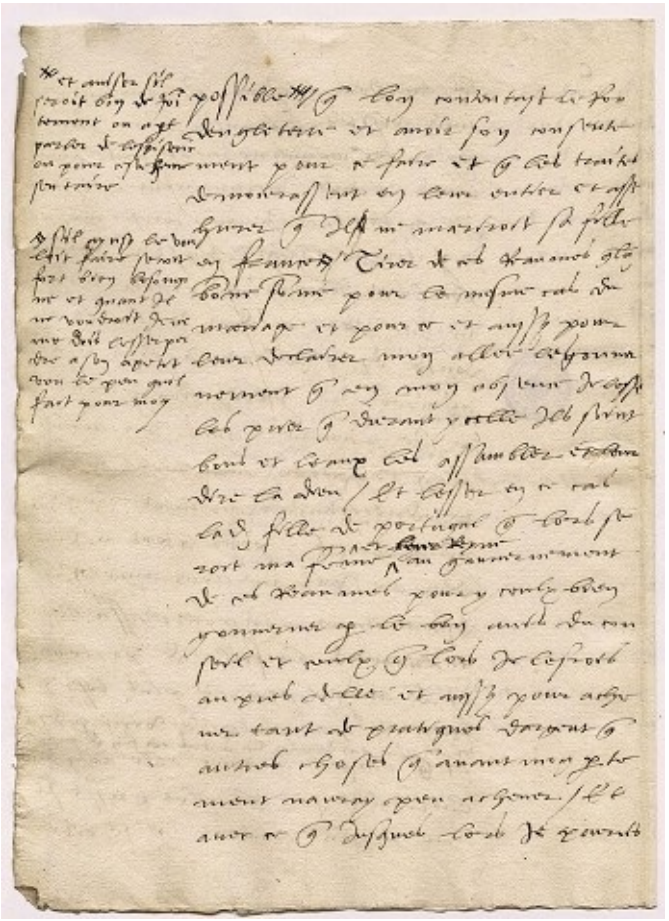
9. Instrucción secreta de Carlos al príncipe Felipe, Palamós, 6 de mayo de 1543. El emperador advirtió a su hijo: «tratad los negocios con muchos y no os atáys ny obligáys a uno solo», recordando tal vez la manera en que Chièvres había controlado el acceso a su persona en sus primeros años. La abundancia de añadidos y correcciones, entre las líneas y también en ambos márgenes, muestra los esfuerzos del emperador para evaluar a sus principales ministros (en este caso, «el Cardinal de Toledo» —Tavera—, al margen, y el duque de Alba en el cuerpo del texto).



10. Carlos V «casi» escribe en alemán, 1519. El ferviente y desesperado deseo de Carlos de ser elegido rey de Romanos le llevó a escribir de su puño y letra una carta a cada elector de Alemania. Su desconocimiento del alemán obligó al futuro emperador a copiar cada letra de un «modelo», igual que había tenido que hacer de pequeño cuando escribía en español.

11. María Tudor con un broche donde se lee «the emp[er]our», 1522. Según los embajadores del emperador en Inglaterra, justo antes de la visita de Carlos en 1522, la «princesita» realzó sus encantos llevando «sobre su pecho un broche de oro adornado con piedras preciosas formando el nombre de vuestra majestad, nombre que ella había adquirido en el día de San Valentín como su regalo, lo que parece un feliz augurio». Al final, María permanecería soltera hasta su matrimonio con el hijo de Carlos, Felipe, 32 años más tarde.

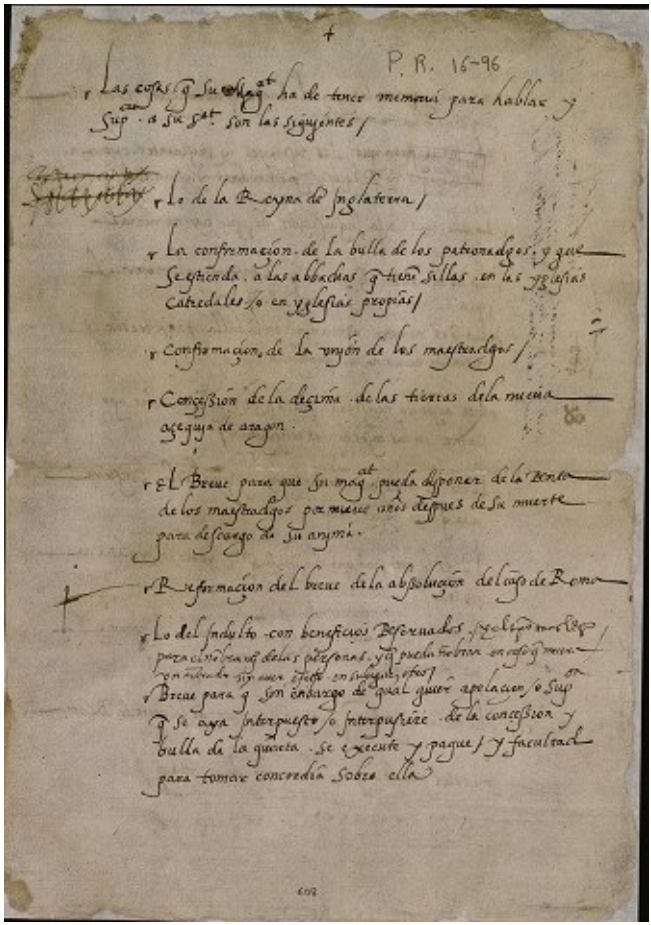




12. Carlos reflexiona sobre su futuro. A principios de 1525, quizá por primera vez, Carlos empuñó la pluma para poner por escrito sus pensamientos sobre los problemas a los que se enfrentaba, así como sobre las posibles soluciones, lamentándose de no haber hecho hasta el momento «nada que redunde en honor a mi persona».

13. Francisco I capturado en la batalla de Pavía. Este es uno de los siete tapices que forman la serie encargada para conmemorar la victoria de las tropas de Carlos en su 25.º aniversario, el 24 de febrero de 1525, que le fue regalada a su regreso a los Países Bajos, seis años más tarde. Al fondo, la infantería española sale de los bosques y utiliza sus arcabuces para doblegar a la caballería francesa; mientras, al centro a la izquierda, Francisco (con la flor de lis) se rinde.

14. Una armadura para Carlos. La humildad con la que Carlos se tomó la victoria de Pavía no le caracterizó en cambio en lo tocante a su armadura: Kolman Helmschmid de Augsburgo añadió las iniciales «KD» (*Karolus Divus*, 'el *Divino* Carlos') en esta armadura completa, en torno a 1525. Tres años después, si Francisco hubiera aceptado el desafío de Carlos para enfrentarse en duelo, sería la que el emperador hubiera utilizado, posiblemente tras algunas mejoras llevadas a cabo por Helmschmid, a quien se mandó llamar para reunirse con Carlos en España.



P. R. 16-96

Las cosas q̃ Su Mag.t ha de tener memoria para hablar y cau Sup.r a Su S.t son las siguientes /

Lo de la Reyna de Inglaterra /

La confirmacion de la bulla de los patronadgos, y que se estienda a las abadias q̃ tiene sillas en las yglesias Catedales o en yglesias propias /

Confirmacion de la union de los maestradgos /

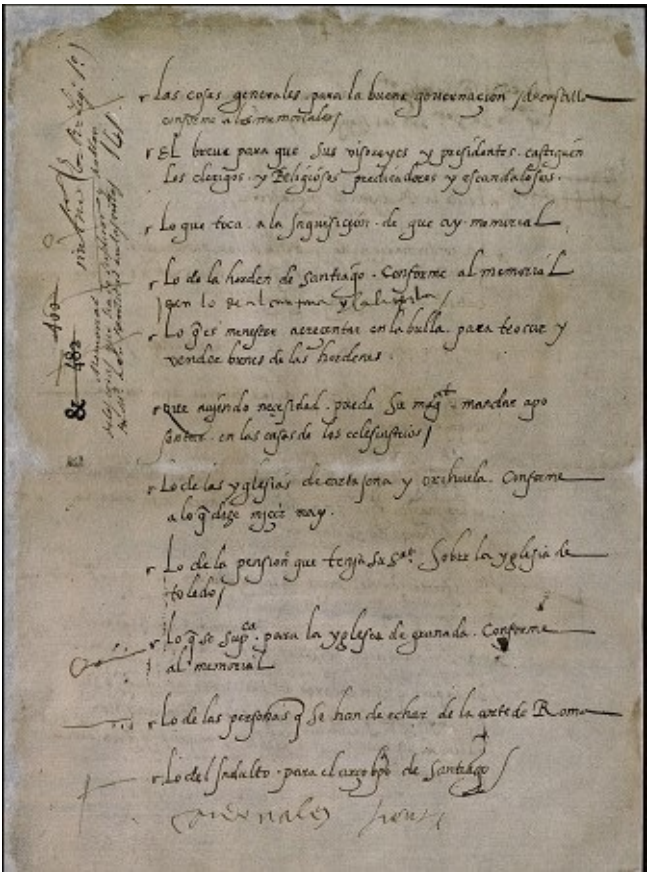
Concession de la decima de las tierras de la nueua conquista de aragon.

El Breue para que Su Mag.t pueda disponer de la Renta de los maestradgos por manos ynos despues de su muerte para descargo de su anyma.

Reuocacion del breue de la absolucion del caso de Roma

Lo del indulto con beneficios Reservados y el Regno no [illegible] para cierta q̃ta de las personas, y q̃ pueda tomar en caso q̃ mora en Roma sin auer efecto en Spanya, otros

Breue para q̃ sin embargo de qual quier apelacion o Sup.a q̃ se aya interpuesto o interpusiere de la concession y bulla de la quarta se execute y pague / y facultad para tomar concordia sobre ella



15. Lista de «cosas» a tratar elaborada antes de uno de los encuentros de Carlos con Clemente VII en Bolonia, 1529. El primer punto era «Lo de la reyna de Inglaterra», seguido de la «Reformación del breve de la absolución del caso [es decir, el saco] de Roma», «Lo de las personas que se han de echar de la corte de Roma» y varias propuestas para conseguir recursos de la Iglesia de España y ampliar la jurisdicción real sobre la misma. Carlos hizo algunas anotaciones justo antes o durante la reunión.

16. Carlos V y sus abuelos en Brujas, 1531. En 1528, el Brugse Vrije (una parte del condado de Flandes) encargó a Lanceloot Blondeel el diseño de un monumento en honor de Carlos V para su Palacio de Justicia de la ciudad de Brujas. Se tardó tres años en terminar la espectacular repisa de chimenea en roble, mármol y alabastro, con estatuas de tamaño natural del emperador y sus abuelos, María y Maximiliano a la derecha y Fernando e Isabel a la izquierda. Los tres varones portan braguetas de gran tamaño, sin duda como recordatorio de que el matrimonio y no la guerra había unido sus cuatro legados. El friso de alabastro a los pies del emperador, donde se representan cuatro escenas de la historia bíblica de Susana, pretendía recordar a los magistrados que allí se reunían la necesidad de administrar justicia en nombre de Carlos sin temor ni favoritismos.

17. Juana y Carlos, monarcas de Aragón, 1528. Esta magnífica moneda de oro de 100 escudos es la primera representación de Carlos donde aparece con barba —aunque todavía lleva el pelo a la altura del hombro, al estilo borgoñón—. Juana viste de monja, si bien con una corona que recuerda que ella y su hijo reinaban conjuntamente sobre Aragón y Castilla.

18. Carlos con un libro y guantes. Este es uno de los escasísimos retratos en los que aparece el emperador con un libro, realizado por el pintor augsburgo Christoph Amberger en 1532. En él podemos ver el «pelo dorado y corto» descrito por testigos presenciales, así como la barba rubia que apenas logra disimular la prominente mandíbula inferior del emperador. Nótese que la mano con la que el emperador sujeta el libro está enguantada, como si estuviera a punto de abandonar la lectura para irse a cazar.

19. El emperador Carlos eclipsa al sultán Solimán, 1532. Carlos V, respaldado por un ángel, domina al sultán en esta llamativa moneda de bronce, acuñada casi con toda seguridad para conmemorar su triunfo húngaro en 1532. La inscripción dice: «te decet o felix vltra plvs pergere cesar / cesareo presens decidet ense capvt» («Estáis destinado, oh, afortunado César, a avanzar *plus ultra* / Esta cabeza caerá bajo la espada imperial»).

20a.

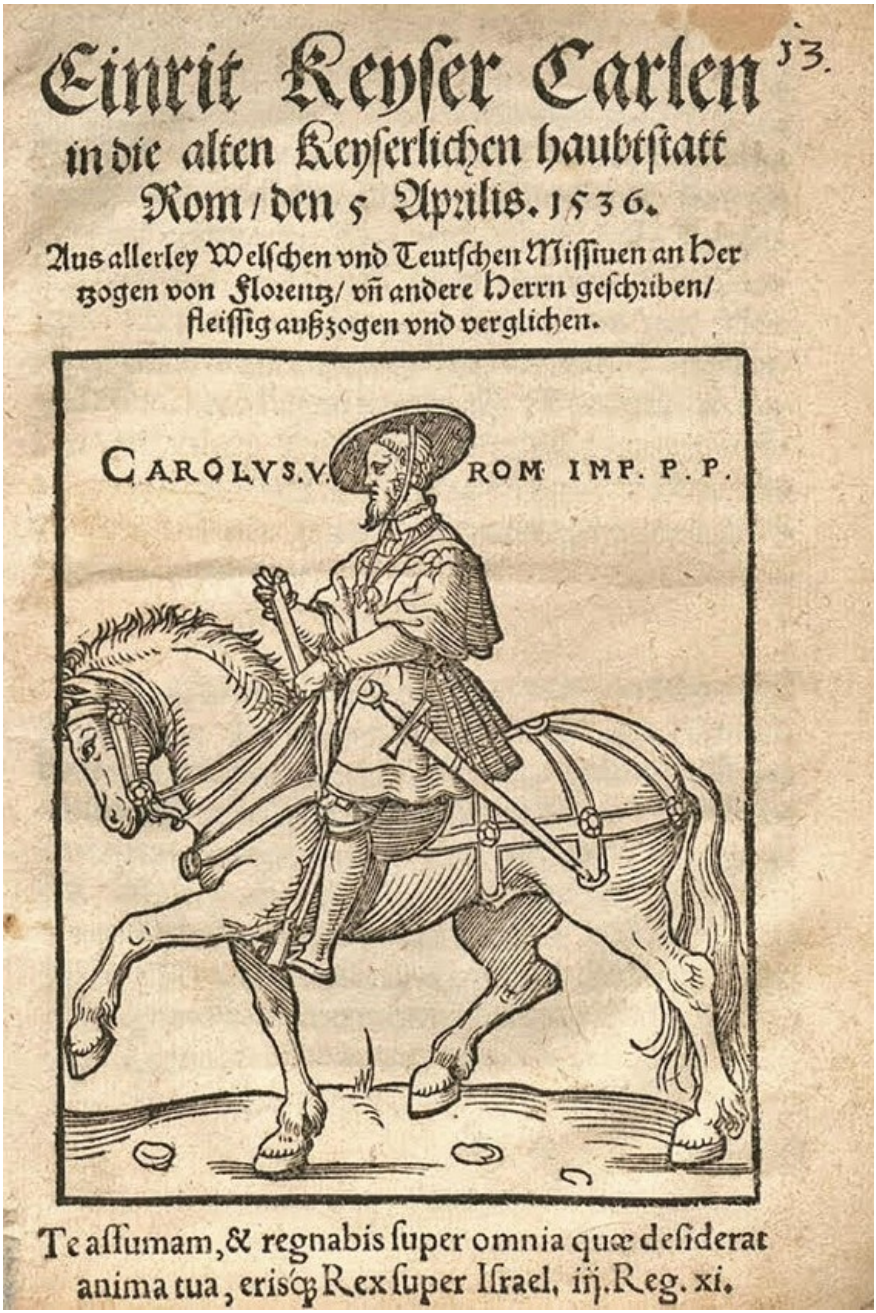
2ba.

20a y 20b. Retratos de Carlos V por Tiziano y Jakob Seisenegger, 1532-1533. Durante su largo periodo de residencia en Mantua y Bolonia en el invierno de 1532-1533, Carlos posó al parecer para dos famosos artistas: Tiziano, el pintor favorito del duque de Mantua, y Jakob Seisenegger, pintor de corte de su hermano Fernando. El segundo identificó al perro que ocupa un lugar tan destacado en ambos retratos como «ain grosser englischer wassserhundt».

21. Carlos pasa revista a su ejército en Barcelona antes de embarcar con destino a Túnez, 1535. Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, pintor de corte de Margarita de Austria, acompañó a Carlos durante su campaña de Túnez y realizó numerosos bosquejos de lo que vio, aunque no recibió el encargo de pintar los bocetos para doce tapices conmemorativos hasta 1546. El segundo panel muestra al emperador (con bastón de mando y armadura, y tocado con un sombrero que parece una versión primitiva de una gorra de béisbol) a caballo junto a los escribientes que toman nota de los detalles de cada unidad del ejército durante una última muestra general en Barcelona. Carlos parece aquí un responsable de logística más que un guerrero, mientras que al fondo el monasterio de Montserrat (donde el emperador fue a rezar antes de la campaña) recuerda al espectador la naturaleza religiosa de la empresa.

22. Estatua de Carlos V en la Piazza Bologni, Palermo, 1535/1630. La impresionante estatua de bronce realizada por Scipione Li Volsi, erigida en 1630, muestra al emperador en el momento en que, con una corona de laurel y empuñando

su bastón de mando con la mano izquierda, juró mantener las leyes y privilegios del reino de Sicilia un siglo antes.


Einrit Keyser Carlen 53.
in die alten Keyserlichen haubtstatt
Rom / den 5 Aprilis. 1536.
Aus allerley Welschen vnd Teutschen Missiuen an Her
tzogen von Florentz / vñ andere Herrn geschriben /
fleissig außzogen vnd verglichen.
CAROLVS.V. ROM IMP. P.P.
Te assumam, & regnabis super omnia quæ desiderat
anima tua, eriscq; Rex super Israel. iij. Reg. xi.

23. Entrada triunfante de Carlos en Roma, 1536. Frontispicio del folleto en el que se celebra la solemne entrada de Carlos en Roma el 5 de abril de 1536, publicado en Núremberg tres semanas después por Christopher Scheurl. Incluye la cita de la Vulgata del Segundo Libro de Samuel, 3:21, con la promesa de Abner a David: «Y reinarás sobre todo lo que desees». Evidentemente, Scheurl olvidaba que los partidarios de David mataron luego a Abner.

24. Mapa del este de Francia en 1544. Esta amplia panorámica (54 x 107 cm) muestra Francia como debió de verla Carlos desde Metz, así como con la ruta a tres posibles objetivos: desde Troyes a Dijon a la izquierda; desde Troyes a París (debajo de la colina de Montmartre) a la derecha; y desde Dijon a París vía Auxerre y Sens en el centro. El curso de los ríos Marne, Yonne y Sena, y los principales puentes que los cruzaban —cuyo conocimiento era esencial para la marcha de un ejército— se aprecia claramente.

INGOLSTADIVM
CÆSARIANI
SMALKALDICI
CASTRORVM
DISPOSITIO CA
ROLVS V CÆSAR AVG
ET SMALCALDICI
AD INGOLSTADIVM
MDXLVII

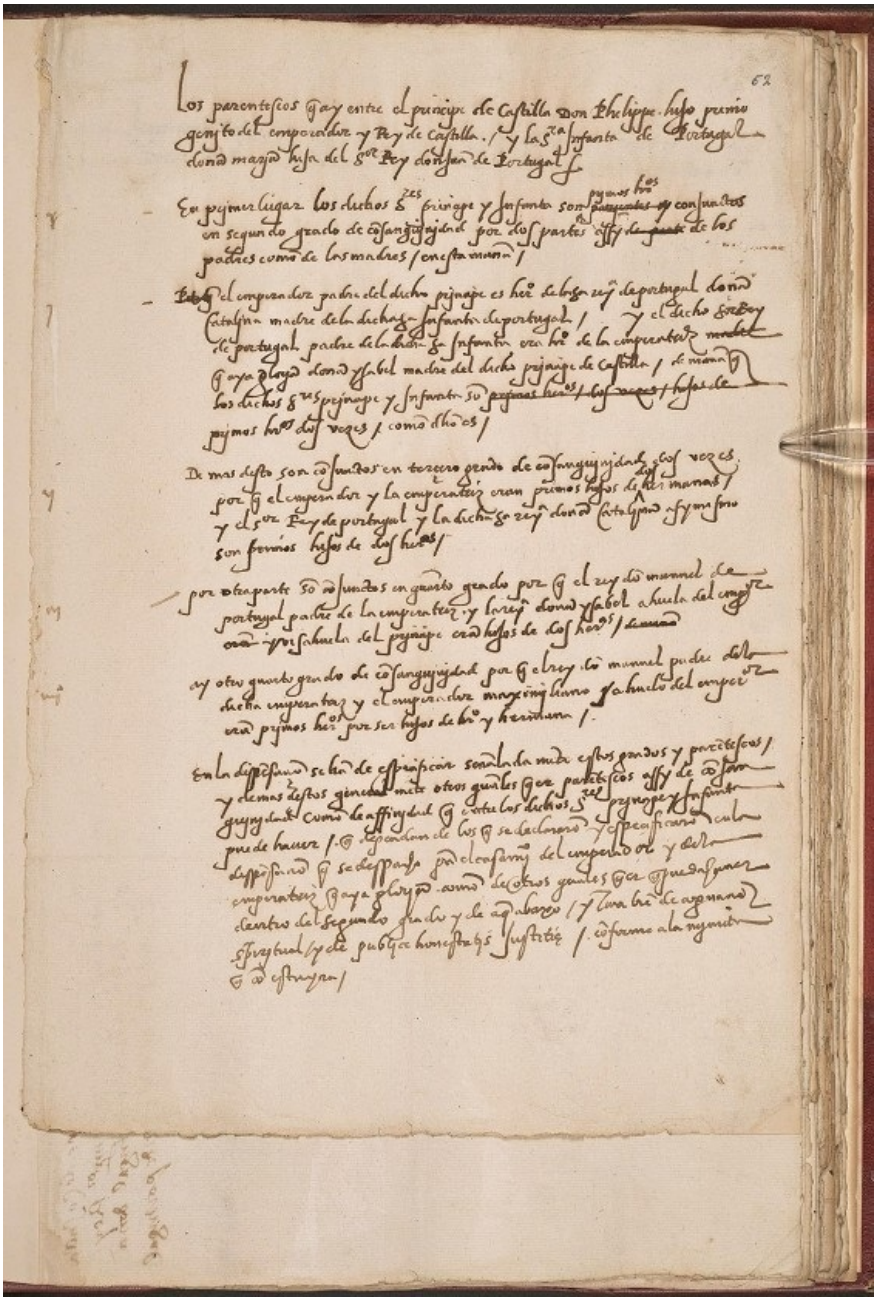
25. Carlos sitiado en su campamento a las afueras de Ingolstadt, septiembre de 1546. Según Luis de Ávila y Bernabé Busto, los dos testigos presenciales que más tarde escribirían las crónicas, el bombardeo del campamento imperial junto a la ciudad bávara de Ingolstadt duró nueve horas e hizo temblar la tierra como un seísmo, pese a lo cual Carlos permaneció fi rme junto al estandarte imperial. Esto le convertía a la vez en objetivo fácil para sus enemigos y en inspiración para sus soldados.

26. *Carlos V en la batalla de Mühlberg*, 1547. Durante su estancia en Augsburgo, Carlos encargó un enorme cuadro a Tiziano para conmemorar su reciente victoria. El emperador —confiado, infatigable, resuelto— aparece vestido como oficial de la caballería ligera, con media pica y pistola de rueda, y llevando la habitual insignia roja de las tropas Habsburgo sobre una armadura de Helmschmid con la imagen de la Virgen con el Niño Jesús, aunando la tradición romana, germana y cristiana. A

diferencia de los tapices de Pavía y de Túnez, no aparece ningún enemigo, sin duda porque Carlos quería mostrarse como un monarca magnánimo que pudiera ser aceptado a la vez por protestantes y católicos, cuyos líderes acababan de alcanzar un acuerdo religioso (el *Interim*, marzo de 1548).

27. Carlos y su consejo de guerra, 1546. El emperador disfrutaba con la guerra. En este grabado en madera contemporáneo, aparece sentado bajo un árbol escuchando a sus generales mientras dictan sus órdenes. Uno de sus comandantes era el conde Reinhard zu Solms, que había combatido junto a Carlos en Francia (al mando de la artillería y las minas que obligaron a rendirse a St. Dizier), así como en Alemania: la ciudad de Lich (Hessen), que se muestra al fondo, era la cuna de sus antepasados.

28. Carlos V en Augsburgo, 1548. Vestido todo de negro, con su Toisón de Oro como única nota de color, el emperador irradia calma, dignidad y sobria majestad. Tiziano pasó varios meses en Augsburgo en 1548, acompañado por un equipo de ayudantes que le permitió realizar varios encargos para Carlos. Anton Fugger fue quien probablemente encargó el retrato, lo que explicaría por qué representa a su señor como cliente de su banco en lugar de como guerrero victorioso, así como la forma de destacar la fecha (el comienzo de una nueva era, iniciada durante la estancia del emperador en el palacio de Fugger).



29. Obtención de una dispensa para el primer e incestuoso matrimonio del príncipe Felipe. El matrimonio endogámico entre las casas de Aragón, Castilla y Portugal, a lo largo de varias generaciones, presentó tantos casos de «consangujnjdad» y «affinydad» que, incluso después de un listado de los cuatro principales «grados y parentescos», cada

uno de los cuales requería una dispensa papal determinada, Carlos encontró conveniente obtener «demás destos generalmente otros» para cubrir cualquier otro caso de incesto que pudiera habérsele pasado por alto.

30a.

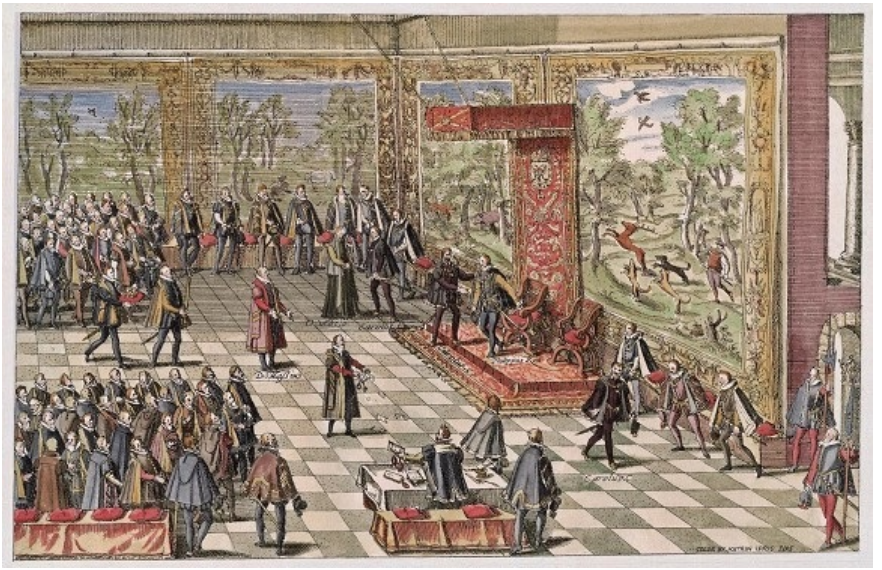
30b.

30a y 30b. *Carlos V y el Furor*, de Leone y Pompeo Leoni, 1549-1564. La imponente estatua de bronce de Carlos, ataviado como un emperador romano, aplasta a la figura del Furor, metáfora romana de la guerra. Aunque derrotado, el Furor sostiene una antorcha encendida que podría reavivar el fuego de la guerra, pero Carlos se mantiene atento. Bajo la armadura se encuentra el cuerpo de Carlos desnudo, pudiéndose retirar cada parte de la misma.

31. Carlos como pieza de un juego de damas. La popularidad de los juegos de habilidad como el ajedrez y las damas, con sus asociaciones militares y caballerescas, aumentó en el siglo XVI. Esta pieza de madera pintada y probablemente hecha en Augsburgo alrededor de 1540 contiene un retrato de Carlos en yeso con su collar del Toisón de Oro y CAROLVS IMPERATOR grabado en el borde. Sin duda, formó parte de un juego de 32 piezas.

32. Carlos y Felipe, por Leone Leoni. La visión de una imagen combinada de César y Augusto en 1550 inspiró a Leone Leoni para tallar un camafeo de ónix con la efigie del emperador y su hijo en una cara y la emperatriz en la otra. La correspondencia del artista llegada hasta nosotros demuestra que terminó su *capriccio* en solo tres meses y que el emperador «lo recibió con la mayor admiración».

33. Carlos tras su abdicación, enero de 1556. En esta miniatura, atribuida a Simon Bening o a un trabajador de su taller, el emperador aparece vestido con una «túnica que llevaban los ciudadanos, hecha de sarga de Florencia, con jubón negro de estilo alemán» y un sombrero, tal y como lo describió una delegación francesa que fue a presentarle sus respetos en marzo de 1556. Si se pintó para conmemorar la ocasión, quizá este sea el último retrato del emperador, ya que se fue a España tres meses después y no encargó ninguno más.



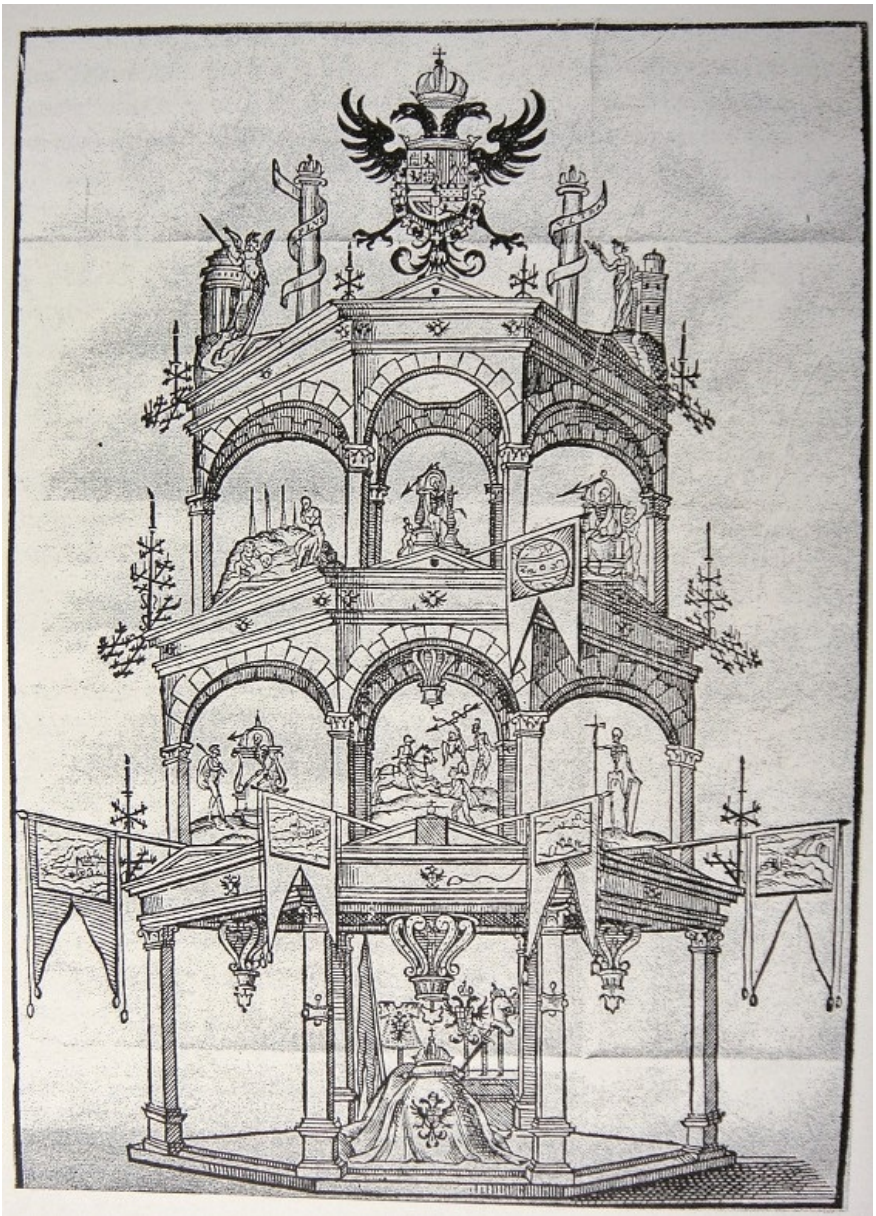
34. Carlos abdica, 1555. Este grabado de Franz Hogenberg (realizado en 1569-1570) muestra varias fases de la ceremonia de abdicación en el Gran Salón del palacio real de Bruselas el 25 de octubre de 1555: en la parte superior central, rodeado de lujosos tapices, Carlos agradece a su hermana María haber servido como su regente; un poco más abajo, renuncia a sus posesiones en favor de su hijo Felipe y a continuación abandona el salón («Carolus»); en el centro, uno de sus oficiales rompe sus sellos y el doctor Maes se prepara para hablar en nombre de los Estados Generales.

35. *El Juicio Final*, de Tiziano, 1551-1554. El encargo original del emperador hacía referencia a este enorme cuadro como *La Trinidad*, con toda seguridad para enfatizar un concepto que estaba siendo atacado por los protestantes, pero, a su llegada a Yuste, Carlos lo bautizó como *El Juicio Final* porque le mostraba a él y a sus familiares más cercanos —la emperatriz y su hijo Felipe, sus hermanas Leonor y María— momentos

después de su muerte, vestidos con túnicas blancas mientras rezaban pidiendo misericordia a Dios. La ausencia de su hermano Fernando, presente en Augsburgo cuando Carlos encargó el trabajo, no parece de ninguna manera accidental.

36. Los aposentos reales del monasterio de Yuste, 1567. Felipe II encargó al artista neerlandés Antoon van den Wyngaerde (Antonio de las Viñas) la realización de una serie de «vistas» de España, y en 1567, este hizo parada en Yuste. El artista pone el foco en el palacio del emperador, donde se encontraba el «aposento» imperial, al que se llegaba por una rampa situada a la izquierda (que todavía se conserva), quedando los jardines y las ampliaciones que él mandó realizar claramente visibles. Al fondo puede verse el convento jerónimo.

37. Exequias fúnebres para Carlos V en Bruselas, 1558. El 29 de diciembre de 1558, el cortejo fúnebre del emperador fue desde el palacio real a la iglesia de Santa Gúdula, donde cuatro décadas antes había sido aclamado como rey de Castilla, Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia. Los caballeros del Toisón de Oro, vestidos con hábitos y capuchas negras, acompañaron a Felipe, precedido por el duque de Alba, su mayordomo mayor. El príncipe de Orange llevaba en la mano un orbe para representar la extensión de los dominios del fallecido monarca.



38. Exequias fúnebres para Carlos V en Valladolid, noviembre de 1558. Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella había servido a Carlos desde 1533 y aprovechó sus conocimientos sobre el emperador para diseñar su túmulo en Valladolid —por entonces la capital administrativa de España— incluyendo, por ejemplo, escenas del libro favorito de Carlos: *El caballero determinado*. Calvete después publicó una descripción detallada de su trabajo junto con una ilustración que mostraba, en segundo plano, tres escenas del libro.

39. Carlos V en su sarcófago, 1871. Los restos del emperador reposaron en una cripta del monasterio de Yuste entre su muerte en 1558 y 1574, cuando su hijo los trasladó a El Escorial. Cada invierno, la temperatura de la cripta descendía por debajo de cero, lo que tuvo el efecto de «curar» el cadáver, como se «curan» los famosos jamones de Jabugo, a veces durante años, en bodegas a gran altitud. Este bosquejo al óleo, llevado a cabo el año anterior por Vicente Palmaroli mientras el sarcófago permaneció abierto a los curiosos, que sería publicado más tarde en forma de postal, muestra claramente el prognatismo mandibular y el fornido torso de Carlos.

Notas

Prefacio

1. Kleinschmidt, *Charles*, xv; Blockmans, *Emperor*, 1-2. Sobre la parcialidad de las vidas, véase Fuchs, *Karl V*, y Lox, *Van stroopdragers*.

2. AGNM *Mercedes* I y II (actualmente *Signaturas servibles* 15792 y 15793), donde se cuenta cada «expediente» como una cédula; Ruiz Medrano, *Mexico's indigenous communities*, 112 (respaldado por una conversación con Lidia Gómez García en 2015 acerca de la «divinidad» de Carlos).

3. Sansovino, *Il simulacro*, fo. 21, sostenía que *El cortesano* fue uno de los pocos libros que Carlos leyó en su totalidad. En 1533 firmó una autorización para publicar una traducción al español: *Los Quatro Libros del Cortesano… traducidos en lengua castellana por Boscán* (Barcelona, 1534).

4. Plutarco, *Vidas,* II.

5. Sorensen, *Decision-making*, xi, xiii (prefacio escrito por Kennedy); Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 130, Instrucción de Carlos al Príncipe Felipe, 6 de mayo de 1543.

6. De Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 28-33, Van Male a Louis de Praet, 11 de noviembre de 1552, latín.

7. Agradezco a Claudia Möller Redondo su ayuda a la hora de determinar los movimientos del emperador. Sobre las montañas de documentos que generaba una visita imperial, tómense las fuentes relativas a los tres días que pasó Carlos en Aigues-Mortes en 1538, citadas por Le Person, «A moment of "resverie"», y multiplíquense por 1.000. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 242-245, reconstruye la rutina diaria de Carlos antes de marcharse a España en 1517.

8. Nicolson y Trautmann, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, VI, 225-256, Woolf a Vita Sackville-West, 3 de mayo de 1938 (Woolf había recibido el encargo de escribir una biografía del artista y crítico de arte Roger Fry).

9. BNE *Ms*. 5578/77-99v, «Méthodo para escribir la Historia por Dr Juan Páez de Castro, chronista del emperador Carlos V, a quien le dirige», copia. El original, en su momento en BSLE, parece haber desaparecido. Esteban, «De las cosas», publicó una transcripción defectuosa de este manuscrito, entonces en BNE *Ms*. Q-18. De Courcelles, *Escribir*, 316-328, afirmó haber proporcionado una nueva transcripción del documento, pero seguía usando el número clave descatalogado «Q-18» al tiempo que incluía exactamente los mismos errores que Esteban. Aunque el documento está sin fechar, Carlos se encontraba con seguridad en los Países Bajos cuando Páez escribió, y una carta de este escrita en Bruselas el 12 de julio de 1556 mencionaba «lo que yo tengo de escribir en mi historia», así como la necesidad de obtener «copia de una historia que [el emperador] ha escrito de sus cosas» (Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia*, 430-431). Probablemente, para entonces Páez ya le había enviado su traza a Carlos.

10. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 544-547, Pedro de la Gasca a un cabildo del Perú (¿Arica?), 28 de septiembre de 1549.

11. Smith, *Erasmus*, 34-35.

12. BNE *Ms.*, 5578/87v-88, «Méthodo para escribir la Historia». Para dos estudios actuales sobre Páez, véase Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia*, y Von Ostenfeld-Suske, «Juan Páez».

13. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, cols. 68-69, copia de una carta enviada desde Bruselas, 7 de octubre de 1531; Viaud, *Lettres*, 176, Catalina a Carlos, 31 de enero de 1532; *SLID*, II, 136 (Hernando del Corral); Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2-3, dando cuenta de sus conversaciones con Fernando en 1563-1564.

14. *CDCV*, III, 667, Carlos a Felipe, 13 de marzo de 1554.

15. *CDCV*, IV, 309-311, Carlos a la regente, 1 de abril de 1557, copia de ológrafo; *GRM*, I, 148-149, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, 12 de mayo de 1557 (dando cuenta de una diatriba del emperador).

16. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 240-246, «Resultan los puntos que se han consultado a Su Magestad», sin fecha, pero febrero de 1552.

17. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 337-339, publica la confesión ante notario, fechada el 16 de agosto de 1517 (el original está en AGS *E K* 1483, B2 n.º 3); *LCK*, II, 87-89, María a Carlos, 25 de agosto de 1533, y su respuesta, 11 de septiembre de 1533.

18. Tamusio, *Ferrante*, 213-218, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola a Isabel de Este, 7 de noviembre de 1524. Para más información sobre el horrible trato de Carlos a su madre, véanse las páginas 114-116 y 273-274.

19. Freud, *The letters*, 127, Freud a Arnold Zweig, Viena, 31 de mayo de 1936; Kendall, *The art of biography*, XI; Atlas, *The shadow*, 93.

20. Cohen, *Supreme Command*, 113.

21. Giles, *The whole works*, I.II, 267-268, Ascham a Edward Raven, 29 de enero de 1551. El vicario de Epperstone en ese momento era Christopher Wansforth. Este último, Ascham y Raven se habían formado en el St John's College, en Cambridge, lo que puede explicar el paralelismo. Mi agradecimiento a John Morrill y Tracey Akehurst por esclarecerme este punto.

22. Fernández Álvarez, «Las instrucciones políticas», 175, Francisco de Eraso a Felipe y rescripto, 20 de febrero de 1559; BZ 144/39, Mateo Vázquez a Felipe y rescripto, 28 de diciembre de 1574. Sobre el contexto, y para más ejemplos de la influencia del emperador sobre su hijo, véase Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 26-27.

23. Fernández Terricabras, «La reforma de las Órdenes», 193, Felipe a don Luis de Requesens, mayo de 1569. Para más ejemplos, véase *FBD*, caps. 5 y 8.

24. AA 7/58, Felipe a Alba, 14 de julio de 1571; AGS *Estado* 165/23, Felipe al archiduque Alberto, 14 de septiembre de 1587.

25. BZ 144/61, Vázquez a Felipe, y rescripto, 31 de mayo de 1575; *LCK,* III, 512-513, Carlos a María, 13 de noviembre de 1552, ológrafo. Para saber más acerca de tales continuidades estratégicas, véase Parker, «Incest».

26. GRM, I, 405-407, Luis Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 26 de septiembre de 1558 (cinco días después de la muerte de Carlos); AGS *E* 874/17-18, Juan de Vega, embajador imperial en Roma, a Carlos, 19 de febrero de 1547; Von Ranke, *Deutsche*

Geschichte, V, 366-370, informe de Charles de Marillac sobre su embajada, 1550.

27. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, 153-155, Bergenroth a David Douglas, 1 de agosto de 1866; Brandi, *The emperor*.

1. De duque de Luxemburgo a príncipe de Castilla, 1500-1508

1. Mexía, *Historia*, 4-5 (donde consta que fue escrita en 1548).

2. AGS *Estado* K 1482/14, Maximiliano a los Reyes Católicos, 23 de junio de 1495. Cauchies y Van Eeckenrode, «Recevoir madame l'archiduchesse», 263-266, ofrecen una excelente guía sobre los complejos antecedentes del doble matrimonio español.

3. ADN *B* 2165/205, pago a «*une saige femme de la ville de Lille nommée Ysabeau*», septiembre de 1499; ADN *B* 2169/58v y 136v, pagos a George de Dôle, que salió de Gante el 1 de febrero de 1500 «*à extrême diligence*», y a «*deux religieux de l'abbaye d'Anchin*» que llevaron el anillo a «*la ville de Gand où ilz avoient séjourné par l'espace de quinze jours entiers actendant la délivrance de madicte dame*». Aunque la película de 2001 *Juana la Loca/Mad love* (calificada por un crítico como una «novela erótica para intelectuales») incluye una espectacular recreación del parto en un retrete, Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahren*, 22 n. 15, no da más valor a la historia que de mero chismorreo.

4. Van Salenson, *Die warachtighe gheschiendenisse*, sig. B, poema de Lieven Bautkin, stanza 2 (Bautkin escribió «een *paeyeselick* prince», que significaba tanto «paz», *paix*, como «Pascua», *paas*); AGRB *Collectie Gachard* 611, sin foliar, Felipe a la ciudad de Ieper, 24 de febrero de 1500. Tondat, «De Geboorteplaats», afirmaba que Carlos nació en la ciudad de Eeklo, a 20 kilómetros de Gante, pero las numerosas órdenes fechadas el 24 de febrero de 1500 firmadas por Felipe en Gante, además de fuentes como Bautkin, descartan esta posibilidad.

5. ADN *B* 2169/62v-63, pago a Gillart Michiel, *chevaucheur*, despachado el 25 de febrero de 1500; Gachard, *Lettres inédites de Maximilien*, I, nota 105, respuesta de Maximiliano a Margarita, sin fechar, pero correspondiente a marzo de 1500 (disputa sobre el nombre); Rodríguez Villa, *Juana la Loca*, 43-45, don Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa a los Reyes Católicos, 28 de marzo de 1500 (sobre el título).

6. Zurita, *Historia*, IV.III, donde amplía la historia recogida en los *Anales* del consejero de Isabel, Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal (*CODOIN*, XVIII, 297); Gachard, *Lettres inédites de Maximilien*, I, nota 105.

7. Strøm-Olsen, «Dynastic ritual», 36.

8. AGRB *Audience* 22/133-135, orden del archiduque Felipe, redactada el 1 de febrero de 1500 en español (una circunstancia nada frecuente en los archivos de la casa de Borgoña).

9. Blockmans, «Autocratie ou Polyarchie?», 282 n. 1, Consejo de Regencia a Maximiliano, 15 de octubre de 1483. Gante se había rebelado contra el duque Felipe el Temerario en la década de 1450 y volvería a hacerlo contra Carlos V en 1539-1540.

10. Finot, *Inventaire Sommaire*, VII, XCVII-XCVIII, Ordenanza de la Casa de Felipe, 2 de marzo de 1497. Para Felipe no parece haber existido una ceremonia de «emancipación» como tal, pero Cauchies, *Philippe*, 8486, argumenta la verosimilitud

de que su minoría de edad terminara en julio de 1493, justo después de su quince cumpleaños, cuando comenzó a firmar documentos en su propio nombre, si bien continuó como «procurador» de Maximiliano hasta 1495.

11. Firpo, *Relazioni*, VIII, 33, Relación final de Quirino, 1506; Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 332, Fuensalida a Fernando de Aragón, 5 de marzo de 1505; Cauchies, *Philippe*, 225, Maximiliano a Felipe, sin fecha, pero entre septiembre y diciembre de 1496; Von Höfler, «Depeschen», 160-161, 147-148 y 215-217, Quirino al dogo de Venecia, 21 de septiembre de 1505, 31 de agosto de 1505, y 15 de mayo de 1506.

12. La Marche, *Mémoires*, III, 315-317 (La Marche perpetró aquí un malévolo juego de palabras, dado que «Croy» era el nombre de dos de los principales consejeros de Felipe: Chimay y Chièvres.)

13. La Marche, *Mémoires*, I, 163, y III, 318. Sobre la fecha de la Introducción a las *Mémoires*, situada en 1488-1491, véase Millar, *Olivier*, cap. 3. Cauchies, «"Croit conseil" et ses "ministres"», nombraba y debatían la selección de consejeros.

14. ADN *B* 2170 (72.017) y *B* 2171 (72.193), orden de Felipe fechada el 4 de agosto de 1500 para pagar a Liberal Trevisan, «conseiller et phisicien de monseigneur l'archiduc», y recibo de Trevisan con fecha de 6 de agosto de 1500.

15. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen*, II, 72, Carlos a María de Hungría, 24 de diciembre de 1540 (ayuda al hijo de Barbe); Van der Elst, *Basilicae Bruxellensis*, II, 43 (epitafio de Barbe); Rodríguez Villa, *Juana la Loca*, 43-45, don Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa, obispo de Astorga, a los Reyes Católicos, 28 de marzo de 1500 (orígenes de Barbe).

16. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 138, 182, 190 y 192, Fuensalida a los Reyes Católicos, 4 de agosto de 1500, y 22 de marzo, 27 de agosto y 22 de septiembre de 1501.

17. ADN *B* 2169/149, pago de 123£ efectuado por Felipe al mensajero especial de España; Cauchies, «No tyenen más voluntad», 121, Felipe a los Reyes Católicos, 11 de agosto de 1500.

18. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 181, Fuensalida a los Reyes Católicos, 22 de marzo de 1501. Los historiadores discrepan sobre la fecha de la partida de los archiduques, pero ADN *B* 2177/1v, en el primer registro de Simon Longin como «Maître de la chambre aux deniers» de Carlos y sus hermanas, afirmaba que el 31 de octubre de 1501 sus padres «partirent au matin de la ville de Malines ou ilz laisserent messeigneurs les enffants».

19. Rodríguez-Salgado, «Carlos V and the dynasty», 28.

20. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 203, 259, 265 y 300, Fuensalida y algunos colegas a los Reyes Católicos, 19 de enero, 15 de julio, 16 de agosto y 1 de noviembre de 1504. Sobre una evaluación del comportamiento de Juana en este momento, véase Aram, *La reina Juana*, cap. 3.

21. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 286-287, Fernando a Fuensalida, 26 de septiembre de 1504 (el rey reiteró la advertencia el 15 de octubre, prometiendo enviar noticias nada más producirse la muerte de su esposa, «con correo bolante»: ibíd., 292); ibíd., 314, Fuensalida a Fernando, 3 de diciembre de 1504 (cursiva añadida). BRB *Ms*. 7386-94/17v, «La nouvelle d'icelle mort vint à Monseigneur l'Archiduc en sa ville d'Anvers le 11 décembre [1504]». Sobre las tempestuosas relaciones de Felipe con Carlos de Güeldres, incluido el incumplimiento de la promesa del duque de acompañar a Felipe a España, véase Struick, *Gelre*, 58-76.

22. ADN *B* 2191/355, 359-360, 370v-371, 380-381 y 393-394, Cuentas de Simon Longin, receptor general de Hacienda, correspondiente a 1505, pagos por la decoración de Santa Gúdula para las honras fúnebres, 14-15 de enero, para las Justas celebradas el 4 y 11 de septiembre, y para «tres grandes banquetes celebrados en Bruselas el 4, 7 y 11 de septiembre de 1505»; ADN *B* 2193 (74.099), Orden para el pago de «le deul de feue la royne despaigne» de Juana y sus hijos, 6 de enero de 1505; BRB *Mss* 738694/17-25 y 16381-90/45-51, narración de la ceremonia fúnebre (espléndidamente descrita por Aram, *Juana*, 79-80).

23. ADN *B* 2181/42v-43 y 136, Cuentas del receptor general de Hacienda Longin correspondientes a 1503, pagos al «guardia del papagayo» que «mi señor ha hecho enviar desde España», y por la construcción y aclimatación de «una gran jaula para el papagayo»; ADN *B* 2189 (73.620), pagos por «la guarda y alimento de cuatro camellos y dos pelicanos que mi señor ha traído de España», 3 de enero de 1504; AGRB *Audience* 22/186-187v, pagos al guarda del «papagayo, el avestruz y dos gallinas de indias», 1504; ADN *B* 2193 (74.065), pagos «pour ramener les bestes et oiseaux d'Espagne à Bruxelles», 28 de agosto de 1505; ADN *B* 3462 (121.649), orden de pago por los trabajos de forja necesarios «pour le cheval que le roy des Romains donna au prince, et aussi faire regarnir le cheval que le Comte Palatine donna au prince», 30 de septiembre de 1505. Otros detalles de Vera y Figueroa, *Epítome*, 21-22. In 1521, Alberto Durero visitó los leones reales en Gante y los dibujó: Durero, *Diary*, 87 y láminas 18-19.

24. ADN *B* 2195 (74.346), recibo de 100 libras firmado por Anchieta, «Maistre d'escole de monseigneur le prince de Castille et de mesdames Lyénor et Isabeau», 26 de septiembre de 1505; ADN *B* 2181/124v-5 y 135, pagos a Martin Bourgeois, abril de 1503 y a Jehan Loupez, diciembre de 1503; Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 309, Fuensalida a los Reyes Católicos, 18 de noviembre de 1504. Véase también Schilling, «L'education», 5-6, y Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 41-42.

25. RAH *Salazar y Castro* A-10/35 (antes f. 42), Carlos a Fernando, enero de 1504, comentado en Rassow, «La primera carta».

26. Martyr de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 101-102 (n.º 515), carta a Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 13 de enero de 1513 (sobre Vaca); ADN *B* 3462 (121.649), pago de cinco libras a «un escraignier de Malines qui a fait bancq atout des armoyres et une table pour aller le prince et mesdames ses soeurs à l'escolle», 30 de septiembre de 1505.

27. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253, Chimay a Maximiliano, 9 de septiembre de 1506 (en respuesta a la insistencia del emperador en «qu'il apprendra le Brabanchon»); ADN *B* 3462 (121.621), pago a Evrard Sparcke por «plusieurs drogheries, médecines et autres espiceries… pour mesdits seigneur et dames durant leur maladies», 31 de julio de 1505; y ADN *B* 2195 (74.333), recibo firmado por Jacques de Rubbe, «maistre cururgien», 12 de septiembre de 1505.

28. Von Höfler, «Depeschen», 112, Quirino al dogo de Venecia, Kleef, 8 de junio de 1505; Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 491-493, nombramiento de Felipe a favor de Chièvres como teniente-general, 26 de diciembre de 1505.

29. ADN *B* 2193 (74,137), nombramiento de Chimay como «gouverneur et premier chambellan de nostredit filz le prince»,13 de octubre de 1505; Gachard, *Collection*, I, 461, «Deuxième voyage», escrito por un miembro del séquito de Felipe.

30. Cauchies, *Philippe*, 265-7, testamento de Felipe, Brujas, 26 de diciembre de 1505. En aquel momento Felipe solo tenía dos hijos varones, Carlos y Fernando, pero la redacción de su testamento dejaba abierta la posibilidad de una partición múltiple si engendraba más.

31. Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 461, Fuensalida a Fernando de Aragón, Londres 5 de julio de 1508, informando de una larga audiencia con el rey inglés; Firpo, *Relazioni*, VIII, 34, Relato de Vicenzo Quirino, 1506 *(«mostra in ogni sua azione essere assai animoso e crudele; somiglia al vecchio duca Carlo di Borgogna»)*.

32. Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 452-453, «Deuxième voyage», escrito por un testigo ocular; Fagel, «Un heredero», 118.

33. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 257, Berghes a Maximiliano, 5 de octubre de 1506.

34. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 258-260, Consejo a Maximiliano, Malinas 7 de octubre de 1506.

35. Gachard, *Collection*, I, 455, «Deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau». Fagel, «Un heredero», 121-122, analiza las facciones profrancesas y proinglesas que se desarrollaron durante la segunda regencia de Maximiliano.

36. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 4, Maximiliano al Consejo, 27 de octubre de 1506, sus primeras órdenes tras recibir la noticia de la muerte de Felipe.

37. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 8-9, Patente real de Maximiliano, 18 de marzo de 1507.

38. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253 y 260-267, Chimay a Maximiliano, Malinas, 9 de septiembre y 7 de octubre de 1506; AHN *Nobleza* Frías 22/91, Carlos al conde de Oropesa, 7 de febrero de 1507/1508.

39. Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 49.

40. ADN *B* 3510 (123.922), orden firmada por Margarita, 10 de julio de 1507 (comentada en Hannes, «Philippe le Beau», 62-65, quien provisionalmente identifica el tomo con el que actualmente se encuentra en BSLE Vitrina 14); Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 113, 127, 129.

41. Lemaire des Belges, *Chronique*, 129, 131.

42. Cauchies, *Jean Lemaire des Belges, Le carnet*, 55-56.

43. ADN *B* 18.862 (31.117), Margarita a Tomás Bolena, sin fecha, pero correspondiente a la primavera de 1513. Véase también *HMC, 15th Report, Appendix, Part II*, 30, Bolena a Margarita, 14 de agosto de 1514, pidiéndole le enviara de vuelta a «ma fille, la petite Boulain»; y Paget, «The youth».

44. Dürer, *Diary*, 95-96 (entrada correspondiente al 6 de junio de 1521).

45. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, III, 2361 («Il a necessité d'y mettre une serrure pour le fermer, ce que madame a ordonné faire»); y Eichberger, «Margarita de Austria», 2353. Eichberger, «A noble residence», presenta una vívida reconstrucción del «Hotel de Savoy» (o «Hof van Savoy») frente al «Keizershof» (u «Hotel de Bourgogne»). Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof*, describe el ambiente cultural de la corte de Margarita y su influencia.

46. Lanz, *Correspondenz*, I, 190-191, Carlos a Margarita, 9 de febrero de 1526; y *CMH*, I, 15-16, Carlos a su hermana María, 3 de enero de 1531, ambos ológrafos. Véanse ejemplos de este trato deferente en Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V: Quellen*, 75-76, Leonor a Margarita, sin fecha; Altmeyer, *Isabelle d'Autriche*, 43, Isabel a Margarita, 7 de agosto de 1515; y Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 87-88, Carlos a Margarita, 6 de octubre de 1513.

47. Bruchet y Lancien, *L'itinéraire*, 336, Margarita a Maximiliano, 1507 (De Witte continuaría siendo confesor de Leonor hasta su muerte en 1540: Moeller, *Éléonore*, 182-183); ibíd., 348, Margarita a Chièvres, septiembre de 1511; y 365, Margarita a María Tudor, 23 de febrero de 1514 (y no a María de Hungría, como se afirma en Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 88-89). Véase también la respuesta de María a «Ma bonne tante» en Sadlack, *The French queen's letters*, 163-164 (la fecha debe de ser, por tanto, 13 de abril de 1514).

48. Bruchet y Lancien, *L'itinéraire*, 375, Margarita a María de Hungría, febrero de 1518; Jordan Gschwend, «La meilleure soeur», 2569.

49. Gachard, «Particularités», II, 129, protesta de Chimay a Maximiliano, 28 de septiembre de 1508, artículo 1 (fecha tomada de Gachard, «Notice des archives de M. le duc de Caraman», 202); Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 129-130 y 172, Maximiliano a Margarita, 27 de abril y 30 de julio de 1509. La primera carta hacía referencia a un regalo para Carlos de un «matingo», que Le Glay sugería debía de ser un tipo determinado de perro.

50. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 202-203, I, 424-425, y II, 260, Margarita a Maximiliano, 29 de octubre de 1509, 16 de junio de 1514, y finales de julio de 1510.

51. Gorter-van Royen y Hoyois, *Correspondance*, I, 384-389, María a Carlos, 3 de agosto de 1532, minuta ológrafa; Pardanaud, «Plaider», 197. Véase otra muestra de la pésima letra de Carlos en esta época, en su posdata ológrafa a AHN *Nobleza* Frías 22/91, al conde de Oropesa, 7 de febrero de 1508.

52. ADN *B* 2185/162, Diario del Receptor-General de Hacienda Longin correspondiente a 1504, pago a «frère Erasmus, Rotterdamensis», octubre de 1504; *CWE*, II, 77-79 (n.º 179), Erasmo a Nicholas Ruistre, febrero de 1504.

53. Zalama y Vandenbroeck, *Felipe I*, 193-194 y 288, describe e ilustra el órgano portátil encargado por Felipe; ADN *B* 2185/227v-8 y 230v, Cuentas del Receptor General de Hacienda Longin correspondientes a 1504 (pagos al fabricante de tapices y a El Bosco); y ADN *B* 2191/294v y 297, Cuentas del Receptor General de Hacienda Longin correspondientes a 1505 (pagos por música y un cuadro de un desnudo).

54. Gairdner, *Letters*, I, 301-303, Maximiliano a Enrique VIII, 14 de septiembre de1506; Gairdner, «The "spouselles"», 15 y 31 (en pp. 1112, Gairdner demuestra convincentemente que la carta de Carlos, fechada en 1513 en *L & P Henry VIII*, I. II, 1108, fue escrita en 1508); ADN *B* 3351, patente real de fecha 27 de febrero de 1509. Cauchies, *Philippe*, 144-151, ofrece un excelente resumen de las primeras negociaciones matrimoniales relacionadas con Carlos; Sadlack, *The French queen's letters*, 28-30 y 44-48, presenta la versión de María de esta historia.

55. Cauchies, *Jean Lemaire des Belges, Le carnet*, 63-64 («l'empereur joua ledit jour les joustes») y 99 (Margarita, Carlos y sus hermanas contemplaron «den steeckspele op den merct» el 18 de febrero de 1509).

56. Laurent, *Recueil de ordonnances*, I, 79-81, Patente real de Maximiliano, 18 de marzo de 1509; Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, *Quellen*, 172-175, Zyprian von Sernstein a Paul von Liechtenstein, 3 de abril de 1509; Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 93, Jean de Marnix a Margarita, 9 de junio de 1508.

57. Pirenne, *Histoire*, III, 74; Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 431 nota, borrador sin fecha (en poder de Gattinara) de los poderes pretendidos por Margarita, y I, 122-125, Maximiliano a Margarita, ológrafo sin fecha (pero datado en torno a abril de 1508, y al parecer como respuesta al borrador de Gattinara). El francés del emperador (que no era su lengua materna) resulta especialmente enrevesado en esta carta: «i me semble, veu que je suis mainbour et grand-père de mes enfans, que je retieng quelque chose avecq vous, pour vous gouverner, et pour nostre reputation».

58. Kreiten, «Der Briefwechsel», 246-248, Margarita a Maximiliano, ológrafo sin fecha (pero correspondiente a principios de 1508); ADN *B* 2211 (75.365), orden de pago a Chimay de 8.000 libras, dado que Chièvres toma posesión como «primer chambelán», 27 de abril de 1509; ADN *B* 2210/398, compra de accesorios de cama a juego en noviembre de 1509; *PEG*, I, 92, Carlos a Cisneros y Adrian, 7 de septiembre de 1517.

59. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 93, Jean de Marnix a Margarita, 9 de junio de 1508, y Ordenanza de mediados de diciembre de 1510; Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre*, 279-280, minutas de una reunión de todos los caballeros, 22 de noviembre de 1508; Gossart, *Charles-Quint et Philippe*, VIII y 48-9, «Règlement de la maison du future roi d'Austrasie» (datada por Walther, *op. cit.*, 138 n 1, a mediados de diciembre de 1510).

2. El príncipe huérfano, 1509-1514

1. Michelet, *Histoire*, 146 («Celle-ci est le vrai grand homme de la famille, et, selon moi, le fondateur de la maison d'Autriche»).

2. Walther, *Die Burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 96, Maximiliano a Margarita, diciembre de 1510.

3. Bruchet y Lancien, *L'itinéraire*, 335 y 338, memorándum ológrafo de Margarita, 1507; y Margarita a Maximiliano, abril de 1509.

4. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 122-125 y II, 204-207, Maximiliano a Margarita, abril de 1508 y agosto de 1510, ambas ológrafas (fechas de Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 271).

5. Kreiten, *Der Briefwechsel,* 249-250, Maximiliano a Margarita, 29 de abril de 1508, ológrafo (también publicado en Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, I, 98-99, con la fecha equivocada y algunas interpretaciones erróneas del texto); Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 271-272 y 274-275, Margarita a Maximiliano, 21 de mayo de 1510, y su respuesta el 31 de mayo de 1510.

6. Boom, *Marguerite*, 100, Leonor a Margarita, y su respuesta, sin fecha, pero escrita durante la visita de Maximiliano en 1508-1509. Las visitas se han calculado a partir de Von Höfler, «Depeschen», 137-138 y 142-144, Quirini al dogo de Venecia, 11 y 24 de agosto de 1505 (primera visita) y Von Kraus, «Itinerarium Maximilian I», y Foronda, *Estancias* (para el resto).

7. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 12-14, 182-183, Maximiliano a Margarita, 20 y 23 de junio de 1512, y 23 de julio de 1513; ADN *B* 2210/429, pago de 86 libras «en comptant» a Maximiliano y Carlos, 24 de febrero de 1509 («largesse»); ADN *B* 3351/10-12v, cuenta de Didier Boisot, tesorero de la casa de las hermanas de Carlos, pagos por sus viajes con Maximiliano en junio de 1512. Otros detalles en Moeller, *Eléonor*, 64-65.

8. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 13, Maximiliano a Margarita, 22 de junio de 1512, sobre el ciervo; Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 161-170 y II, 1602-1607, ilustra y describe los juegos militares, algunos de los cuales se hallan expuestos en el Kunsthistorisches Museum de Viena.

9. ADN *B* 2218/337, cuenta del receptor general Micault correspondiente a 1511, pago por el encargo de Maximiliano a Pierre Alamire (Pieter van den Hove) «escripvain des livres de la chappelle domestique de monseigneur», por «deux gros livres de parchemin plains de messes de musique… donné à Madame de Savoye sa fille pour son nouvel an».

10. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, I, 389 («völliger Burgunder»), y 228-247, «Das burgundische Erlebnis».

11. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, III, 370, y IV, 414. Véase Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 37-39, Maximiliano a Margarita, 18 de septiembre de 1512, sobre su deseo de convertirse en papa, y capítulo 14 más adelante sobre la queja manifestada por Carlos en 1548.

12. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, II, 40-41 (el «grossen Kriegsplan» de 1496); Walther, *Anfänge*, 218-219, Maximiliano a Carlos, septiembre de 1513.

13. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 3, reproduce un dibujo de Joseph Grünpeck entregando una copia de la *Historia Friderici et Maximiliano* a su nieto, bajo la mirada benévola del emperador; el bellamente ilustrado manuscrito hecho para Carlos, con notas ológrafas de Maximiliano, se encuentra hoy en HHStA *Ms. Blau* 9, Cod 24; en tanto que la copia de *Theuerdank* que Maximiliano le dio se halla en BSLE X-I-9.

14. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 335-338 y 245, Maximiliano a Margarita, 1 de enero y 2 de marzo de 1516 (fechas corregidas por Walther, «Review of Kreiten»).

15. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximiliano*, I, 176 notas 6-7, y V, 518 (portando una pica en 1485, 1504 y 1505); Lhotsky, *Festschrift*, I, 77 (Aquisgrán).

16. Boone, «From cuckoo's egg», 90 (ciudadela en Gante); Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, III, 229 (citando a *Weisskunig*) y V, 204 («Finanzchaos»). Véase capítulo 11 sobre el consejo de Carlos a su hijo en 1543.

17. Burke, «Presenting», 411; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 110. Carlos no parece haberse considerado nunca a sí mismo tan cualificado para ser papa como Maximiliano: véase Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 37-39, Maximiliano a Margarita, 18 de septiembre de 1511 (fechado por Walther, «Review of Kreiten»), una extraordinaria carta firmada «Maximilianous, futur pape».

18. Maximiliano, *Der Weisskunig*, 341 (cap. 47), 332 (cap. 26), y 348-349 (caps. 62-69). Toda la Segunda Parte (capítulos 13 a 69) trata de la educación que debe recibir un joven soberano.

19. Maximiliano, *Der Weisskunig*, 338-339 (cap. 40).

20. Chmel, *Urkunden*, 253, Chimay a Maximiliano, 9 de septiembre de 1506; Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 176, Maximiliano a Margarita, 7 de julio de 1513. Maximiliano ponía en práctica lo que predicaba: en 1498, «proposa fort élégamment, par l'espace de heure et demye, en lengaige thiois» a los Estados Generales de los Países Bajos (Molinet, *Chroniques*, V, 106).

21. Gachard, «Mémoire», 23, don Alonso Manrique al cardenal Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516 (*CSPSp*, II, 281-283, resumen en inglés, erróneamente atribuido a Pedro Ruiz de la Mota). Sobre el posterior dominio del español de Carlos, véase capítulo 4, y sobre el disfrute de las lenguas extranjeras en 1530, véase el capítulo titulado «Retrato del emperador en su plenitud», páginas 459-462.

22. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vesp. C.I/194, el arzobispo de Armagh y lord Berners a Enrique VIII, Zaragoza, 17 de septiembre de 1518; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B. XX/218, Tunstal a Enrique VIII, desencriptado, febrero de 1521; Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 197-198 (citando tal vez la anécdota encontrada por primera vez en Giovio, *Historiae*, libro XXVII, quien alegaba que esto había ocurrido cuando Carlos llegó a Génova en 1529); *GRM*, II, 414, el doctor Mathys a Juan Vázquez, 30 de mayo de 1558. En Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*, 176-184, encontramos un excelente resumen de las limitadas habilidades lingüísticas de Carlos.

23. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 115-116, y I, 35-36, Margarita a Maximiliano, principios de 1514, y diciembre de 1507.

24. *CWE*, I, 172-173 (n.º 85), Erasmo a Nicasio, 14 de diciembre de 1498 (Pavie); Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles-Quint et Adrien*, p. XVII, Carlos a sus enviados en Inglaterra, 21 de enero de 1522. Véase también Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 39-40. Carlos ofreció a su antiguo tutor una sucesión de lucrativas diócesis, entre las que se contaba Salamanca, donde en 1534 hizo una visita a Cabeza de Vaca: véase González de Ávila, *Historia*, 474-478.

25. *CWE*, VI, 378-379 (n.º 969), Erasmo a Antoon van Bergen, 20 de mayo de 1519; Verweij, *De paus uit de Lage Landen*, 5 (cita); ADN *B* 3465 (n.º 121766), lista de todos los miembros de la casa de Carlos y sus salarios, del 4 de abril de 1512 («Maistre Louis de Vacques» y «Maistre Adrien Florency»). Otros detalles tomados de Stone, «Adrian of Utrecht and the university».

26. Véase Stone, «Adrian of Utrecht as a moral theologian», y Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*, 251-317, sobre Adriano; y Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof*, para otros detalles sobre la red humanista con sede en Malinas.

27. Danvila, *Historia*, III, 31-41, Adriano a Carlos, 16 de enero de 1520; Lanz, *Correspondenz*, I, 60-62, Adriano a Carlos, Zaragoza, 3 de mayo de 1522, ológrafo. El uso de Adriano de la palabra «croy» para criticar a los consejeros más crédulos de Carlos probablemente quería ser un juego de palabras dirigido al francófilo Guillermo de Croÿ, señor de Chièvres. Fagel, «Adrian», 45, enumera las cartas escritas por Adriano a Carlos entre junio de 1520 y junio de 1522 que se conservan. Lanz, *Correspondenz*, I, y Gachard, *Correspondance*, publican las que se intercambiaron tras la elección de Adriano como Papa.

28. Danvila, *Historia*, II, 624-629, Adriano a Carlos, 4 de diciembre de 1520 (primera, segunda y cuarta cita), y III, 31-41, Adriano a Carlos, 16 de enero de 1521; dos cartas sumamente indigestas.

29. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 376-386, II, 515-516, y III, 31-41, y Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles-Quint et d'Adrien*, 252-253, Adriano a Carlos, 25 y 30 de junio de 1520, 28 de noviembre de 1520, 16 de enero de 1521 y 17 de enero de 1522: cinco ejemplos entre los muchos que hay. Véase también Lanz, *Correspondenz*, I, 58-62, Carlos a Adriano, 7 de marzo, con respuesta del 3 de mayo de 1522, ambas ológrafas, un intercambio más cordial en el que el primero recordaba las advertencias sobre la perfidia francesa que Adriano «autrefois m'avez dit estant vostre escolier», y el segundo se alegraba «que ne luy est cheu de la memoire ce que de moy avoit ouy et a prins aux escoles» sobre el asunto.

30. Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, 34; Leti, *Vita del invitissimo imperadore*, I, 55; Maximiliano, *Der Weisskunig*, 328 (cap. 20).

31. Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 196v-197.

32. ADN *B* 2268 (79.071), «Aucunes livres que le roy ordonne porter avec luy», parte de un inventario de objetos preciosos que Carlos proyectaba llevarse con él a España, 30 de junio de 1517. *Inventaire Sommaire*, IV, 350-351, enumera los títulos. En Gachard, *Collection*, III, 69, Laurent Vital deja constancia de que en la travesía «aulcuns se mectoient à lire des chronicques». Véase también Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 74-77.

33. Wijsman, «Philippe le Beau», 82-87, describe los libros que Felipe se trajo de España; Debae, *La bibliothèque*, reconstruye la colección de Margarita.

34. Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, 40-45.

35. Chastellain, *Chronique,* 364-365 y 368-369 (escrita en 1468); *L'État de la Maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne, dit le hardi* (redactado en 1474), en La Marche, *Mémoires*, IV, 1-94.

36. La Marche, *Le chevalier déliberé [The resolute knight]*, edición bilingüe.

37. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 15-16, Guillaume van Male a Louis de Praet, Augsburgo, 13 de enero de 1551: «Caesar maturat editionem libri, cui titulus erat gallicus, *Le chevalier délibéré*. Hunc per otium a se ipso traductum… ad numeros rithmi hispani… cum non solum linguam, sed et Carmen et vocum significantiam mire expresseri». El emperador encargó a Hernando de Acuña la terminación y publicación de su traducción española: *El cavallero determinado* (Amberes, 1553), dedicada a Carlos V. Speakman Sutch y Prescott «Translation as transformation», señalan que la traducción española añadía a los Reyes Católicos, Felipe I y Maximiliano como soberanos vencidos por la muerte. En el inventario de los libros que tenía Carlos en Yuste cuando murió, la primera entrada correspondía a «un libro de cavallero determinado en lengua françesa», y la quinta a un manuscrito de la traducción española: Checa, *Inventarios*, I, 525. En la subasta de los bienes del emperador, Felipe II pagó 60 y 30 ducados, respectivamente, para adquirirlos: ibíd., 529. Checa Cremades, «El caballero y la muerte» reproduce las 19 ilustraciones.

38. Gachard, «Mémoire», 23, don Alonso Manrique al cardenal Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516; Walther, *Anfänge*, 212: «ein Fremdling in seiner Zeit».

39. March, *Niñez y Juventud*, I, 227, Zúñiga a Carlos V, 25 de agosto de 1535; Chytraeus, *Chronicon*, 561 (latín) y 110 (alemán). El retrato que una vez estuvo en Malinas, pintado en febrero o marzo de 1509, ha desaparecido (agradezco a Patrick Lenaghan la ayuda que me ha prestado para entender este párrafo).

40. Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 197; Sandoval, *Historia*, I, 19.

41. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 241-242, Maximiliano a Margarita, 28 de febrero de 1510 (fecha de Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 271, cursiva añadida). ADN *B* 2224/342-343, registra los pagos efectuados en junio de 1512 a «plusieurs compagnons veneurs» que «enrrollaron y desenrrollaron» casi 100 metros de «redes de cepos cuando [Carlos] salía a cazar con el emperador».

42. Martyr de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 300-301, carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 12 de febrero de 1518; BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp C.I/174-176, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, Zaragoza, 30 de junio de 1518; BL *Harl. Ms*. 295/119v-121, lord Berners a Enrique VIII, Zaragoza, 2 de julio de 1518, copia del registro.

43. BL *Cott* Galba B III, f. 36v, Wingfield, Young y Bolena a Enrique VIII, 29 de junio de 1512; Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 155-156, Margarita a Maximiliano, sin fecha, pero 5 de junio de 1514 (véase Walther, «Review of Kreiten», p. 282).

44. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 61-65, describe el calendario anual de los eventos de la corte; ADN *B* 2210/379 y 2224/430, cuentas del receptor general Micault correspondientes a 1509 y 1512 (*largesse* de Año Nuevo).

45. ADN *B* 2224/342-343, cuenta del receptor general Micault correspondiente a 1512.

46. ADN *B* 2210/398, pago correspondiente a noviembre de 1509 («pour le petit Narre fol»); *L & P Henry VIII*, II. II, 1442 (de «El libro de pagos del rey», julio de 1509, firmado por Enrique VIII).

47. Sobre «Jehannin le paintre», véase ADN *B* 2242/306, cuenta del receptor general Micault correspondiente a 1515; sobre Bredeniers, véase ADN *B* 2218/107, *B* 2224/191v-192 y *B* 2227/169-170v, cuentas del receptor general Micault correspondientes a 1511, 1512 y 1513; ADN *B* 2250, cartas de pago correspondientes a 1515, cursiva añadida; y Burbure, «Bredeniers», cols. 922-923. En 1512 Bredeniers recibió pagos «por la compra y entrega de un manicordio» a Margarita: ADN *B* 2222/126.

48. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B III/33 y 35v, Wingfield y Young a Enrique VIII, 19 y 27 de junio de 1512, resumido en Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I. I, 572-575; Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 260-261 y 265, Margarita a Maximiliano, 16, 20-21 y 25 de junio de 1514 (fechas de Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 271).

49. Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, describe las curiosas esculturas de hielo; Durero, *Diario*, 63 (entrada del 27 de agosto de 1520) y lámina 75 (esbozo de «der diergarten und dis lust hinden aws dem schloss» en Bruselas).

50. Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I.ii, 1046, pagos por los banderines de Carlos para las «justas reales» celebradas en Tournai; ibíd., 1053-1054, «ofrendas» de Enrique VIII correspondientes al 16 de octubre de 1513 «con lady Margarita y el príncipe de Castilla».

51. Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I.II, 1047-8, Enrique VIII al papa León X, 12 de octubre de 1513, y 1049-1050, declaración de Enrique, Lille, 15 de octubre de 1513; Walther, *Anfänge*, 210-211, pago al conde palatino donde consta la patente real de Carlos y Maximiliano, 1 de febrero de 1514. Walther, *Anfänge*, 117-119, y Fagel, «Un heredero», 129-130, comentan la nueva Ordenanza de la Casa, que entró en vigor el 19 de octubre de 1513.

52. Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I.II, 1080, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, Gante, 15 de noviembre de 1513.

53. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.III/15, el doctor William Knight al cardenal Wolsey, Malinas, 2 de mayo de 1514, ológrafo.

54. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 233, Instrucciones de Margarita a Louis Maroton, 6 de julio de 1514. Detalles sobre los preparativos de Enrique tomados de Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I.II, 1159-1162 y 1194.

55. Detalles en Brodie, *L & P Henry VIII*, I.II, 1325, 1341 y 1351.

56. BL *Cott*. Galba B.III f. 218v, Wingfield al duque de Suffolk, Malinas, 20 de mayo de 1514 (lamentablemente, los daños por fuego han dejado ilegibles otros pasajes de potencial importancia).

57. Le Glay, *Corr*, I, 245-248 y 383, Maximiliano a Margarita, 16 de marzo de 1510 y 30 de abril de 1514.

58. Martyr, *Opus epistolarum*, III, 157-159 y 162-164 (n.º 539 y n.º 542), a Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 de junio de 1514 (sobre la temprana muerte del príncipe Juan) y 13 de noviembre de 1514 (temprana muerte del rey Luis).

59. Le Glay, *Négociations diplomatiques*, I, 595, Felipe Dalles a Margarita, París, 3 de enero de 1515 (al final, Carlos se casaría con la princesa de Portugal en 1526). Sobre el compromiso de Carlos con Renée véase capítulo 3.

60. Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 266, Margarita a Maximiliano, [29] de noviembre de 1512, ológrafo (Margarita evidentemente tenía sus dudas al respecto de algunas de las protestas, porque tachó varias); Le Glay, *Correspondance*, I, 504-507, de la misma al mismo, [28] de marzo de 1513 (fecha de Walther, «Review of Kreiten»).

61. Le Glay, *Négociations*, I, 550-552, Beersel (chambelán de Carlos desde 1506) a Margarita, 16 de septiembre de 1513. Véase un ejemplo de la filosofía de Beersel en la página 197.

62. Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre*, 382-393, relato de Laurent du Blioul, Greffier de la orden (basándose en el calendario borgoñón, según el cual el año comenzaba en Semana Santa, por lo que los hechos descritos tuvieron lugar entre enero y marzo de 1514).

63. *CDCV*, IV, 486 (el primer hecho que Carlos registró cuando en 1551 dictó sus *Memorias*); Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 234 y 247-250, Margarita a Maximiliano, 14 de marzo y 28 de abril de 1514; Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 233, Instrucciones de Margarita a Louis Maroton, 6 de julio de 1514.

64. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 307-308, patente real de Maximiliano, 23 de diciembre de 1514, referida a una convocatoria anterior hoy perdida.

65. *GRM Introduction*, 3 n. 1 (discurso de Carlos); BL *Cott Ms.* Galba B.III/313-316v, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, 29 de enero de 1515 (donde especificaba que los 100.000 florines se los habían «prometido el señor de Chièvres y otros para disponer la tutela del príncipe»).

66. Keniston, *Memorias*, 50. Carlos al parecer guardó los pedazos del sello, porque en un Inventario de sus bienes de 1536 constaba «Ung cachet de l'Empereur Maximilien, d'argent blancq, le quel est cassé et martellé» (Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 141).

3. La complicada herencia, 1515-1517

1. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 309, Carlos al Gran Consejo de Malinas, 8 de enero de 1515. Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 113-114, publica una orden idéntica dictada al Consejo de Flandes: Carlos debió de firmar órdenes similares a todas las demás instituciones.

2. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 55 (Vandenesse, «Journal des voyages»); Du Puys, *La tryumphante entrée* (la «encore», en p. 12). Un magnífico manuscrito francés del relato de Du Puy, probablemente un ejemplar de presentación para Carlos, se encuentra en ÖNB Codex 2591. KB, 225 G 11, *De triumpe gedaen te Brugghe binner ter intreye van Caerle*, es una copia del texto flamenco, publicado en Amberes el 25 de junio de 1515.

3. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 378, Ordenanza de Carlos a los magistrados de Brujas, 13 de abril de 1515, que comenzaba con «De par le prince» y terminaba «Car tel est nostre plaisir»; Gachard, *Analectes*, V («14.ª serie»), 11, Carlos a los magistrados de Valenciennes, 13 de enero de 1515; y Gachard, *Analectes*, I («2.ª serie»), 50-2, designación de Jean Le Sauvage como «Gran Canciller», 17 de enero de 1515.

4. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 337-338, orden fechada el 28 de marzo de 1515; Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 491-501, «Ordonnance de Charles… pour le gouvernement de sa maison», 25 de octubre de 1515; Walther, *Die Burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 109 n. 1, Margarita a Maximiliano, 1 de marzo de 1515.

5. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 284, Margarita a Maximiliano, 28 de enero de 1515 (fecha de Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 282); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.III/319-326, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, 6 de febrero de 1515. Véase también fo. 313-316v, carta de Spinelly del 29 de enero de 1515, donde informa del lamento de Margarita de que «los negocios del mundo hasta el momento han ido tan bien que se ve obligada a seguir las opiniones del señor de Chevers».

6. Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 276-277, Margarita a Maximiliano, 18 de marzo de 1515; Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 117-27, Mémoire de Margarita presentada a Carlos y su Consejo, 20 de agosto de 1515.

7. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 238-239 y 135 n 4, Maroton a Margarita, Innsbruck, 4 y 17 de febrero de 1515, informando de las conversaciones con el emperador.

8. Gachard, *Analectes*, I («3.ª serie»), 168-170, orden de Carlos para el pago de 150.000 libras a Maximiliano por sus gastos en la defensa de los Países Bajos durante su minoría de edad y también «pour consenter nostre emancipation», por encima de 50.000 libras «par an qu'il a et prend ordinairement de noz deniers de par deçà», Brujas, 7 de mayo de 1515; y Gachard, *Analectes*, V («17.ª serie»), 465-470, orden de Carlos de 22 de noviembre de 1516.

9. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 243, Maximiliano a Margarita, ológrafo, mayo de 1515 (cursiva añadida); Van den Bergh, *Correspondance*, II, 133-136, del mismo a la misma, 18 de enero de 1516.

10. Doussinague, *El testamento*, 208-211, Instrucciones de Fernando a Pedro de Quintana, su enviado ante Maximiliano, diciembre de 1513, y 214-216, Instrucciones a su enviado ante Trivulcio, enero de 1514.

11. Le Glay, *Négociations*, I, 593-596, Philippe Dalles a Margarita, París, 3 de enero de 1515.

12. Gachard, *Analectes*, I («2.ª serie»), 53-55, comisión de Carlos a Enrique de Nassau y otros, 19 de enero de 1515; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 2-8, Instrucciones de la misma fecha, «ainsi conclu et ordonné par monseigneur en son conseil»; Verweij, *De*

paus, 166-168, Carlos a Nassau y otros, 5 de marzo de 1515.

13. TNA SP 1/10/49, Robert Wingfield a Enrique VIII, Innsbruck, 7 de febrero de 1515; *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, I, 147-172, Tratado de París, 24 de marzo de 1515; Doussinague, *El testamento*, 432-433, Carlos a Fernando, 16 de mayo de 1515.

14. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.I, 25-27, Suffolk a Enrique VIII, principios de febrero de 1515, y 73-74, Suffolk a Wolsey, 5 de marzo de 1515. Impedir la posibilidad de que volvieran a comprometerla con Carlos era, al parecer, la intención expresa de María, que dijo «preferir que la hicieran pedazos» a «casar con Flandes»: Sadlack, *The French queen's letters*, 102-103.

15. Jacqueton, *La politique*, 27, Robert de Bapaume a Louise, Londres, 6 de noviembre de 1515. Sobre el encuentro en Bolonia, véase Knecht, *Francis*, 48-50.

16. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.I, 447-451, Stile a Enrique VIII, Madrid, 1 de marzo de 1516. Zurita, *Los cinco libros*, fo. 405, comentaba también que «los más de los Grandes de Castilla mostraron tanto contentamiento y alegría» al enterarse de la muerte de Fernando.

17. Doussinague, *La política*, 483-511, hace hincapié en el fuerte elemento cruzado que caracterizó la política exterior de Fernando, y que su nieto Carlos compartiría.

18. AGS *PR* 56/27-2, «Scriptura que otorgó el rey don Felipe para no consentir que gobernase la reyna doña Juana», Benavente, 28 de julio de 1506, original (PR 27-1 es una copia de la versión de Fernando del acuerdo, impresa en Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 543-544). Gachard, *Voyages*, I, 438-443 («Relation du deuxième voyage»), enfatizaba la superioridad militar de Felipe, y hacía constar los términos del tratado público.

19. PR 56/30, «Protesta» de Fernando, Villafáfila, 27 de julio de 1506, original.

20. AGS PR 56/31, Fernando a un corresponsal desconocido, Aranda del Duero, 5 de julio de 1506 (día de la reunión), confirmado por Von Höfler, «Depeschen», 239, Quirini al dogo de Venecia, 7 de julio de 1506.

21. Zurita, *Los cinco libros*, fo. 159. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 110 -111, ofrece un perspicaz análisis del «partido felipista».

22. Von Höfler, «Depechen», 149-151 y 239-240, Quirini al dogo de Venecia, 5 de septiembre de 1505 y 7 de julio de 1506 (Quirini afirmó que Cisneros, el único testigo presencial, le filtró lo que Fernando le había contado a Felipe en el «raxonamenti» secreto); Berwick y Alba, *Correspondencia*, 461-462, Fuensalida a Fernando, Londres 5 de julio de 1508, informando de una audiencia con Enrique VII.

23. *CSPSp Supp I*, 143, mosén Ferrer a Cisneros, 6 de marzo de 1516. Gustave Bergenroth, *op. cit.*, XLII, argumentaba que «dar cuerda» significaba ponerla en el potro de tortura, pero parece más plausible que hiciera referencia a azotarla con una cuerda.

24. Aram, *La reina Juana*, 190. Aram, *op. cit.*, 182, publica también fragmentos del tratado de Fernando con Maximiliano, 12/24 de diciembre de 1509, y el juramento de obediencia a Fernando tomado por las Cortes de Castilla, 6 de octubre de 1510.

25. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 350, en los «Anales» de Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, se decía que «muchos creyeron» que el «potaje» era lo que había matado a Fernando.

26. Sepúlveda, *El Monasterio*, 233-245, y La Linde, «Documentos», publicaba fragmentos del testamento de Fernando; *CSPSp*, II, 118-121 y 185-188, Instrucciones de Fernando a Pedro de Quintana, 21 de mayo de 1513 y a Juan de Lanuza, 20 de diciembre de 1513 (sobre la partición de la herencia).

27. AGS *Estado* 1004/60, Chièvres a Fernando, 3 de julio de 1515, francés y RAH *Salazar* A/16/6, provisión de Carlos, 17 de septiembre de 1515, copia; ADN *B* 2249 (77.795), recibo firmado por «Adrien Florency, dit d'Utrecht» por sus gastos de viaje, 1 de octubre de 1515. Chièvres sacó una ventaja adicional de enviar a Adriano a España: separar a maestro y alumno.

28. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 211-213 (n.º 565), carta al marqués de Mondéjar, Guadalupe, 22 de enero de 1515 (recte 1516), escrito justo antes de que Mártir tuviera conocimiento de la muerte y último testamento de Fernando. Leonardo de Argensola, *Primera parte*, 8-9, publica los términos.

29. Fagel, «Adrian», 28, carta a Floris van Egmont, 13 de diciembre de 1515 (la traducción del original flamenco es mía).

30. Calderón Ortega, *Testamento*, 36-38, testamento de Fernando de Aragón, 22 de enero de 1516, original. Véase *CODOIN*, XVIII, 342-351, «Anales», de Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, un testigo presencial, sobre los animados debates entre Fernando y sus consejeros respecto a estas disposiciones finales. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.I, 447-451, John Stile a Enrique VIII, Madrid, 1 de marzo de 1516, resume con exactitud estas disposiciones.

31. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 354-7, «Anales», de Galíndez de Carvajal. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 100 y 158.

32. Gachard, *Analectes*, I, 177-178, Carlos a Malinas, Bruselas, 10 de febrero de 1516; Spielman y Thomas, «Quellen», 21-22, Carlos a Fernando, 15 de febrero de 1516.

33. Gachard, «Mémoire», 30, Manrique a Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516; Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, III, 256-257 (biografía de Manrique); Keniston, *Memorias*, 42 (lista de más de 50 exiliados).

34. Keniston, *Memorias de Sancho Cota*, 78-79; *CODOIN*, XVIII, 368 n. 2, Carlos a la Cancillería de Granada, Bruselas, 21 de marzo de 1521. Aram, *La reina*, 198, citas de cartas similares enviadas a grandes de España el día anterior.

35. *CODOIN*, XVIII, 363-368, Consejo Real a Carlos, Madrid, 4 de marzo de 1516

36. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.I, 486-488, John Stile a Enrique VIII, 3 de abril de 1516; Gayangos y La Fuente, *Cartas*, 109, Cisneros a López de Ayala, 12 de abril, 1516 (descripción de la ceremonia habitual de izado de la bandera en Toledo y Madrid). Otros detalles de Aram, *La reina*, 199-202.

37. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B. VI/27-28v, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, Bruselas, 24 de abril de 1516; La Fuente, *Cartas*, 212, Diego López de Ayala a Cisneros, Bruselas, 28 de julio de 1516.

38. Cedillo, *El cardenal Cisneros*, II, 425-426, Carlos a Cisneros, 31 de octubre de 1516. Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos*, caps. 1-2, ofrece un excelente relato del ascenso de Los Cobos. Véase el capítulo 11 sobre la evaluación realizada por Carlos en 1543. Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de las Casas*, bautizó a las dos facciones rivales españolas de la corte de Carlos como el «partido felipista» y el «partido fernandino».

39. Gachard, «Mémoire», 28, Manrique a Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516; Spielman y Thomas, «Quellen», 25-26 y 28-29, Carlos a Fernando, Bruselas, 22 de abril y 10 de octubre de 1516.

40. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, I, 409-430, Tratado de Noyon, 13 de agosto de 1516. El veredicto de Karl Brandi, *El emperador*, 76, de que «este tratado no era más que una mera puesta en escena» parece demasiado riguroso: el tratado permitía a Carlos asegurar España y a Francisco consolidar su control sobre Italia sin interferencia del otro.

41. Doussinague, *La política internacional*, 681, «Relación del fin y voluntad que el católico rey […] tenía en los negocios de estado», febrero de 1516; ídem, *El testamento*, 432-433, Carlos a Fernando, 16 de mayo de 1515 (citado anteriormente).

42. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.V/73-81, el conde de Worcester, Cuthbert Tunstall, y Robert Wingfield a Enrique VIII, Malinas, 12 de febrero de 1517 (dos cartas).

43. Gachard, «Mémoire», 28-29. Manrique a Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516.

44. Struick, *Gelre*, 244-266, explica las tortuosas negociaciones entre Borgoña y Güeldres, incluida la posibilidad de un matrimonio para sellar el trato, en 1517-1518.

45. Gayangos y La Fuente, *Cartas*, 138 y 159, Cisneros a Diego López de Ayala, su enviado personal ante Carlos, 12 de agosto y 27 de septiembre de 1516 (repetido, palabra por palabra, el 14 de octubre: p. 171); La Fuente, *Cartas*, 39-47, Varacaldo a Diego López, 14 de octubre de 1516.

46. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 293-335, informe del 18.º capítulo de la Orden; Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 19-25 (narración de Vital).

47. Cedillo, *El cardenal Cisneros*, III, 575-578, Carlos a Cisneros, 21 de abril de 1517; *CWE*, IV, 270-273 (carta 543), a Tomás Moro, Amberes, 1 de marzo de 1517.

48. Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 246-247, Louis Maroton a Margarita, Hagenau, 12 de diciembre de 1516.

49. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/209-211v, el conde de Worcester a Enrique VIII, Amberes, 26 de abril de 1517 (narrando una conversación con Mateo Scheiner, cardenal de Sion y ministro de confianza del emperador); ADN *B* 2267/297, orden fechada el 26 de noviembre de 1517 en Lier para el pago de 125 libras por «deux verrieres», en Lier. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximiliano*, IV, 381, comenta la frialdad del encuentro; Von Kraus, «Itinerarium», 313-316, registra los movimientos de Maximiliano por los Países Bajos, incluido el viaje a Zelanda del 1 al 7 de mayo de 1517.

50. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 27-32 (relato de Laurent Vital); *L & P Henry VIII*, II.II, 1109, obligación de Carlos rey de España de reembolsar el préstamo, 18 de julio de 1517; Keniston, *Memorias*, 145, refiere la promesa de Carlos de «de bolver y los visitar

dentro de cuatro años». Carlos no exageraba respecto a sus necesidades fiscales: ADN *B* 2267, en la cuenta del receptor general de Finanzas en 1517 refleja un gasto que triplica el de años normales.

51. Gachard, *Analectes*, I-IV, 353-356, comisión de Enrique de Nassau como «chef et capitaine-général de l'armée», Middelburg, 12 de julio de 1517; Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 578-581, Instrucciones al Consejo Privado, 23 de julio de 1517.

52. Fagel, «Het Bourgondische hof», «Estat et ordonnance de l'ostel du roy», 21 de junio de 1517; ADN *B* 2268 (n.º 79089), orden de pagar el estipendio de Federico, 19 de febrero de 1517.

53. Keniston, *Memorias de Sancho Cota*, 144 (Cota compuso los lamentos que Leonor y sus damas cantaban).

54. ADN *B* 3462 (121,649), pago a Adrian de Beaumarais para «faire regarnir le cheval que le Comte Palatin donna au prince», 30 de septiembre de 1505. Véase Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 240-241, Margarita a Maximiliano, h. 28 de junio de 1514 (fechado por Walther), sobre la mejoría en el apetito de Carlos; y Thomas, *Annalium*, 50, donde se afirma que «Caroli nutritor appelabatur Fredericus» en aquel momento.

55. Thomas, *Annalium*, 53, informa brevemente de los encuentros amorosos de la pareja, y Moeller, *Éléonore*, 205-214, especula sobre cuándo y dónde podrían haber tenido lugar. ADN *B* 3351/152, cuenta de Didier Boisot, tesorero de la casa de Leonor, registra la salida de Isabel el 30 de junio de 1515, una fecha que encaja perfectamente con la afirmación de Federico en agosto de 1517 de que «hacía ya más de dos años desde que se había insinuado, solicitado y comunicado a la noble dama Leonor de Austria que quería casarse con ella» (Moeller, *Eléonore*, 337-339).

56. Moeller, *Eléonore*, 327, publica la carta ológrafa de Federico a Leonor, y en 337-339, la declaración del interrogatorio a la pareja del 16 de agosto de 1517.

57. Thomas, *Annalium*, 58, basándose supuestamente en lo que Federico le contó pasados algunos años; pero, confirmado en BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/338-339, Tunstal a Wolsey, Middelburg, 27 de agosto de 1517, una semana, por tanto, después de los hechos, donde le informa de que «el rey encontró [la carta de Federico] en los senos de mi dama Leonor». Otros detalles en Moeller, *Eléonore*, 337-339, declaración, 16 de agosto de 1517.

58. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.V/338-339, Tunstal a Wolsey, Middelburg, 27 de agosto de 1517, ológrafo, fo. 348-350v, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, Middelburg, 28 de agosto de 1517, ológrafo.

59. *CWE*, V, 72-75 (n.º 657), Erasmo al Beato Renano, 23 de agosto de 1517; La Fuente, *Cartas*, 130-134, licenciado Varacaldo a López de Ayala, Aranda del Duero, 11 de septiembre de 1517.

Retrato del emperador joven

1. Keniston, *Memorias*, 142. En una nota (página 240 n. 2), Keniston comentó: «La vida posterior de Carlos V no respaldó esta valoración de sus hábitos», pero las *Memorias* de Cota, que abarcan de 1506 a 1538, son casi con toda seguridad autógrafas y aparentemente redactadas en forma de diario. Por tanto, Cota (a diferencia de

Keniston) no se vio influido por los efectos de una mirada retrospectiva. Por el contrario, aunque el retrato de Carlos que se hace en Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 101-102 (n.º 515), carta a Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 13 de enero de 1513, se parece asombrosamente a la descripción de Cota, Mártir «editó» sus cartas antes de publicarlas.

2. Beatis, *The travel journal*, 89-90; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XX, col. 422, resumen de una carta de Piero Pasqualigo, 19 de julio de 1515; ídem, XXIII, col. 11, carta de Giovanni Badoer, 23 de octubre de 1516; e ídem, XXX, 324, Relación Final de Francesco Corner, 6 de junio de 1521; véase también Bodart, «Il mento "posticcio"».

3. Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Gachard, *Collection*, III, 261-262 (Vital: Semana Santa de 1518); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, 488, Corner a Venecia, Santiago de Compostela, 12 de abril 1520.

4. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 157-159 (n.º 539), carta a Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 de junio de 1514 (véanse también las fuentes citadas en el capítulo 2 de este libro); BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.V/202-206, Worcester, Tunstall y Wingfield a Enrique VIII, Amberes, 19 de abril de 1517, refiriendo una conversación con Margarita de Austria.

5. *BNP*, II, 66-67, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre de Francia, 8 de enero de 1519.

6. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 347-348 (n.º 633), carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 12 de enero de 1519. Crouzet, *Charles-Quint*, 21-25, del que se habla en este episodio, señala que ocurrió en la fiesta de Los Reyes, y supone que tiene sus raíces psicológicas.

7. Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 325, Relación final de Corner, 6 de junio de 1521.

8. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.II, 94-95, Knight a Wolsey, 16 de febrero de 1517; BRB Ms. II-2270, Carlos a Nassau, 22 de enero de 1518, ológrafo, impreso en Gossart, *Charles-Quint: roi d'Espagne*, 217-220; Gachard, *Collection*, III, 159 (Vital); BL *Cott Ms*. Vesp. C.I/121-124, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, Valladolid, 7 de enero de 1518 (Spinelly introdujo «gentil» entre «hermosa» y «mujer»).

9. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 264-269. Morgan, *Ireland* 1518, 13-15, ofrece la mejor versión de la trayectoria de Vital y su crónica.

10. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 67-87 (Vital); Beatis, *The travel journal*, 90; Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXIV, 272, Hironimo de la Vedoa al Dogo, Bruselas, 4 de mayo de 1517; ibíd., XXV, 306 y 326-327, y XXVII, 70-71, Corner al Dogo, 24 de febrero y 8 de marzo de 1518 y 25 de febrero de 1519.

11. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXX, 325, Relación final de Corner, 6 de junio de 1521; *CWE*, V, 6-13 (n.º 597) a Tomás Moro, c 10 de julio de 1517, y 72-75 (n.º 628) al Beato Renano, 23 de agosto de 1517; Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 266 (Vital).

12. Gachard, «Mémoire», 23, Manrique al cardenal Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516; *CSPV*, II, 420, embajador Marco Minio a Venecia, 16 de septiembre de 1517, haciéndose eco del informe de dos diplomáticos que acababan de regresar de la corte de

Carlos: BL *Cott. Ms*. Vitellius B.XX/55, Richard Pace a Wolsey, 17 de mayo de 1517.

13. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 12-14; Du Bellay, Mémoires, I, 58 (véase confirmación de Margarita sobre la descripción del diplomático de cómo llevaba los negocios su sobrino en aquel tiempo en página 76); *CDCV*, I, 76, Carlos a Cisneros y Adriano, Middelburg, 7 de septiembre de 1517.

14. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 104-105, Instrucciones de Carlos, 6 de mayo de 1543. Federico había nacido en 1482, Enrique en 1483.

4. De rey de España a rey de romanos, 1517-1519

1. *L & P Henry VIII*, II.I, 486-488, John Stile a Enrique VIII, 3 de abril de 1516; Walther, *Die Anfänge*, 160 n. 4, virrey Cardona a Margarita, 27 de marzo de 1516; Aram, *La reina*, 192, «Escritura otorgada por el lugarteniente del Justicia de Aragón», 12 de marzo de 1516; *CDCV*, I, 58, virrey Moncada a Carlos, 12 de abril de 1516; Gayangos y La Fuente, *Cartas*, 264-269, Cisneros a Carlos, 18 de marzo de 1517, respondiendo a «vna carta *de mano de Vuestra Alteza*, por la qual me haze saber su rreal propósito por lo que toca a la guerra de África».

2. Leonardo de Argensola, *Primera parte*, 65-66.

3. Gayangos y La Fuente, *Cartas*, 264-269, Cisneros a Carlos, 18 de marzo de 1517. En la carta amenazadora enviada en junio de 1517 por un grupo de ciudades, con Burgos a la cabeza, véase Pérez, *La revolución*, 108-109.

4. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 113-115; ADN *B* 17,876, La Chambre des Comptes en Lille a Charles, 14 de julio de 1517, junto con copias de los gastos de Juana en 1501 y 1505; Keniston, *Memorias*, 73 (Sancho Cota afirmaba que el propio Carlos «puso en su guardarropa de Bruselas en una vidriera escrita con su puñal. La cual devisa dezía: *Plus outre*», lo que inspiró a Cota a escribir un soneto sobre ello).

5. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I /111-113, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, 29 de septiembre de 1517.

6. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 89-95.

7. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.V/369, Carlos a Margarita, 1 de octubre de 1517, copia; Gachard, *Collection*, III, 97-120 (Vital).

8. Todos los detalles relativos a este párrafo y el siguiente proceden del relato diario de Vital que aparece en Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 97-130. La imagen vía satélite disponible en Google Maps revela el desafiante itinerario de San Vicente a Reinosa elegido por la comitiva real. Según Trip Advisor, «es claramente improbable que nadie se mueva por Cantabria a pie».

9. Hess, «The Ottoman conquest», 55.

10. Spielman y Thomas, «Quellen», 33-34, Carlos a Fernando, 26 de octubre de 1517.

11. Keniston, *Memorias*, 146 (relato de Sancho Cota, secretario de Leonor); y Gachard, *Collection*, III, 135 (relato de Lorenzo Vital, aunque falta una línea en el manuscrito que utiliza Gachard procedente de BNF *Ms. Français* 5627/65-66).

12. Gachard, *Collection*, III (65-66), 136.

13. Aram, *La reina*, 210.

14. *CSPSp Supplement*, 166-169, Denia a Carlos, 30 de julio de 1518, y 396-401, infanta Catalina a Carlos, 19 de agosto de 1521.

15. *CSPSp Supplement*, 202-204 y 197-200, Denia a Carlos, sin fechar, pero correspondientes a 1520 y 1519, respectivamente, y ambos ológrafos. Juana no descubriría la verdad hasta agosto de 1520, cuando un grupo de ministros de Carlos, temerosos de que se pusiera de parte de los comuneros, y totalmente ignorantes del «mundo ficticio» creado con el consentimiento de Carlos, fue a informarla «[de] muchas cosas acaescidas en sus reynos después que el Rey Católico murió», quedando el secreto al descubierto. Ibíd., 204-205, informe notarizado de una audiencia con Juana mantenida el 23 de agosto de 1520.

16. *CSPSp Supplement*, 154-156, Denia a Carlos, sin fecha, pero correspondiente a 1518. Véase ibíd., «Introduction», con la explicación de Bergenroth.

17. Aram, *La reina*, 340-343, Carlos a Denia, 30 de octubre de 1518 y 19 de septiembre de 1519; y 213, Carlos a Beltrán de Fromont, teniente de mayordomo, y Guillem Punçon, respostero de camas, 28 de abril de 1519; y *CDCV*, I, 82-83, Carlos a Denia, 14 de enero de 1520. Véase también *CSPSp Supplement*, 257-260, Carlos a Adriano, 26 de septiembre de 1520 (aprobando todas las actuaciones de Denia).

18. *CDCV*, I, 75-78, Carlos a Cisneros y Adriano, 7 de septiembre de 1517 (publicado también en *PEG,* I, 89-100); La Fuente, *Cartas*, 135-141, 151 y 174-177, el obispo de Ávila a López de Ayala, 23 y 25 de septiembre y 22 de octubre de 1517.

19. Leonardo de Argensola, *Primera parte*, 413, citando a Sandoval, Historia, I. 112; Spielman y Thomas, «Quellen», 29-34, Carlos a Fernando, 7 de septiembre de 1517 (también en *CDCV*, I, 71-74, de una copia) y 26 de octubre de 1517; *CDCV*, I, 79-80, Carlos a Cisneros, 27 de septiembre de 1517.

20. La Fuente, *Cartas*, 139, obispo de Ávila a López de Ayala, 23 de septiembre de 1517, transmitiendo el consejo de Cisneros. *CDCV*, I, 6469, incluye el texto de un documento de consejo aparentemente preparado por Cisneros para Carlos en torno a aquellas fechas, pero las muchas contradicciones internas del documento (una copia posterior) arrojan algunas dudas sobre su autenticidad.

21. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, I, 367, s v Croÿ, detalla los ascensos de Guillermo. *CWE*, V, 72-75 (n.º 657), Erasmo al Beato Renano, 23 de agosto de 1517, señalaba que Croÿ era entonces «según me dicen, coadjutor del arzobispo de Toledo».

22. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 138-139; *CWE*, V, 164-171 (n.º 694), Erasmo a Willibald Pirckheimer, 2 de noviembre de 1517, ligeramente rectificado a la luz del texto original de Allen, *Opus*, III, 116.

23. Keniston, *Memorias*, 148 (véase también p. 151, donde Cota sugiere que Alfonso envenenó a las Cortes de Aragón para ponerlas en contra de su nuevo rey); Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 285-287 (n.º 602), carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 10 de noviembre de 1517 (por tanto, dos días antes de la muerte de Cisneros). Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 158-166, describe la problemática regencia de Alfonso en Aragón, que tal vez habría podido también suscitar la enemistad de Carlos.

24. Gachard, *Voyages*, III, 141 (Catalina), 144 (funeral), 149 (Orden), 151 (entrada). Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXV, cols. 128-129, embajador Corner a Venice, 19 de noviembre de 1517, destacando también el esplendor del evento.

25. *CLC*, IV, 260-284, lista de 88 quejas de las Cortes de 1518, junto con la respuesta de Carlos a cada una.

26. Walter, *Anfänge*, 209 n. 5, Laurent Gorrevod a Margarita, 28 de mayo de 1518; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 306-308 (n.º 613), carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 15 de marzo de 1518. Véanse ejemplos de la conversación directa de Carlos con los embajadores en Gachard *BNP*, II, 45 y 59, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, 15 de mayo y 25 de noviembre de 1518.

27. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 111-112, citando la «Historia» de Álvaro Osorio de Moscoso; Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, I, 182-183; Keniston, *Memorias*, 151 (Cota afirmaba explícitamente que Carlos no dio a su hermano aviso ninguno de su decisión); Gachard, *BNP*, II, 42, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, abril de 1518.

28. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 179-181 (oposición del clero) y 234-235 («libelos difamatorios»); Pérez, «Moines», 98, n. 8, Carlos al presidente de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Zaragoza, 16 de mayo de 1518.

29. Cedillo, *El cardenal*, II, 450-451 (n.º CCLXXI), López de Ayala a Cisneros, 29 de noviembre de 1516; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 298-300 (n.º 608), carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 12 de febrero de 1518.

30. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I /196 y 181, Berners a Wolsey, 18 de septiembre y 26 de julio de 1518.

31. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I /181, 203 y 232, Berners a Wolsey, 26 de julio, y a Enrique VII, 8 de octubre de 1518, y el arzobispo de Armagh a Wolsey, 17 de diciembre de 1518, todos desde Zaragoza.

32. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 177.

33. Gachard, *BNP*, II, 40 y 49, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, abril y 25 de octubre de 1518; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXV, 242-243, 306, 326-327, Corner a Venecia, 11 y 14 de enero, 24 de febrero y 8 de marzo de 1518; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, III, 306-308 (n.º 613), carta a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 15 de marzo de 1518.

34. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 345, 351, minutas del decimonoveno capítulo de la Orden.

35. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I/226, Armagh a Wolsey, 6 de diciembre de 1518; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVI, col. 223-224, Corner a Venecia, 6 de octubre de 1518. Sobre las alabanzas de Gattinara hacia Chièvres, véanse las concluyentes recomendaciones de su documento de asesoramiento de julio de 1519: Bornate, «Historia», 413.

36. BL *Addl Ms*. 18.008, «Ad Divum Carolum Maximum, Regem Catholicum, Mercurini Arboriensis di Gattinaria… Oratio supplicatoria», comentado por Boone, *Mercurino*, cap. 2. Erasmo presentó su *Institutio principis christiani* a Carlos ese mismo año; parece improbable que el receptor lo leyera.

37. Gachard, *BNP*, II, 61-62 y 67, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, noviembre de 1518 y 22 de enero de 1519.

38. Keniston, *Memorias*, 152.

39. Atractivo título de un popular estudio alemán: Günter Ogger, *Kauf dir ein Kaiser: Die Geschichte der Fugger*, publicado por primera vez en 1978.

40. Von Druffel, *Beiträge*, I, Gerhard Veltwyk a Carlos V, julio de 1551, refiriendo el relato de Federico, entonces elector palatino, sobre lo que Maximiliano había dicho «ung jour, après la guerre que luy et les Anglois firent ensemble contre roi Louis de France» (esto es, la batalla de Guinegate de 1513). La idea de la abdicación también fue un precedente que Carlos seguiría.

41. Cohn, «Did bribery», 1; Knecht, *Francis*, 72. Mignet, *La rivalité*, 120-123, ofrecía detalles de los diversos acuerdos alcanzados con Tréveris y Brandeburgo a partir de los contratos originales que constan en los Archives Nationales de Francia.

42. Chmel, «Review of Lanz», 186-193, Instrucciones a Jakob Villinger, tesorero de Maximiliano, [17] de agosto de 1517; *DRA*, I, 71 n. 4, Carlos a Maximiliano, 12/13 de noviembre de 1517.

43. Mignet, *La rivalité*, 122-123, proporciona los términos de cada acuerdo; BL *Cott. Ms*. Caligula D.VII/96-97, Bolena a Wolsey, París, 28 de febrero de 1519. Poco después, el embajador francés en España advertía a Gattinara de que «su señor estaba decidido a gastar los ingresos de su reino de un año entero» para ser elegido: BL *Cott Ms*. Vesp. C.I/247-254, Spinelly a Wolsey, Barcelona, 20 de febrero de 1519.

44. *DRA*, I, 73 n. 2, Carlos a Villinger y otros ministros de la corte de Maximiliano, 8 de marzo de 1518, y 75 n. 1, Chièvres al mismo, 15 de abril de 1518.

45. *Le Glay, Négociations, II, 125-133,* y Mone, «Briefwechsel», cols. 13-14, Maximiliano a Carlos, 18 y 24 de mayo de 1518. Véanse ejemplos de cómo Carlos adoptaría este mismo estilo pasivo-agresivo en las páginas 483-484, 516-517 y 588.

46. *DRA*, I, 81 n. 2, Villinger a Chièvres, 28 de mayo de 1518.

47. Walther, *Die Burgundischen Zentralbehörden*, 203-204, La Chaulx a Margarita, 24 de julio de 1518 (especificando que la iniciativa de la devolución procedía de Chièvres), y Margarita a Maximiliano, 25 de octubre de 1518, respectivamente; Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 656-657, Ordenanza de Carlos, 24 de julio de 1518.

48. Gachard, *Rapport*, 149, Courtewille a Carlos, 27 de mayo de 1518 (citando la carta de Carlos del 1 de mayo).

49. Gachard, *BNP*, I, 57, La Roche-Beaucourt a Francisco, Zaragoza, 20 de noviembre de 1518. Compromisos completos en Mone, «Briefwechsel», cols. 407-409, «Estat de l'argent»; y Gachard, *Rapport*, 151-155, Instrucciones de Maximiliano para Courteville, Augsburgo, 27 de octubre de 1518. Núñez Contreras, *Un registro*, LXX-LXXI, recoge casi una docena de cartas de Carlos a Roma, en diciembre de 1518 y enero de 1519, suplicando que se coronara a su padre.

50. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 189-193, Zevenbergen a Margarita, Augsburgo, 1 de febrero de 1519; Mone, «Briefwechsel», cols. 283-285, Enrique de Nassau a Margarita, Bonn, 23 de marzo de 1519; *DRA*, I, 169-175 y 198-200, Francisco a sus enviados,

finales de enero y 7 de febrero de 1519. ANF, *Série J*, 952 pieza 10, León X a Francisco, 12 de marzo de 1519. Véase también Laubach, «Wahlpropaganda», 210-225, sobre los argumentos desplegados por los franceses en contra de la elección de Carlos.

51. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 253-262, Margarita y su Consejo a Carlos, 20 de febrero de 1519 (véase p. 257 sobre la amenaza de enviar a Fernando a Alemania «le premier dimanche de quaresme prochain» que, en 1519, cayó el 13 de marzo, a tres semanas vista).

52. *DRA*, I, 352-358, Carlos a Margarita, 5 de marzo de 1519, cifrado; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 303-310, Instrucciones de Carlos a M. de Beaurain, 5 de marzo de 1519.

53. Gachard, *Rapport*, 173, Margarita a Nassau, 13 de marzo de 1519; *DRA*, I, 358 («Ensieuvez ce que vous escrips cy-dessus, car autrement n'auroie cause me contenter»).

54. *KFF*, I, 11, Carlos a Fernando, 5 de marzo de 1519, ológrafa; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 303-310, Instrucciones a Beaurain (encargado de explicar los puntos de vista de Carlos tanto a Fernando como a Margarita), 5 de marzo de 1519.

55. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 316-327, Margarita y su Consejo a Carlos, 9 de marzo de 1519; Gachard, *Rapport*, 155-156, Margarita a La Chaulx, 18 de enero de 1519.

56. *DRA*, I, 633, Carlos al elector palatino, 2 de mayo de 1519 (con otro ejemplo en ibíd., 747).

57. Mone, «Briefwechsel», cols. 17 y 118-119, Maroton a Margarita, 21 de enero de 1519, y Federico a Margarita, 2 de marzo de 1519 («ma fasceuse letter»); Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 278, Paul Amerstorff a Margarita, 25 de febrero de 1519. Sobre la obsequiosidad de Carlos, véase Mone, *op. cit.*, cols. 132-133, Jean Marnix al conde de Hoogstraeten, 16 de marzo de 1519 (pensión de 2.500 libras), y 403, Le Sauch a Margarita, 26 de abril de 1519 (entrega de las cartas ológrafas de Carlos); y Le Glay, *op. cit.*, II, 333-340, Instrucciones de Carlos a Le Sauch, 13 de marzo de 1519 («ayons desjà escript par deux fois *de nostre main* bonnes et gracieuses lettres» a Federico).

58. *DRA*, I, 220-221 Jakob Fugger a Brandeburgo, 12 de febrero de 1519, ológrafa; otros detalles en Von Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger*, II, cap. 18, y Häberlein, *The Fuggers*, cap. 2.

59. Mignet, *La rivalité*, 174-175, Maguncia a Brandeburgo, 1 de marzo de 1519 (de una copia enviada a Margarita); Mone, «Briefwechsel», col. 124, Nassau a Margarita, 11 de marzo de 1519, citando al conde de Koenigstein; *DRA*, I, 317-319, Margarita a Zevenbergen, 28 de febrero de 1519. Sobre la ofensiva de seducción de Carlos véase también Laubach, «Wahlpropaganda», 225-238.

60. Mignet, *La rivalité*, 188, Joachim von Moltzan a Francisco, 26 de febrero de 1519 (terminaba su carta, en la que suplicaba a Francisco que le mandara más dinero aún, con «*Cito, cito, cito*: aprisa, aprisa, aprisa»); Kalkar, «Isabella», 501-503, Carlos al rey Cristián de Dinamarca, 8 de abril de 1519.

61. *DRA*, I, 734-735, Carlos a Margarita, 31 de mayo de 1519. Cohn, «Did bribery», 25-27, ofrece evidencias contundentes de que el 27 de junio de 1519, la víspera de la elección de Carlos, el puesto le fue ofrecido a Federico de Sajonia, pero este lo declinó.

62. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vit. B.XX/161-162v, Richard Pace a Wolsey, Fráncfort, 3 de julio de 1518, ológrafo. Esta cifra —1,5 millones de florines— es aproximadamente el doble de la suma que se suele citar (852.189 florines), pero esta última se basa únicamente en las cuentas del tesorero de Carlos en Alemania, Johan Lucas, publicadas parcialmente en Kohler, *Quellen*, 63-70, que solo incluyen el gasto *en* Alemania (pagos a los electores, a las tropas destacadas en Suabia, etc.). No incluyen los gastos incurridos en los demás lugares, como el coste de la movilización de tropas en los Países Bajos.

63. *DRA*, I, 81 n. 2, Villinger a Chièvres, 28 de mayo de 1518.

64. *DRA*, I, 81 n. 2, Villinger a Chièvres, 28 de mayo de 1518; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vesp. C.I/257-260, Spinelly a Wolsey, 9 de marzo de 1519, ológrafo.

65. Boone, *Mercurino*, 91-92, autobiografía de Gattinara. Sobre el posterior uso del «argumento de la escalada de posibles desastres» por parte de los Habsburgo españoles, véase Parker, *El ejército de Flandes*, 109-111.

66. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 194-202, Instrucciones de Margarita a Jean de Marnix, febrero de 1519.

67. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I /247-254, Spinelly a Wolsey, 20 de febrero de 1519; Bruchet y Lancien, *Itinéraire*, 380, Margarita a los agentes de Carlos, abril de 1519. Häberlein, «Jakob Fugger», 73-78, identifica y describe el equipo ministerial que trabajó en tan buena colaboración en Alemania; Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 346-353, narra el capítulo de la Orden.

68. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp. C.I/196, Berners a Wolsey, 18 de septiembre de 1518; Gachard, *BNP*, II, 63 y 71, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, noviembre de 1518 y 20 de febrero de 1519; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, cols. 1-543 (cita en col. 71).

69. Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 682-684 y 187-189, ordenanza real, 1 de julio de 1519, con la aceptación de Margarita del 28 de julio, tanto de sus nuevos poderes como de ciertas restricciones (básicamente, el requisito de que ella consultaría con sus consejeros las políticas y con Carlos los nombramientos importantes). Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, I, 92-103, y Gachard, *Analectes*, XVI, 306-311, también publicaron estos cruciales documentos.

70. Bornate, «Historia», 405-413, documento de consejo fechado el 12 de julio de 1519 (sobre trabajar mientras se viste, véase p. 412); pero véase también ibíd., 414-420, otro documento de consejo escrito por Gattinara en enero-febrero de 1520, presentado a Carlos «porque parece que su majestad no ha hecho nada respecto a las medidas y soluciones que yo propuse» en Barcelona.

71. Brandi, *The emperor*, 84.

72. Gachard, *Rapport*, 164-165, Margarita a Zevenbergen, 28 de febrero de 1519. No obstante, estaba equivocada: Carlos había omitido su nombre porque pensaba que Zevenbergen se había marchado de Alemania a servirle en los cantones suizos. Cabe

resaltar que Margarita instó a Zevenbergen a no hacer ni decir nada que «pudiera suponer el riesgo de perder la estima del rey, o el honor y la excelente reputación que con vuestra prudencia, diligencia y habilidad os habéis granjeado».

73. Gachard, *Rapport*, 162, Zevenbergen a Margarita, 18 de febrero de 1519.

74. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 359-363, Jean Marnix a Margarita, 22 de marzo de 1519; Mone, «Briefwechsel», cols. 127-128, Nassau a Margarita, 14 de marzo de 1519.

75. Gachard, *Rapport*, 171, Marnix a Margarita, 12 de marzo de 1519.

76. *CWE* III, 239, Erasmo a Carlos, marzo de 1516, prólogo a la *Institutio*; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, col. 581, Corner a Venecia, 28 de julio de 1519 (Corner señalaba una sola ausencia: precisamente la de Venecia).

77. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, cols. 543 y 581, Corner a Venecia, 6 y 28 de julio de 1519.

5. De la paz a la rebelión y a la guerra, 1519-1521

1. BL *Cott Ms*. Vespasian C.I/257-260, Spinelly a Wolsey, 9 de marzo de 1519, ológrafo cifrado desencriptado; Vespasian C.III/158-175v, Tunstal, Wingfield y Sampson a Enrique, 2 de junio de 1525 (citando la opinión del rey); Gachard, *BNP*, II, 70, La Roche-Beaucourt al Gran Maestre, 20 de febrero de 1519.

2. *DRA*, I, 366-370, Marnix a Margarita, 7 de marzo de 1519, ológrafo; Boone, *Gattinara*, 92 (Autobiografía); Vilanova, *Capítulo*, 168-174 (texto original francés en Crouzet, *Charles-Quint*, 29).

3. TNA *SP* 1/10/49, Robert Wingfield a Enrique VIII, Innsbruck, 7 de febrero de 1515.

4. Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 166-169, Philibert Naturelli a Margarita, 24 de octubre de 1518; BL *Cott Ms*. Vespasian C.I/261-262v, Spinelly a Wolsey, Barcelona, 20 de marzo de 1519. Véase Crouzet, *Charles*, 124-125, y Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, 18-20, sobre el temor y las sospechas que surgieron a raíz del asesinato del duque Juan (y del asesinato anterior del duque Luis de Orleans por orden de Juan).

5. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, I, 95; Floranges, *Mémoires*, I, 257.

6. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVII, col. 416-417 y 514-515, Corner a la Señoría, 2 y 29 de junio de 1519, sobre el pago y las cartas.

7. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 108-113, Instrucciones de Carlos a Bernardo de Mesa y Jean de le Sauch, 12 de diciembre de 1519 (cursiva añadida). Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, col. 371, Corner a la Señoría, Aquisgrán, 23 de octubre de 1520, informaba de que Carlos todavía «non parla anchora molto promptamente lo idioma alemana».

8. *RTA,* I, 864-876, publica las *Wahlkapitulation*, firmadas en Fráncfort por los agentes de Carlos el 3 de julio de 1519 (seis días después de la elección). Kohler, *Quellen*, 53-58, publica la mayor parte.

9. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, II, 299-341 y 351-356, acuerdos alcanzados en Londres entre el 1 y 8 de octubre de 1518, e ibíd., 565-575, preparativos para una reunión personal y un «armatorum congressus» acordados el 10 de enero de 1526, ratificado el 26 de marzo de 1520.

10. Boone, *Mercurino*, 94; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, cols., 246-248, Corner a la Señoría, 22 de enero de 1520; Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, I, 221.

11. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 14-15 (n.º 663), a Gattinara, 24 de febrero de 1520, y 17-18 (n.º 665), a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, «Desde el alborotado municipio de Valladolid», 14 de marzo de 1520. Véase también Pérez, *La revolución*, 147-148, sobre el «alboroto» del 4 de marzo de 1520.

12. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, 488, Corner a la Señoría, Santiago, 12 de abril de 1520. Los viajes de Carlos se han reconstruido a partir de Foronda, *Viajes*.

13. Boone, *Mercurino*, 94; Danvila, *Historia crítica*, III, 31-41, Adriano a Carlos, 16 de enero de 1521.

14. *CLC*, IV, 293-298, discursos de Mota y Carlos, 31 de marzo de 1520.

15. *Caroli Romanorum regis recessuri adlocutio in conventu Hispaniarum*. El panfleto fue publicado en Roma y Augsburgo en latín, y en Leipzig en alemán. Headley, «The Habsburg world empire», 52-53 y 72 n. 28, sostiene convincentemente que tanto el discurso real como el texto impreso son una «empresa colectiva» del equipo ministerial de Carlos.

16. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 19-20 (n.º 666), a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 5 de abril de 1520.

17. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 237-242, provisión de Carlos y Juana (la fórmula utilizada siempre en Castilla hasta la muerte de esta en 1555), el 17 de mayo de 1520. Sobre los antecedentes sobre el uso de Carlos de su «poder absoluto», véase Sánchez Agesta, «El "poderío real absoluto"».

18. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, 488, Corner a la Señoría, La Coruña, 9 y 23 de abril de 1520.

19. Boone, *Mercurino*, 94-95.

20. TNA *SP* 1/20/28, Carlos a Enrique, La Coruña, 4 de mayo de 1520; BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/179, Margarita a Wolsey, Gante, 16 de mayo de 1520.

21. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 225-254, «Ordine di lo abochamento del Serenissimo re d'Ingaltera, con la Cesarea et Catholica Maestà et con il Cristianissimo re», que incorpora abundante material de ibíd., XXVIII, cols. 595-597, Corner y Surian a la Señoría, 27 de mayo de 1520, y XXIX, cols. 73-74, informe de Lodovico Spinelli, 12 de julio de 1520.

22. Bornate, «Vita», 424-425, tratado secreto entre Enrique VIII y Carlos V, Canterbury, 29 de mayo de 1520, ratificado en Calais, 14 de julio de 1520 (Lanz, *Actenstücke*, 179-181; resumen inglés en *CSPSp*, II, 312). Véase también Gwyn, «Wolsey's foreign policy», 762.

23. Viciana, *Libro quatro*, 11-17, citando un discurso de Llorenç, un destacado representante gremial de Valencia.

24. Maldonado, *La revolución comunera*, 76; Mexía, *Historia*, 89; Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, 165-166.

25. Tanto Danvila, *Historia*, como Martínez-Peñas, *Las Cartas*, publicaron las cartas del cardenal, en su totalidad o en parte (el último con una ortografía actualizada), aunque ambos incurrieron en errores de transcripción. Gracias a PARES actualmente disponemos de 105 originales escaneados de sus cartas, con una extensión de 546 folios, en una colección titulada «Correspondencia de Florencio Adriano de Utrecht», bajo la etiqueta «AGS Patronato Real, leg. 2». Yo cito las transcripciones de Danvila salvo cuando contienen errores, en cuyo caso cito el original.

26. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 373-376, II, 515-516, y III, 31-41, Adriano a Carlos, 25 de junio y 28 de noviembre de 1520, y 16 de enero de 1521. Pérez, *La revolución*, 121, afirmaban que «la Corte actuó en España como si se tratara de un país conquistado», y su sección titulada «La codicia de los flamencos» (pp. 121-126) ofrece numerosos ejemplos.

27. Danvila, *Historia*, I, 373-381, II, 660-662, y III, 11-17, Adriano a Carlos, 25 de junio de 1520 (dos cartas), 15 de diciembre de 1520 y 16 de abril de 1521 (silencio real desde una carta fechada el 7 de noviembre de 1520). Aunque algunos historiadores del siglo XIX sí han garabateado resúmenes y comentarios sobre estas cartas, Carlos y sus ministros no escribieron nada en ellas.

28. AGS *PR* 2-I-2 (imágenes 5-9), Adriano a Carlos, 25 de junio de 1520.

29. Danvila, *Historia*, II, 669-671, y III, 31-41, Adriano a Carlos, 23 de diciembre de 1520 y 16 de enero de 1521.

30. AGS *PR* 2/395-396 (imágenes 347-349), Adriano a Carlos, 3 de abril de 1521 (cursiva añadida). La amenaza recuerda a la de las ciudades de Castilla en 1517 para reunirse en asamblea sin autorización del rey a menos que Carlos llegara enseguida: capítulo 4.

31. Pérez, *La revolución*, 314.

32. BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/191-195, Spinelly a Wolsey, Bruselas, 27 de junio de 1520; Viciana, *Libro quatro*, 126-127, y «poderes» emitidos por Carlos a don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, conde de Mélito, La Coruña, 4 de mayo de 1520.

33. BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/191-195, Spinelly a Wolsey, Bruselas, 27 de junio de 1520, «a las cinco en punto de la tarde»; AGS *PR* 2-I-2 (imágenes 5-9), Adriano a Carlos, 25 de junio de 1520, donde incorpora las propuestas efectuadas por la ciudad de Toledo a las otras ciudades, votadas en las Cortes el 8 de junio (véase Pérez, *La revolución*, 169-170).

34. Pérez, *La revolución*, 174, n. 56, documenta este error, en relación con Pedro Laso de la Vega.

35. Gayangos y La Fuente, *Cartas*, 225-226, «Quejas contra el Consejo Real», dictada por Cisneros, 28 de septiembre de 1517; Danvila, *Historia*, I, 386-388, Instrucciones del condestable a don Pedro de Guevara, su enviado a Carlos, 24 de junio de 1520.

36. BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/199-200 y 204-209, Spinelly a Wolsey, 6 y 27 de julio de 1520.

37. BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/227-228v, Spinelly a Wolsey, sin fecha (pero 6 de septiembre de 1520). Spinelly apuntaba que Chièvres, cuyo consejo Carlos solía seguir habitualmente, no estaba «poco perplejo» debido a la «murmuración general contra él; y por mi parte creo que no puede decidir si debería ir o retrasarse, considerando que España está para él perdida para siempre».

38. *CDCV*, I, 83-84, «poder» de Carlos a sus gobernadores, Malinas, 22 de septiembre de 1520; BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VI/360-361v, Spinelly a Wolsey, 19 de septiembre de 1520, citando indiscreciones del *audiencier* Hanneton, que asistió al Consejo en el que se intercambiaron las acusaciones. Margarita había pasado muchos años en Castilla como «princesa» y mantenía numerosos contactos allí.

39. *L & P Henry VIII*, III.II, 1574-1577, Spinelly a Wolsey, 24 de enero de 1521. Sanuto *I diarii*, XXIX, 561 y 581, Corner a la Señoría, 11 de enero de 1521, afirmaba lo mismo (y de hecho Carlos ya había nombrado a Robert de Croÿ para suceder a su hermano como arzobispo de Cambrai). Véase también Pérez, *La revolución*, 316-349, sobre Acuña y la lucha por la sede de Toledo en 1521.

40. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 161-165 (n.º 722), a Los Vélez, 7 de junio de 1521.

41. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 86-89 (n.º 696), a Los Vélez y Mondéjar, Valladolid, 13 de noviembre de 1520, adjuntando una carta de Marliano a Mártir, su «conterráneo y pariente», Aquisgrán, 20 de octubre de 1520.

42. Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 102-104 (n.º 703), a Marliano, Valladolid, 29 de noviembre de 1520. Marliano era otro de los extranjeros a los que Carlos había nombrado para una sede española (Tuy).

43. *CDCV*, I, 106, «Capitulaciones matrimoniales de Carlos V e Isabel», 24 de octubre de 1526: «50.000 cruzados de oro… que el rey don Manuel… le emprestó en el tiempo de las Comunidades de Castilla».

44. Danvila, *Historia*, II, 777-785, Edicto de Carlos V, Worms, 17 de diciembre de 1520, promulgado en Burgos el 22 de febrero de 1521.

45. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 26-27, patentes reales emitidas en «Tricht» (Maastricht), 19 de octubre de 1520, impresas también en Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 181-184, y en Gachard, *Analectes*, V (17.ª serie), 479-483.

46. Detalles de *RTA*, II, 95-100, incluido el texto del juramento de Carlos de cumplir la *Wahlkapitulation*; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 370-379, Corner a la Señoría, Aquisgrán, 23 de octubre de 1520; y Durero, *Diary*, 70. Inmediatamente después de su proclamación como duque de Borgoña en 1507, Carlos también había nombrado a algunos caballeros como símbolo de su nueva autoridad: véase capítulo 1.

47. Volpi, *Opere*, 282-5, Baldassare Castiglione al cardenal Bibiena, Colonia, 2 de noviembre 1520 (la conclusión del relato sobre la coronación de un buen testigo presencial); Keniston, *Francisco*, 57 (el nuevo estilo); *CDCV*, IV, 489-490 (*Memorias* de Carlos).

48. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 244-246, Adriano a Carlos, 9 de abril de 1521, en francés, ológrafo.

49. Daza, *Quarta parte* (recopilado en 1608-1609), dedicatoria y pp. 137-138 sobre la visión de fray Gonzalo Méndez.

50. Lutero, *An der christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, empezaba dirigiéndose a Carlos («Der allerdurchlauchststen grossmächstigen Kaiserlichen Majestät») y se alegraba de que «Gott hat uns ein junges, edles Blut zum Haupt gegeben».

51. Hillerbrand, «Martin Luther». La bula se refería solo a las obras publicadas por Lutero en 1518 y 1519, sobre las «Noventa y cinco tesis».

52. *CWE*, VIII, 68-74 (n.º 1153), Erasmo a Godschalk Rosemondt, Lovaina, 18 de octubre de 1520.

53. *CWE*, VIII, 77-79 (n.º 1155) y 105-108 (n.º 1166), Erasmo a Johann Reuchlin, Colonia, 8 de noviembre de 1520, y a un mecenas desconocido, Lovaina, diciembre de 1520. Mencke, *Scriptores*, II, col. 604, publica las entradas del diario de George Spalatin, consejero de Federico, referentes a los hechos del 4 y 5 de noviembre de 1520; Erasmo, *Erasmi opuscula*, 329-337, publica el *Axiomata Erasmi pro causa Martini Lutheri*, donde consta el consejo de Erasmo a Federico.

54. *RTA*, II, 466-467, Carlos a Federico, 28 de noviembre de 1520; Brieger, *Quellen*, 16-22, Aleandro al cardenal Médici (el futuro Clemente VII), Worms, 14-15 de diciembre de 1520.

55. *CWE*, X, 452-460 (n.º 1526), Erasmo al duque Jorge de Sajonia, 12 de diciembre de 1524; Laurent, *Recueil*, I, 620-621, Ordenanza del 5 de marzo de 1518.

56. *RTA*, II, 477-494, relato del canciller Brück de sus encuentros con Glapion en febrero de 1521; y Brieger, *Quellen*, 63-65 y 131-142, Aleandro a Médici, 18 de febrero y 13 de abril de 1521, describiendo la visita de Glapion y Paul von Armersdorff para tratar una solución al «problema de Lutero» con Ulrich von Hutten y Martin Bucer. *CWE*, X, 421-424, Erasmo a Fernando, 20 de noviembre de 1524, mencionaba sus «representaciones» a Carlos «a través de Glapion». Véase también el capítulo 7 sobre el sorprendente comentario que hizo Carlos en 1525 acerca de que «quién sabe si en algún momento resultará que Martín Lutero es el que está actuando bien».

57. Brieger, *Quellen*, 89-95, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, Worms, 8 de marzo de 1521, cursiva añadida (publicado también en Balan, *Monumenta*, 130-134, con diferentes lecturas y bajo la fecha del 19 de marzo de 1521). Sobre el tratado secreto entre Francia y el Papado, véase Barillon, *Journal*, II, 176-7, y Mignet, *Rivalité*, I, 232-233.

58. *L & P Henry VIII*, III.I, 428-430, Spinelly a Wolsey, Worms, 2 de febrero de 1521, informó de que el emperador había hablado un poco en alemán; *RTA*, II, 156-168, detalla la interacción de Carlos con otros miembros de la Dieta.

59. *RTA*, II, 526-527, Carlos a «dem ersamen unsern lieben andechtigen doctor Martin Luther, Augustiner Orden», Worms, 6 de marzo de 1521.

60. *RTA*, II, 632-638, «Relación de lo que passó a el emperador en Bormes [Worms] con Lutero, año de 1521» (anónimo, pero escrito desde el punto de vista del «emperador mi señor»); Brieger, *Quellen*, 144-149, Aleandro a Médici, 17 de abril de

1521.

61. *RTA*, II, 555, «Doctoris Martini Lutheri Oratio coram Caesere Carolo»; y II, 650, edicto del 8 de mayo de 1521.

62. Este y los siguientes párrafos se basan en *RTA*, II, 555, «Doctoris Martini Lutheri Oratio coram Caesere Carolo», y 632-638, «Relación»; Brieger, *Quellen*, 149-155, Aleandro y el nuncio Caracciolo a Médici, 19 de abril de 1521; *RTA*, II, 533-594, varias versiones en latín y en alemán; e ibíd., II, 879-882, Corner y Contarini a la Señoría, 28 de abril de 1521; y *CSPV*, III, 116-117, Contarini a Dandolo, 26 de abril de 1521.

63. Sobre la limitada comprensión de Carlos tanto del alemán como del latín en aquel momento, véase Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 371-372, (Carlos necesitó un intérprete alemán en Aquisgrán), y Balan, *Monumenta*, 249, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, 26 de mayo de 1521 (renuencia de Carlos a leer documentos en latín).

64. *RTA*, II, 632-638, «Relación». Brieger, *Quellen*, 153, Aleandro y el nuncio Caracciolo a Médici, 19 de abril de 1521, relataron este sorprendente acto de desafío: «Martino uscito fuora della sala Cesarea alzò la mano in alto *more militum Germanorum, quando exultano di un bel colpo di giostra*» (cursiva añadida).

65. *RTA*, II, 594-596, publica el documento a partir de la copia francesa «fait de ma main» y enviada a Enrique VIII, actualmente en TNA *SP* 1/22/9. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols. 214-216, contiene una versión traducida al italiano; *DRA*, II, 636, «Relación», contiene un texto español (véase también Sandoval, *Historia*, Libro X, cap. 10).

66. *RTA*, II, 632-638, «Relación»; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols. 210-214, Contarini a Mateo Dandolo, Worms, 26 de abril de 1521, latín (resumen inglés en *CSPV*, III, 116-117).

67. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols. 210-214, Contarini a Mateo Dandolo, Worms, 26 de abril de 1521; Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, IV, 161-165 (n.º 722), al marqués de Los Vélez, 7 de junio de 1521, con una copia de la carta que Alfonso de Valdés le escribió a él desde Worms, 13 de mayo de 1521.

68. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 71-72, Ordenanza del 20 de marzo de 1521; *RTA*, II, 640-649, texto alemán del edicto de Worms.

69. Balan, *Monumenta*, 232-234 y 240-247, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, 22 [*recte* 18] y 24 de mayo de 1521.

70. Balan, *Monumenta*, 248-255, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, 26 de mayo de 1521. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 73-83, edicto del 8 de mayo de 1521, es una copia holandesa del Edicto de Worms; pero, pese a la fecha, Aleandro afirmó que no estuvo disponible para su publicación en los Países Bajos hasta julio; ibíd., 271-273, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, 16 de julio de 1521.

71. BL *Cott Ms*. Caligula D.VIII/46-47, Wingfield a Fitzwilliam y Jerningham (enviados de Enrique en Francia], Worms, 29 de mayo de 1521 (texto decodificado de BL *Cott Ms.* Caligula E. III/33-v, el original).

72. Gossart, *Notes*, 55.

73. Lanz, *Actenstücke*, 135-145, Le Sauch a Chièvres, Londres, 7 de abril de 1520.

74. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 617-619, Corner a la Señoría, 27 de enero de 1521 («per amor di monsignor di Chievers, qu'ha in loco di padre»); *RTA*, II, 893-895, Corner y Contarini a la Señoría, Worms, 4 de mayo de 1521; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 324-326, Relato de Corner, 6 de junio de 1521; *CWE*, VIII, 153-154 (n.º 1184), Erasmo a Guillaume Budé, 16 de febrero 1521.

75. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 61-63, Corner a la Señoría, 14 de marzo de 1521; Brieger, *Quellen*, 214-218, Aleandro a Médici, 18 de mayo de 1521 (donde dice que era «el décimo cuarto día de la fiebre de Chièvres»).

76. Balan, *Monumenta*, 248-255, Aleandro al cardenal Médici, 26 de mayo de 1521; BNMV, *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/22v-23, Contarini a la Señoría, 28 de mayo de 1521.

77. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, I, 58; Gachard, *BNP*, II, 65, La RocheBeaucourt al Gran Maestre de Francia, enero de 1519; *CDCV*, I, 76, Carlos a Cisneros y Adriano, 7 de septiembre de 1517.

78. Balan, *Monumenta*, 248-255, Aleandro a Médici, 26 de mayo de 1521; BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.VII/29-31, Wingfield y Spinelli a Wolsey, 19 de junio de 1521 (cursiva añadida).

79. BL *Cott Ms*. Galba B.VII/102-103, Carlos a Wolsey, 7 de agosto de 1521; BNMV, *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/82, Contarini a la Señoría, 22 de agosto de 1521; TNA *SP* 1/23/28, Wolsey a Enrique VIII, 28 de agosto de 1521, ológrafo, «Para su majestad el rey, entregar en propia mano» (impreso con algunos errores en Burnet, *History*, III.II, 11-12).

80. *RTA*, II, 729-743, *Reichsabschied*, y 659-661, Edicto de Worms contra Lutero, ambos fechados el 26 de mayo de 1521; Sandoval, *Historia*. Libro X, cap. 14.

81. Sandoval, *Historia*, Libro V, cap. 2.

6. Una victoria arrancada de las fauces de la derrota, 1521-1525

1. *L & P Henry VIII*, II/2, 1293-1294, Spinelly a Enrique VIII, 20 de mayo de 1518; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, col. 166, informe de Antonio Giustinian al Senado después de su embajada francesa, 7 de septiembre de 1520; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 178 (Barrillon a menudo informaba de las opiniones de su señor, el canciller Duprat de Francia).

2. Guicciardini, *La Historia d'Italia*, 193, 187 (entrada correspondiente al año 1518, escrita entre 1537 y 1540).

3. Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 142, Dantisco a Segismundo, 29 de junio de 1519; Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1.ª serie I, 154-156, Thomas Boleyn, embajador inglés en Francia, a Enrique VIII, 4 de julio de 1520. En la primavera de 1519, Francisco envió delegados a una cumbre diplomática en Montpellier para tratar de resolver los problemas pendientes: véase capítulo 5 de este libro.

4. Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 151-162, Francisco al conde de Carpi, 31 de enero de 1520 (lo más destacado, publicado en *RTA RTA*, II, 114-118, pero con fecha 1 de enero de 1521).

5. ANF K 82/1bis, orden firmada por Francisco a favor de La Marck y sus hijos, Romorontin, 14 de febrero de 1521, concediendo más de 10.000 escudos en metálico y 16.000 más en pensiones anuales; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 177; *RTA*, II, 829-831, Tunstal a Wolsey, 22 de marzo de 1521; Brandi, *The emperor*, 153.

6. *RTA*, II, 812-815, Tunstal a Wolsey, 6 de marzo de 1521.

7. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, cols. 61-63, Corner a la Señoría, 14 y 16 de marzo de 1521; Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 181, declaración de Philippe Naturel, 1 de abril de 1521, y el conde de Carpi a Francisco, Roma, 17 de mayo de 1521; Dumont, *Corps universel*, IV, *Supplément*, 96-99, «Tabulae Foederis stabiliter inter Carolum V Romanorm Imperatorem & Leonem X Pontificem Maximum contra Gallos», 8 de mayo de 1521.

8. Ruscelli, *Delle lettere*, I, fos. 93-95, Lorenzo Aleandri de' Galeazzi a su padre, Bruselas, 3 de julio de 1521 (resumen inglés en *L & P Henry VIII*, III/2. 559-561); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols. 504-506, «Edictum imperiale contra regem Gallum», Amberes, 12 de julio de 1521; *L & P Henry VIII*, III/2, 1579-1580, Fitzwilliam a Wolsey, 6 de agosto de 1521.

9. Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 1-9, «Gutachten» de Gattinara, 30 de julio de 1521 (publicado también en Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 473-482).

10. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 236-242, «Sur ce que fera l'empereur durant cest hyuer», dando las opiniones de nueve consejeros seguidas de la recomendación de Gattinara y la decisión de Carlos.

11. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols. 318-319, Contarini a la Señoría, 16 de agosto de 1521; BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.VII/109-119, tratado secreto de Brujas, 25 de agosto de 1521, original firmado por Wolsey y Margarita (publicado por Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 244-267, de una copia; Russell, «The search», 174-175, documenta los encuentros privados entre Carlos y Wolsey.

12. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 313, 323 y 325, Carlos a Gattinara, 1, 15 y «mediados» de septiembre de 1521.

13. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 399, Carlos a Gattinara, mediados de octubre de 1521; e ibíd., 441-443, Margarita a Berghes, 14 o 15 de noviembre, minuta ológrafa, sobre «lo que escuché [al emperador] decir hoy».

14. *L & P Henry VIII*, III/2, 760-761, tratado entre Inglaterra, el emperador y el Papa, 24 de noviembre de 1521; Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 496-500, Carlos a sus enviados en Inglaterra, 13 de diciembre de 1521.

15. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 24-25, Instrucciones de Carlos a Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, su enviado a Adriano, 25 de enero de 1522; *LCK*, I, 58-60, Carlos a Adriano, 7 de marzo de 1522.

16. Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 167-169, ordenanza de Carlos en la que nombra a Margarita su regente en los Países Bajos, 15 de abril de 1522; Bauer, *Die Anfänge*, 239-264, publica los textos de los acuerdos entre Carlos y Fernando en Worms (abril de 1521) y

Bruselas (30 de enero y 7 de febrero de 1522).

17. *PEG*, I, 252-256, Testamento de Carlos V, Brujas, 22 de mayo de 1522 (un documento sorprendentemente breve, carente de estipulaciones sobre su sucesión más allá de Fernando).

18. *CWE*, IX, 64-68, Erasmo a Jean Glapion, confesor de Carlos, 21 de abril de 1522.

19. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/5-6 y 12-13, Wingfield y Spinelly a Wolsey, 11 de febrero y 3 de marzo de 1522. Según Contarini, el embajador veneciano, «todos los presentes opinaron» que Carlos «destacó por encima de todos en esta justa» y realizó proezas ecuestres «que ningún otro podría igualar»; BNMV, *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/195, Contarini a la Señoría, 5 de marzo de 1522.

20. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/305, Wingfield y Spinelly a Wolsey, 14 de abril de 1522 (la carta que causó esta consternación fue una que enviaron los embajadores imperiales destinados en Inglaterra el 6 de abril, con los términos de una tregua propuesta por los franceses; *CSPSp Further supplement*, 113-116); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VIII/33-34, Carlos a Wolsey, 15 de abril de 1522, ológrafo (copias en AGRB *Aud.* 370/37 y HHStA *Belgien* DD Abt B fasz. 4); BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/187, Carlos a Wolsey, 18 de agosto de 1523, ológrafo (el símbolo también aparece en *Cott. Ms.* Titus B.I/336).

21. BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VII/321, Wingfield y Spinelly a Wolsey, 15 de mayo de 1522.

22. HHStA, *Belgien PA* 2/2/13-14, «Ce que le sieur de La Chaulx debvra dire et declarer à nostre sainct père, sans le comuniquer en Angleterre», sin fecha, pero probablemente del 15 de enero de 1522, minuta de Gattinara.

23. Gachard, «Charles-Quint», 540, Carlos a La Chaux, 9 de junio de 1522; *CSPSp*, II, 434-436 y 438-440, tratado y tratado secreto de Windsor, 16 y 19 de junio de 1522; *CSPSp Further supplement*, 69-73, los embajadores en Inglaterra a Carlos, 5 de marzo de 1522, Latin; *CSPSp*, II, 442, orden de Carlos del 20 de junio de 1522, prometiendo devolver el préstamo de Enrique de 150.000 ducados.

24. *RVEC*, 55-59, Salinas a Salamanca, Palencia, 10 de agosto de 1522; *CSPSp Further supplement*, 142-143, Carlos a Enrique, Palencia, 11 de agosto de 1522.

25. HHStA, *Belgien PA* 2/2/15-16, instrucciones suplementarias a Lachaulx, 17 de enero de 1522, minuta de Gattinara (sobre el gobierno de Castilla después de la marcha de Adriano); Danvila, *Historia crítica*, V, 198-201, el almirante a Carlos, agosto de 1522; Gachard, *Correspondance*, 104-107, Adriano a Carlos, 5 de agosto de 1522. Véase Pérez, *La revolución*, 567-585, sobre las primeras etapas de la represión. En su *Autobiografía*, Gattinara afirmaba haber sido uno de los pocos que «abogaron por la clemencia»: Boone, *Mercurino*, 98.

26. BNMV, *Ms. Italiani* Classe VII, Cod. 1009/66v-67, Contarini a la Señoría, Gante, 30 de julio de 1521, citando una conversación con Glapion. Este intercambio, evidentemente, tuvo lugar al menos dos meses antes, porque Aleandro lo mencionaba en mayo: Balan, *Monumenta*, 248-255, Aleandro a Médici, 26 de mayo de 1521.

27. *RVEC*, 55-59 y 62-66, Salinas a Salamanca, 10 de agosto y 1 de septiembre de 1522, HHStA, *Belgien PA* 2/4.68, Carlos a Margarita, 25 de agosto de 1522; Pérez, *La revolución*, 588, citando a Mejía, *Historia*, I, 320 (la excepción fue el obispo Acuña). Condenas totales en Pérez, *op. cit.*, 585.

28. *RVEC*, 73-83, Salinas a Salamanca, 4 de noviembre de 1522. Danvila, *Historia crítica*, V, 239-251, publica la lista de los «exceptuados»; Pérez, *La revolución*, 474-492 y 585-595, analiza a estos y sus bienes (cita de p. 477).

29. Pérez, *La revolución*, 592-594 (sanciones colectivas), 628 (castigos), y 650-665 (reparaciones, cita en p. 664).

30. Viciana, *Libro quarto*, 546-556, con datos adicionales de García Cárcel, *Las Germanías*, 141-142, y Ríos Lloret y Vilaplana Sanchís, *Germana de Foix*, 40-49.

31. *RVEC*, 66-71 y 221-226, Salinas a Salamanca, 7 de septiembre de 1522 (pero no fue enviado hasta el 4 de octubre) y 2 de octubre de 1524, y 155-157, Salinas a Fernando, 16 de diciembre de 1523. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 171-172, Carlos a Sessa, 10 de enero de 1523, incluye la amenaza. Véase también Pérez, *La revolución*, 629-633: «Apéndice: la ejecución de Acuña».

32. *Causa formada*, 54-59; *RVEC*, 308-314, Salinas a Fernando, 27 de marzo y 8 de abril de 1526; *CSPSp*, III/1, 614, «Confesión del obispo Acuña». Sobre las consecuencias de la ejecución por parte de Ronquillo y otros, véase el capítulo 7 de este libro.

33. *CDCV*, I, 375-379, Carlos a la emperatriz, 9 de agosto de 1532; *CDCV*, III, 472-473, Carlos a Felipe, 18 de septiembre de 1552. Pérez, *La revolución*, 565-680, analiza el destino de los comuneros.

34. Gachard, *Correspondance*, 94, Adriano a Carlos, 19 de junio de 1522.

35. Charrière, *Négociations*, I, Francisco al embajador Dinteville, 25 de enero de 1532. Los socios genoveses de Rincón eran Cesare Cantelmo y Cesare Fregoso. Sobre la presencia de Rincón en Polonia, véase *LCK*, 98-113, Jean Hannart a Carlos, 13 de marzo de 1524; en Inglaterra, véase TNA *SP* 1/53/144, Rincón a Wolsey, sin fecha, pero en abril de 1529; y en Hungría, Setton, *The papacy*, III, 312-322.

36. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 66-67, del «Journal des Voyages» del emperador llevado por Jean Vandenesse. *CSPSp Further supplement*, 148-149, Carlos a sus embajadores en Inglaterra, 5 de septiembre de 1522, mencionado también en Borbón y su «Gran Empresa». Crouzet, *Charles de Bourbon*, 3.ª Parte, ofrece una buena guía sobre el proceso y la conspiración.

37. TNA *SP* 1/26/51-56, Instrucciones a sir Thomas Boleyn y el doctor Richard Sampson, firmadas por Enrique VIII (sin fechar, pero escrita el 25 de septiembre de 1522); *CSPSp Further supplement*, 190-194, Carlos a sus embajadores en Inglaterra, 8 de febrero de 1523.

38. *CLC*¸ IV, 334-351, publica el discurso de apertura de Gattinara, pronunciado el 14 de julio de 1523 (Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 153-154, publicó partes omitidas del borrador); ibíd., 354-358, petición de las Cortes y respuesta de Carlos, 15 de julio de 1523.

39. *CLC*, IV, 363-402, lista de agravios junto con respuestas de Carlos, 24 de agosto de 1523.

40. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vesp C.II/106-120, Boleyn y Sampson a Wolsey, Valladolid, 8 y 18 de marzo de 1523; *RVEC*, 122-130, Salinas a Salamanca, 2 de julio, y a Fernando, 14 de agosto 1523.

41. TNA *SP* 1/28/181-193, Wolsey a Sampson y Jerningham, 30 de agosto de 1523. Sobre la campaña inglesa véase Gunn, «The duke of Suffolk's march».

42. Barrillon, *Journal*, II, 151-162, Francisco al conde de Carpi, 31 de enero de 1521.

43. *CSPSp Further supplement*, 286-289, Carlos a Louis de Praet, Pamplona, 15 de noviembre de 1523.

44. Claretta, *Notice*, 84-92, «Deuxième représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l'empereur», en italiano, con pasajes del original francés en Bornate, «Historia», 311 n. 4. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 152-153, sostiene convincentemente que Gattinara redactó este documento entre abril y mayo de 1523.

45. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXV, col. 365, Contarini a la Señoría, 11 de noviembre de 1524. «Denkschrift», publicado completo a partir de la copia en HHStA *Belgien PC* 68/3-30, en Brandi, «Aus den Kabinettsakten», 181-222. Brandi argumentó convincentemente que fue redactado a primeros de diciembre de 1523, p. 215 n. 1. Gossart, *Charles-Quint*, Apéndice D, y «Notas», 110-119, publicado en forma abreviada a partir de AGRB. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, I, 216-217, notas 422-424, publicó fragmentos del texto original de Gattinara (de AS Vercelli *FAG* mazzo 8), si bien con algunos errores.

46. Clemente firmó el tratado el 12 de diciembre de 1524 y se lo notificó a Carlos el 5 de enero de 1525 (RAH Salazar A-34/3, notificación de Clemente a Carlos); Venecia hizo lo mismo el 10 de enero de 1525, pero intentó «tenir secretissima» el tratado, aunque por supuesto Carlos no tardó en descubrir la verdad (Setton, *Papacy*, III, 226 y 228).

47. *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 347-350, Sampson a Wolsey, Valladolid, 30 de octubre de 1524.

48. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVI, col. 419, y XXXVII, col. 661, Contarini a la Señoría, 18-23 de marzo de 1524 y 10 de enero de 1525; *CSPSp*, II, 691, Carlos a sus embajadores en Roma, 10 de enero de 1525; Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 167-168, Dantisco a Segismundo, 7 de febrero de 1525.

49. Boone, *Mercurino*, 100 (*Autobiografía* de Gattinara), ológrafo.

50. AGS *E K* 1639, n.º 95, Carlos a Borbón, 14 de agosto de 1524, copia; *KFF*, I, 250-253, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de febrero de 1525; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/239-244, Carlos a sus embajadores en Roma, 19 de diciembre de 1524 (en parte escrito por la mano de Gattinara).

51. Cadenas y Vicent, «Un documento», 692-701, traducción española; Brandi, «Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen», 256-260, original (sin fecha, pero con seguridad escrito antes de que llegara la noticia de la victoria de Pavía a Carlos el 10 de marzo de

1525, y probablemente después de que se hubiera enterado de que el 12 de diciembre de 1525 el Papa le había abandonado y firmado una alianza con Francia, Florencia, Ferrara y Venecia). Véanse declaraciones similares en las cartas de Carlos en torno a esta misma época en *PEG*, I, 427-441.

52. TNA *SP* 1/33/113-114, Pace a Enrique VIII, 26 de enero de 1525; RAH *Salazar* A-34/69-73, Lope de Soria a Carlos, 26 de enero de 1525, informando de las noticias «del campo».

53. Ruscelli, *Lettere di principi*, I, fo. 147v, Giovanni Matteo Giberto a Girolamo Aleandro, Roma, 19 de febrero de 1525; RAH *Salazar* A-34/150-163, Sessa a Carlos, Roma, 24 y 25 de febrero de 1525 (Sessa añadía a renglón seguido «A Vuestra Magestad suplico perdone my atrevimiento que nasce de la abundancia de afición y fiel servitud que a Vuestra Magestad devo y tengo»).

54. *CODOIN*, IX, 481-485, marqués de Pescara a Carlos, sin fechar, pero el 25 de febrero de 1525; Brandi, «Nach Pavia», 185-187, Lannoy a Carlos, 25 de febrero de 1525 (publicado también en *LCK*, I, 150-151, de una copia imperfecta); RAH *Salazar* A-34/133-134, Lannoy a Sessa, 21 de febrero de 1525, copia.

55. Valdés, *Relación*, sig. A iiiv-A iv, citando los despachos a Carlos enviados por los vencedores de Pavía; Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 129, Francisco a Luisa de Saboya, sin fechar, pero probablemente del 25 de febrero de 1525.

56. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vitellius B.VII/75-77, Russell a Enrique, Milán 11 de marzo de 1525, copia; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 47-48, Foscari a la Señoría, 3 de marzo de 1525. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 85-88, enumera los prisioneros y los caídos en la batalla de Pavía. Fuentes francesas hacen referencia al prisionero Enrique d'Albret como el «rey de Navarra», pero dado que a partir de 1512 los gobernantes de España reivindicaron ese título, fuentes españolas se referían a Enrique como el «hijo del rey», es decir, hijo del último rey de la dinastía Abret cuya legitimidad reconocían.

57. Rodríguez Villa, *Italia*, 10, Lope de Soria a Carlos, Génova, 26 de febrero de 1525. Y por si acaso su señor no lo había captado bien, Soria repetía en una posdata: «Ha sido esta tan noble victoria, con la qual Vuestra Magestad puede agora poner ley y usar de su preheminencia en toda la christiandad».

7. Una derrota arrancada de las fauces de la victoria, 1525-1528

1. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 205-207, Giacomo Suardino al marqués de Mantua, 15 de marzo de 1525 (resumen inglés en *CSPV*, III, 415-417); Fernández de Oviedo, «Relación», 407 (donde afirma que el correo llegó el 3 de marzo, aunque otras fuentes mantienen que fue el 10).

2. Brandi, «Nach Pavia», 185-187, Lannoy a Carlos, 25 de febrero de 1525 (publicado también en *LCK*, I, 150-151, a partir de una copia defectuosa).

3. Valdés, *Relación*, Sig. A vijv; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 205-207, Suardino a Mantua, 15 de marzo de 1525; Ellis, *Original letters*, 1.ª serie I, 260-267, Sampson a Wolsey, 15 de marzo de 1525. Los embajadores veneciano y polaco, y el nuncio, relataron de modo muy similar la forma de reaccionar de Carlos a las noticias de Pavía: Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 203-205, Contarini a la Señoría, 12 y 14 de marzo de 1525 (resumen inglés en *CSPV*, III, 413-415); Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 171-172, Dantisco a Segismundo, 16 de marzo de 1525; Serassi, *Delle lettere,* I, 146-148, Castiglione a Piperario, 14 de marzo de 1525.

4. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 322, Carlos a sus diplomáticos en la conferencia de Calais, 15 de septiembre de 1521.

5. BNMV, *Ms. Italiani*, Classe VII, cod. 1009/410, Contarini a la Señoría, 6 de febrero de 1525, informando de indiscreciones a Giovanni Corsi, que representaba tanto a Florencia como al Papa (lo que podría explicar el comentario provocador de Carlos sobre Lutero: sus «llamativas palabras» iban dirigidas a captar la atención de Clemente).

6. RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/249-252, Carlos a Sessa, 9 de febrero de 1525, minuta (con las últimas ocho palabras tachadas); resumen inglés en *CSPSp*, II, 699-701.

7. Valdés, *Relación*, Sig. A vijv, A viij.

8. *KFF*, I, 277-281, Carlos a Fernando, 26 de marzo de 1525; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.VII/75-77, sir John Russell a Enrique VIII, Milán, 11 de marzo de 1525 (publicado con errores en Ellis, *Original letters*, 2.ª serie I, 297-303). El embajador de Carlos en Roma, el duque de Sessa, hizo la misma sugerencia en cuanto recibió noticias de la batalla.

9. BNE *Ms*. 20214/52/9, Sessa a Carlos, 26 de febrero de 1525 «a iiij horas de noche», ológrafo; *KFF*, I, 273-276 y 277-281, Fernando a Carlos, e Instrucciones a Martín de Salinas, Innsbruck, 14 de marzo y 2 de abril de 1525 (también en *LCK*, I, 154-156 y 683-690). Fernando citaba el reproche que le hizo a Aníbal uno de sus generales tras la victoria de Cannas: «Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis» (Tito Livio, *Historia de Roma*, 22.51).

10. Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 173, Dantisco a Segismundo, 16 de marzo de 1525, citando a Gattinara.

11. Brandi, «Nach Pavia», 195-211, documento de posición redactado por Gattinara para Carlos, sin fechar, pero presentado entre el 10 de marzo (cuando llegó la noticia de la victoria) y el 25 de marzo de 1525 (cuando Carlos firmó las primeras órdenes para llevar a efecto las propuestas de su canciller).

12. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 149-159, Instrucciones dadas por Carlos a sus embajadores ante Luisa de Saboya, 28 de marzo de 1525; Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 267-270, Carlos a Lannoy, 27 de marzo de 1525. El emperador escribió en los mismos términos a su hermano: *KFF*, I, 277-281, Carlos a Fernando, 25/26 de marzo de 1525.

13. *PEG*, I, 265-266, Carlos a Lannoy, sin fechar, pero justo antes o en la fecha misma del 28 de marzo de 1525 (yo acepto la fecha propuesta por Brandi, «Nach Pavia», 142).

14. *PEG*, I, 263-265, Carlos a Luisa, sin fecha, pero 25 de marzo de 1525, seguida de su respuesta (fecha dada por Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 136 n. 2); TNA *SP* 1/34/153 Sampson a Wolsey, Toledo, 2 de mayo de 1525, ológrafo. Aunque el informe de Beaurain (enviado de Carlos) al parecer no ha sobrevivido, el 10 de abril de 1525 Beaurain informó a Margarita de Austria de que Luisa «no da señal de desear entregar nada»: Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 598-599.

15. *LCK*, I, 161-162, Lannoy a Carlos, 3 y 6 de mayo de 1525; TNA *SP* 1/35/17-18, «Ce que don Hughe de Montcade… a dit à l'empereur notre seigneur que le Roy de France luy avoit divisé pour la paix» (traducido de las notas de Moncada en español al francés; cfr. Los términos están publicados en Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 170-173).

16. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vitellius B.VII/146-149, John Clerk a Wolsey, Roma, 14 de junio de 1525 (citando a Clemente sobre la «elocuencia» de Francisco); Rodríguez Villa, *Italia*, 52, Nájera a Carlos, 7 de mayo de 1525. Véase también Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 278-279, Lannoy a Carlos, 27 de abril de 1525: «lo que [Francisco] más desea es hablar con vos». Algunos sospecharon que llevar a Francisco a España era idea de Lannoy, pero un alto miembro del séquito del rey afirmaría más adelante bajo juramento que Francisco «procura envers le vis-roy de Naples d'estre mené en Espagne, et jusques à bailler ses propres galleres pour luy conduyre»: Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 432-433, Informe de Philibert Babou, 18 de diciembre de 1525.

17. BNE *Ms*. 20212/43/9, Sessa a Carlos, 7 de julio de 1525; BNE *Ms*. 20214/52/10, Sessa a Carlos, 12 de julio de 1525.

18. Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 284-287, Carlos a Lannoy, 15 de junio de 1525. Algunos han sugerido que Carlos ya sabía que Francisco iba a venir a España, pero esta carta, escrita cinco días antes de que la noticia llegara a la corte, demuestra su desconocimiento de la iniciativa de Lannoy. Véase también RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/261, Carlos a Sessa, 8 de junio de 1525, donde ordena al embajador consultar con Lannoy sobre cómo negociar con el Papa, dando claramente por hecho que el virrey seguía todavía en Italia.

19. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.III/107-127, Tunstal y Sampson a Enrique, 2 de diciembre de 1525, refiriendo su audiencia con Carlos del 19 de octubre. Véase también BAV *Vat. Lat.*, 6753/18, embajadores venecianos a la Señoría, 13 de junio de 1525, informando de que uno de los ministros flamencos de Carlos afirmó que «Borgoña pertenece a su Majestad Imperial del mismo modo que la ropa que lleváis os

pertenece a vos», pero el rey Luis XI de Francia la ocupó de forma fraudulenta. En 1544-1545 Carlos se enfrentó a una «alternativa» estratégica similar en cuanto a si sacrificar parte de su herencia o una adquisición estratégica reciente.

20. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/29v-30 y 69v, embajadores venecianos a la Señoría, Toledo, 10 de julio y 5 de octubre de 1525 (Francisco sin duda lo sabía todo sobre las cartas de amor porque en 1519 las mencionó mientras trataba de convencer a Federico); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 9, Castiglione al arzobispo de Capua, secretario papal de Estado, Madrid, 9 de diciembre de 1525, posdata (sobre los sobornos).

21. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/97, Navagero a la Señoría, 11 de diciembre de 1525 (sobre la chapucera tentativa de escapar con la cara pintada de negro); *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, IV, 88-92, «Première protestation» de Francisco, 16 de agosto de 1525, registrada el 22 de agosto.

22. Fernández de Oviedo, «Relación de lo sucedido», 418 (relato de un testigo presencial); Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y Polacos*, 180, Dantisco a Segismundo, 1 de noviembre de 1525. (El texto original decía: «Pereant illi, qui inter nos dissidia ista fecerunt. Istene est juvenis tam deformis aut monstrum et sine ingenio balbutiens?»: *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 328.) Francisco sufría un abceso que presionaba su cerebro: en cuanto el forúnculo explotó, se recuperó (BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/62v-67, Navagero a la Señoría, 22 de septiembre de 1525: «oppresso da un appostema nella testa»).

23. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/70v, Navagero a la Señoría, 10 de octubre de 1525.

24. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/84v, Navagero a la Señoría, 4 de noviembre de 1525. Francisco confirmó después que había utilizado este engaño, y explicó a unos diplomáticos «casi burlonamente» [*quasi irridento*]» que mientras estuvo en Madrid «los médicos dijeron al emperador que yo estaba tuberculoso y que sería deseable que me sustituyeran mis hijos». Francisco añadió con una sonrisa maligna, «Me parecía bien que creyeran esa opinión»: *CSPV*, V, 613-615, embajadores venecianos en Francia a la Señoría, 17 de febrero de 1531.

25. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 363-369, «Les moyens de paix baillés par le conseil de l'empereur» el 9 de octubre de 1525, y negativa de Francisco al día siguiente; ibíd., 384, Francisco a Carlos, sin fechar, pero casi con toda seguridad el mismo día; ibíd., 416-425, patentes reales, noviembre de 1525 (la fecha del día queda en blanco). Véase también Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 650-652, de Praet a Margarita, Lyon, 22 de diciembre de 1525, trasladando la noticia de que Francisco «está absolutamente decidido a permanecer en prisión antes que devolver Borgoña».

26. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/29v, Contarini, Navagero y Priuli a la Señoría, 10 de julio de 1525 *(che il re come si sapea da ognuno havea havuto et havea di molto mal francese.)*

27. Boone, *Mercurino*, 109-110 (Autobiografía); Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLV, cols. 616-618, Suardino a Mantua, 12 de diciembre de 1525; Bornate, «Historia», 318 n. 1, 478-479 y 482-483, Navagero a la Señoría, 11 de diciembre de 1525, 29 de enero y 8 de febrero de 1526; Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 289-291, encargo de Carlos a Lannoy, 16 de diciembre de 1525, donde especifica la aprobación de cinco consejeros, pero omite el nombre del canciller. Castiglione, que señaló que Gattinara «no puede o

no quiere ocultar su descontento», dejó un fascinante relato del duelo verbal entre el emperador y su canciller sobre la preparación del tratado: Serassi, *Dell lettere*, II, 29-33, Castiglione a Capua, 24 de marzo de 1526.

28. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, IV, 165-178, Segunda Protesta, 13/14 de enero de 1526. Aunque Carlos siempre consideró esto una bajeza y una indignidad, veinte años atrás Fernando el Católico había utilizado precisamente el mismo recurso legal, haciendo una «protesta» ante notario cuando el padre de Carlos obtuvo concesiones de él bajo amenaza, en tanto que el hijo de Carlos haría lo mismo casi veinticinco años después cuando se vio obligado a hacer concesiones a los protestantes alemanes.

29. Gachard, *Captivité*, 66-70, basado en Sandoval, *Historia*, Fernández de Oviedo, «Relación», y un *Procès-verbal* de las varias ceremonias llevadas a cabo por el secretario de estado del emperador, Jean Lallemand (el juramento del rey como caballero aparece impreso en pp. 66-68); *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, IV, 178-219, Tratado de Madrid, 14 de enero de 1526.

30. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols. 36-38, Suardino a Mantua, 5 de febrero de 1525; Lanz, *Correspondenz*, I, 192, Carlos a Luisa, 16 de febrero de 1526 (publicado también en Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 654-655).

31. TNA *SP* 1/34/118-119, Wolsey a Tunstal y Wingfield, 3 de abril de 1525; *KFF*, I, 305-311 y 322-326, Carlos a Fernando, 25 de junio de 1525, y respuesta, 1 de septiembre de 1525; *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 621, el ultimátum de Carlos, expuesto en Londres el 7 de junio de 1525.

32. *CDCV*, I, 100-115, Capitulaciones matrimoniales, firmadas el 17 de octubre de 1525; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817//272-274, Carlos a Sessa, 31 de octubre de 1525, borrador corregido por Gattinara; RAH *Salazar* A-36/176-178, Sessa a Carlos, 13 de noviembre de 1525 (afirmando que Clemente se había retrasado en parte debido a su previa dispensa para que Carlos se casara con María Tudor y quería evitar ofender a Enrique); *CSPSp*, III/1, 461-463, dos versiones de la dispensa, 13 de noviembre de 1525, recibida por Carlos el 8 de febrero de 1526.

33. Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V*, 329-338, habla de la procrastinación de Carlos; Sanuto, BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/80, Navagero a la Señoría, 28 de octubre de 1525; *CDCV*, I, 100-115, «Capitulaciones matrimoniales», 24 de octubre de 1525, especificaba una dote no pagada de 900.000 ducados, menos la dote correspondiente a la hermana de Carlos, Catalina (quien se había casado con el rey Juan III de Portugal el año anterior) y menos los 50.000 ducados prestados por Portugal durante la revuelta comunera.

34. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols. 342-345 y 171, Zuan Negro a su padre, y Suardino a Mantua, ambas el 15 de marzo de 1526. Gómez-Salvago Sánchez, *Fastos*, documenta el ceremonial de la encantadora pareja desarrollado en Sevilla y su coste.

35. *RVEC*, 308-314, Salinas a Fernando, 27 de marzo de 1526; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/169, Navagero a la Señoría, 8 de abril de 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 33-35, Castiglione a Capua, 30 de marzo y 9 de abril de 1526; RAH *Ms.* 9/4817/299-300, Carlos a Sessa y a Clemente, 30 de marzo de 1526; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/169, Navagero

a la Señoría, 8 de abril de 1526. Véase también BL *Cott Mss* Vespasiano C.III/239-241v, Lee a Wolsey, Sevilla, 15 de abril de 1526, comentando con aprobación que «El emperador, como buen cristiano y miembro de la iglesia, desde la boda y hasta la semana de Pascua, se ha abstenido pacientemente de comulgar».

36. *Causa formada*, 61, Los Cobos a Ronquillo, 28 de marzo de 1526. Carlos recibió su absolución el 30 de abril (BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/182, Navagero a la Señoría, 1 de mayo de 1526), pero Clemente postergó durante más de un año «conmutar la penitencia» de Los Cobos («porque dice que él fue el primero que aconsejó a Vuestra Magestad que mandase lo que mandó contra el obispo») y absolver al «alcalde Ronquillo y los otros»; Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 226-228, el secretario Pérez a Carlos, 26 de junio de 1527; y Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 142-143, Castiglione a Capua, 13 de marzo de 1527.

37. *KFF*, I, 376-380, Carlos a Fernando, 30 de marzo de 1526; *RVEC*, 308-314, Salinas a Fernando, 27 de marzo de 1526; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLI, cols. 342-345, Zuan Negro a su padre, Sevilla, 15 de marzo de 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 29-33, Castiglione a Capua, 24 de marzo de 1526.

38. Braamcamp Freire, «Ida», 609-612 y 616, Antonio de Azevedo Coutinho al conde de Vimiosa, 16 de marzo de 1526, y el marqués de Vila Real a Antonio Carneiro, 17 de marzo de 1526; Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 293-294, Carlos a Lannoy, marzo de 1526 (explicando por qué no podía escribir una carta ológrafa a Francisco); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 64-71, Castiglione al cardenal Salviati, 8 de septiembre de 1526 («troppo diligenza circa l'essere buon marito»).

39. Hauser, *Le traité*, 150-153, «Mémoires délibérés au conseil du Roy touchant le traité de Madril», Bayona, 17 de marzo de 1526; HHStA *Frankreich: Varia* Konv. D/1, 1526, 14/1 fo. 84-90 y Konv. E, 1526 fo. 2429, Conseil du Roi a Louis de Praet, Bayona, 20 de marzo de 1526; Halkin and Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 298-299, Carlos a Lannoy, 27 de marzo de 1526.

40. *CWE*, XII, 266-267 (n.º 1731), Carlos a Erasmo, 4 de agosto de 1526, latín, minuta.

41. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasiano C.III/273-v, Lee a Enrique, 30 de septiembre de 1526; Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 186, Dantisco a Segismundo, 12 de octubre de 1526.

42. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.III/239-241v, Lee a Wolsey, Sevilla, 15 de abril de 1526, original descodificado; BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula D.IX/183185, Taylor a Wolsey, Mont-de-Marsan, 4 de abril de 1526, narrando lo que Francisco le había contado durante una audiencia celebrada el 29 de marzo. Véase también Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 656-658, «Explications du roi» sobre por qué no había ratificado el tratado, 2 de abril de 1526.

43. Guicciardini, *Istorie*, III, 402 (del Libro XVI, capítulo 6, escrito entre 1537 y 1540); BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/183-187, Navagero a la Señoría, 14 de mayo de 1526. Véase también la afirmación de Castiglione de que Francisco había sobornado a la mayoría de los miembros del séquito de Carlos: página 205.

44. HSA *Ms*. B 2954/8, Luisa a Carlos, c 31 de enero de 1526 (una promesa repetida en HSA *Ms.* B 2954/7, de la misma al mismo, c 15 de febrero de 1526), y Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 517-518, Francisco a Carlos, San Sebastián, marzo de 1526, todas ellas ológrafas.

45. Guicciardini, *Istorie*, III, 405; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 9 y 35-39, Castiglione a Capua, 9 de diciembre de 1525, posdata, y 26 de abril de 1526.

46. *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/1, 881-882, Ghinucci y Casale a Wolsey, 7 de febrero de 1526, latín, cifrado (citando a Clemente); BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.IX/3-4, Wingfield a Wolsey, Amberes, 9 de febrero de 1526, con comentarios marginales dictados por Wolsey.

47. TNA *SP* 1/37/212, Wolsey a Luisa de Saboya [sin fechar, pero 20 de marzo de 1526] copia francesa; BL *Cott. Ms.* Caligula D.IX/172178, Instrucciones de Enrique a sir Thomas Cheyne, su enviado a Francia [sin fechar, pero 22 de marzo de 1526].

48. HSA B 2954/9, Luisa a Carlos, sin fechar, pero 10 de mayo de 1526. HSA B 2954/1-2, Carlos a Francisco y Luisa, marzo-abril de 1526, ambas ológrafas, en referencia a sus recientes cartas asegurando cumplir sus promesas.

49. Guicciardini, *Opere inediti*, IV, 6-8, Guicciardini a Gambara, el enviado especial del Papa a Inglaterra, Roma, 21 de abril de 1526, trasladando las opiniones de Clemente a su nuncio en Francia.

50. Detalles tomados de Hauser, *Le traité*, 70-75 (refuerzo de las fortificaciones) y 150-162 (conversaciones francesas sobre cómo manejar a Lannoy); y Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 660-664, Lannoy a Carlos, 16 y 25 de mayo, y a Margarita, 18 de mayo de 1526 (opinión de Lannoy sobre las negociaciones). Brandi, «Nach Pavia», 211-231, presenta la mejor guía sobre los turbios hechos que llevaron a Carlos a acusar a Sforza de traición.

51. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, IV, 238-252, texto de la «Santa Liga», Cognac, 22 de mayo de 1526. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XL, cols. 613-614, Navagero a la Señoría, 11 de diciembre de 1525, da el total reclamado por Inglaterra.

52. *LCK*, I, 217, Clemente a Carlos, probablemente incompleto [sin fechar, pero 23 de junio de 1526]; BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/183-187, Navagero a la Señoría, 14 de mayo de 1526.

53. HHStA *Belgien* P. A. 65/4/122-131v, Moncada y Sessa a Carlos, 20-24 de junio de 1526.

54. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 16-18, Lope de Soria y Lope Hurtado de Mendoza a Carlos, 20 y 28 de junio de 1526.

55. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 20-21, Pérez a Carlos, 9 de septiembre de 1526; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLII, cols. 582-583, Suardino a Mantua, 9 de agosto de 1526; Bornate, «Historia», 489-496, «Relación» de Gattinara para el Consejo Real y respuesta.

56. *LCK,* I, 213-216, Instrucciones de Carlos a Moncada, Granada,11 de junio de 1526, cursiva añadida.

57. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 18-19, Pérez a Carlos, 9 de julio de 1526.

58. *KFF*, I, 407-421, Carlos a Fernando, 27 de julio de 1526, borrador con exhaustivas correcciones; Bornate, «Historia» 503, «Discorso del gran Cancelliere» (sin fechar, pero redactado justo antes del 27 de julio de 1526 porque Brandi, «Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen», 248, demostró que Carlos incorporó pasajes enteros de este documento en su carta a Fernando).

59. *RVEC*, 323-327, Salinas a Fernando, 4 de agosto de 1526.

60. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 41-42, Carlos al secretario Pérez en Roma, 16 de noviembre de 1526. Compárese con las Instrucciones de Carlos a Moncada del 11 de junio de 1526, más arriba.

61. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasiano C.III/257-266, Lee a Enrique, 7 de septiembre de 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 64-85, Castiglione al cardenal Salviati y a Capua, ambas datadas el 6 de septiembre de 1526. BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/203v-15, Navagero a la Señoría, 8 de septiembre de 1526, hace referencia también a lo más esencial de este intercambio, aunque confesaba que «Yo no lo entendí entonces, dado que no sé mucho francés; pero más tarde algunos consejeros me lo explicaron». La audiencia tuvo lugar el 17 de agosto. En sus *Memorias* Carlos recordaba esto como un «desafío» planteado por Francia, Inglaterra, Venecia y el Papa, «a cuyo desafío respondió Su Magestad» (*CDCV*, IV, 493).

62. *CSPSp*, III/I, 905-922, Carlos a Clemente, 17 de septiembre de 1526; *LCK*, I, 219-221, Carlos a Clemente, 18 de septiembre de 1526; Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 90-92, Castiglione a Capua, 20 de septiembre de 1526. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 178-179, establece una concordancia entre los intercambios publicados entre Carlos y Clemente y los escritos redactados por Gattinara, Valdés y otros en ese momento.

63. *KFF*, I, 486-492, Carlos a Fernando, 23 de noviembre de 1526 (también en *LCK*, I, 224-228); *CDCV* I, 117-119, consulta del Consejo de Estado sobre qué hacer a raíz de las noticias de Mohács, sin fechar, pero poco después de que el 13 de noviembre llegara la carta de Fernando. Carlos le dijo a su hermano que había recibido informaciones del desastre con anterioridad, pero que no las había creído (cfr. *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/2, 1153, Lee a Enrique, 1 de noviembre de 1526, contiene un relato completo).

64. BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/232, Navagero a la Señoría, 2 de diciembre de 1526, informando de indiscreciones del nuncio acerca de su reciente audiencia (resumen en inglés en *CSPV*, III, 620-3). Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 125-127, Castiglione a Capua, 2 de diciembre de 1526, omite los comentarios autodegradantes.

65. RAH *Salazar,* A-40/147-148, Pérez a Carlos, 14 de febrero de 1527.

66. *KFF*, II/1, 26-28, Carlos a Fernando, 6 de marzo de 1527. RAH *Salazar* A-40/212-220, Nájera a Carlos, Roma, 3 de marzo de 1527 (nótese el uso por parte de Borbón de la «strada Romana andando hazia Bolonia»).

67. AGS *E* 847/180-181, Francisco de Salazar a Gattinara, 18 de mayo de 1527.

68. AGS *E* 847/180-181, *ut sup*.; Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 163-167, Juan Pérez y Lope de Soria a Carlos, 18 y 25 de mayo de 1527; *KFF*, II/1, 81-83 y 85-88, Fernando a Carlos, 30 y 31 de mayo de 1527.

69. Fontán y Axer, *Españoles,* 201-206, Dantisco a Segismundo, 17 de agosto de 1527, y BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.IV/166-168v, Lee a Wolsey, 27 de junio de 1527 (ambos describen una audiencia imperial celebrada el 25 de junio).

70. HHStA *Belgien* P. A. 66/3/281, Carlos a Borbón, 7 de junio de 1527, minuta, cursiva añadida. (Aunque Mignet, *La rivalité*, II, 330-331, cita fragmentos de esta carta, él une pasajes que están separados en el documento, y da la incorrecta fecha del 6 de junio). Varias semanas antes, Navagero especulaba correctamente con que Carlos había ordenado a Borbón atacar Roma: BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/260v-3v, a la Señoría, 12 de mayo de 1527; mientras que poco antes de comenzar su marcha hacia Roma el propio Borbón escribió sobre la «impresa» que Carlos le había encargado: RAH *Salazar* A-40/151, Borbón a Soria, 15 de febrero de 1527, copia. Charvet, *Lettres et documents,* 131-132, Agrippa von Nettesheim a Borbón, Lyon, 30 de marzo de 1527, desvelaba que el duque ya había confiado su plan de «derribar esos orgullosos muros tras unos días de asedio»; y Charvet indica que esta información procedía de Eustache Chapuys, quien hacía de mensajero entre Borbón y Carlos V (ibíd., 132-134).

71. Halkin y Dansaert, *Charles de Lannoy*, 324-327, Instrucciones de Carlos a Veyré, 21 de julio de 1527.

72. *LCK*, I, 248-256, Veyré a Carlos, Nápoles, 30 de septiembre de 1527.

73. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, V, 87-99, Tratado de Amiens, 18 de agosto de 1527 (confirmando los términos de tratados anteriores acordados en Moor en agosto de 1525 y en Westminster en abril de 1527).

74. *LCK*, I, 235-248, Leyva a Carlos, 20 de julio de 1527, con posdatas hasta el 4 de agosto.

75. RAH *Salazar* A-41/1-3, Instrucciones de Hernando de Alarcón a Alonso Gayoso, su enviado a Carlos, Roma, 1 de diciembre de 1527 (publicadas en Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias para la historia del asalto*, 229-234, pero fechada en junio de 1527); Muratori, *Delle antichità*, II, 341-352, «Capitoli della Lega stabilità… per la liberazione d'esso Papa Clemente», 15 de noviembre de 1527.

76. BAV *Vat. Lat*., 6753/283, Navagero a la Señoría, 1 de agosto de 1527 («Cesare di natura è longo»: resumen inglés en *CSPV*, IV, 81); *KFF*, II/1, 119-123, Carlos a Fernando, 8 de septiembre de 1527.

77. Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II y su tiempo*, 621-622, Carlos a Úbeda y a Barcelona, 21 y 23 de mayo de 1527.

78. *RVEC*, 359, Salinas a Fernando, 28 de mayo de 1527; Diego Hernández, *Obra nuevamente compuesta sobre el nascimiento del sereníssimo príncipe Don Felipe hijo de las cesareas y cathólicas magestades*, 1527, publicado y comentado en Gillet, «Hernández-Santillana». Véase también el relato de los *autos* del bautismo organizados por Carlos en March, *Niñez y Juventud*, I, 27-40.

79. *RVEC*, 363-371 y 387-389, Salinas a Fernando, 19 de agosto y 23 de noviembre de 1527.

80. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.IV/94-96v, Ghinucci a Wolsey, 16 de abril de 1527 («visus est ultra solitum tristis, turbatus et asper»); Vespasian C.IV/145-152, Ghinucci, Poyntz y Lee a Wolsey, 17 de julio de 1527; y BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/295-7v y 300, Navagero a la Señoría, 25 de octubre y 17 de noviembre de 1527 (resumen inglés en *CSPV*, IV, 102-105).

81. Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 207-210, Dantisco a Segismundo, 29 de enero de 1528 (citando a Cicerón, *De inventione*, I, 71.)

82. Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 207-210, Dantisco a Segismundo, 29 de enero de 1528 (traducción parcial al español del original latino en *Acta Tomiciana,* X, 61-65 (la palabra clave era «diffidatio»); *PEG*, I, 310-321, «Declaration de Guerre», 22 de enero de 1528 (cita tomada de pp. 319-320).

83. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVIII, cols. 149-150, Zuan Negro, secretario del embajador veneciano, a su padre, 1 de junio de 1528; RAH *Sal* A42/80, cédula de Carlos al gobernador de Cerdeña y el Rosellón, 22 de enero de 1528, minuta. Sobre el descorazonador tratamiento de la princesa, véase Pascual Barroso, *Dos niños príncipes*.

84. *KFF*, II/1, 176-185, Instrucciones de Carlos a Guillermo de Montfort, su enviado a Margarita y Fernando, 31 de enero de 1528.

85. Arfaioli, *The Black Bands*, 36 y 99-100 (citando la *Historie* de Paolo Giovio). La prueba de que sus enemigos habían detectado correctamente las prioridades estratégicas de Carlos en aquel momento la encontramos en *KFF*, II/1, 148-152, Carlos a Fernando, 21 de noviembre de 1527, copia de ológrafo: si tanto Milán como Nápoles están «en eminent peril, j'aime mieulx secourir et remedier en Naples, qu'est du patrimoine de noz predecesseurs, que non pas ledit Millan que n'est de nostre heritage».

86. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVII, cols. 26-27, Ludovico Ceresara al marqués de Mantua, 25 de febrero de 1528.

87. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVII, col. 389, Pompeo Colonna a Lorenzo Campeggio, Gaeta, 1 de mayo de 1528. Arfaioli, *The Black Bands*, 198-203 ofrece el mejor relato de la batalla y sus consecuencias.

88. *PEG*, I, 576-577, traducción española de Carlos a Jehan de Calvymont, embajador «estant à présent à Poza en Castille», 18 de marzo de 1528 (original francés en ibíd., 349-350).

89. *PEG*, I, 350-359, «Audience de congé» concedida por Francisco a Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, 28 de marzo de 1528 (publicada también por *LCK*, I, 265-270), e ibíd., 372-374, «cartel» de Francisco, entregado en francés y en español.

90. Bornate, «Historia», 362 (Boone, *Mercurino*, 131, traduce mal «Catellanis» por «castellanos» en lugar de «Catalans»); *RVEC*, 392-398, Salinas a Fernando, 4 de febrero de 1528. García Martínez, «Estudio», 130-131, señala que el cronista valenciano

Martín de Viciana dedicó «*casi la mitad del espacio reservado a las gestas imperiales*» al «*caballeresco asunto del desafío con Francisco I, prueba inequívoca que el affaire apasionó a los contemporáneos*».

91. *RVEC*, 404-410, Salinas a Fernando, 8 de julio de 1528.

92. AGS *E* 8815/24-26, consulta del Consejo Real a Carlos, 20 de junio de 1528, y f. 29, Tavera, presidente del Consejo, a Carlos, 12 de junio de 1528.

93. AGS *E* 8815, Infantado a Carlos, 20 de junio de 1528 (copia en *PEG*, I, 384-387). Este tomo contiene las cartas con consejos enviadas a Carlos por 42 nobles, ciudades y prelados de Castilla, así como por su consejo, casi todas ológrafas; *CODOIN*, I, 47-95, publicó copias de la mayoría de ellas. Véase también *CWE*, XIV, 258-261 (n.º 2024), Schets a Erasmo, Amberes, 14 de agosto de 1528, por la rotunda desaprobación de la comunidad comerciante, que consideraba el recurso a un único combate para decidir los asuntos de Estado «algo casi insólito y absolutamente impropio de tales príncipes».

94. *LCK* 405-411, cartel de desafío de Carlos V e instrucciones a «Borgoña», 24 de junio de 1528; BMECB, *Mémoires de Granvelle*, I, 149, Carlos al barón de Montfort, 19 de julio de 1528, copia de una posdata ológrafa («N'obliez d'amener Colman avec estouffe et ouvriers, si d'avanture il me falloit combattre»); probablemente Helmschmid y su equipo se esforzaban por «ajustar» una de las guarniciones que ya habían fabricado para Carlos, dado que no tenían tiempo para hacer una nueva).

95. BNF F. *f.* 3001/15, Francisco a Anne, duque de Montmorency, Fontainebleau, 28 de julio de 1528.

8. Adalid del mundo occidental, 1528-1531

1. ASMa *AG CE Napoli e Sicilia* 810/125, Lautrec al marqués de Mantua, «Da campo apresso Napoli», 1 de junio de 1528. Agradezco a Maurizio Arfaioli esta referencia.

2. Robert, «Philibert de Chalon», XXXIX, 174-181, Carlos al príncipe de Orange, 19 de julio de 1528; BL *Addl. Ms.* 28.577/269-277, artículos acordados con Doria el 19 de julio, aprobados por el Consejo Real el 10 de agosto y firmados por Carlos al día siguiente. Carlos solo había otorgado plenos poderes de este tipo en una ocasión anterior: a los que se encargaron de su elección como rey de Romanos en 1519.

3. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XLVIII, cols. 478-480, «Capitoli et conventione afirmati» entre el príncipe de Orange y el marqués de Saluzzo, Aversa, 30 de agosto de 1528.

4. Arfaioli, *The Black Bands*, 165. El relato del asedio de Arfaioli («Véase Nápoles y después morir»: ibíd., 115-162) es la mejor fuente a nuestro alcance.

5. *CDCV*, IV, 495 *(Memorias)*; Keniston, *Memorias*, 171 (Sancho Cota).

6. *KFF*, I, 277-281, Carlos a Fernando, 26 de marzo de 1525; BAV *Vat. Lat.*, 6753/264-265v, Navagero a la Señoría, 23 de mayo de 1527; Firpo, *Relazioni*, III, 60, «Relazione» de Federico Badoer, febrero de 1557 (el destacado es mío). Véase también la opinión similar de un embajador florentino: ASF *MdP* 4301/209-213, Ricasole al duque Cosimo, 27 de septiembre de 1543.

7. Bornate, «Historia», 545-548, De Leyva a Carlos, 7 de enero de 1529; Barrenechea, Raúl, *Las relaciones*, 38-40, licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa a Carlos, 21 de julio de 1533; Von Druffel, *Briefe*, II, 835-838, Perrenot a María de Hungría, del «campamento frente a Metz», 16 de diciembre de 1552.

8. ASMo *CD Italia* 9, sin foliar, Girolamo Naselli al duque de Ferrara, Nápoles, 31 de agosto de 1528 (mi agradecimiento a Maurizio Arfaioli por esta referencia y por recordarme la importancia de la «Fortuna Caesaria»); AGS *E* 848/64-65, Praet y Mai a Carlos, Roma, 12 de agosto de 1529. Véanse más ejemplos de la influencia de la fortuna sobre los asuntos humanos en Crouzet, *Charles de Bourbon*, 154-162 y 191-199.

9. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 102-107, Aleandro a Sanga, 25 de marzo de 1532; Friedensburg, «Karl V», 76-81, Giovanni Michele al Consejo de los Diez, diciembre de 1551, relato de las indiscreciones de Maximiliano; *NBD*, XIII, 116-121, el nuncio Camaiani al cardenal del Monte, 16 de septiembre de 1552, posdata codificada. Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie del svo tempo*, cubre el reinado de Carlos, tiene más de 50 referencias a la influencia de la «fortuna».

10. Boone, *Mercurino*, 132 (la *Autobiografía* de Gattinara, al parecer, citando sus Instrucciones ológrafas al príncipe de Orange, 29 de diciembre de 1537: «si a Dios complace darnos la victoria… no perdamos el fruto, como hicimos con otras victorias en el pasado»: HHStA, *Belgien PA* 66/4/379-382v); RAH *Salazar* A-43/184-189, Alonso Sánchez a Carlos, 21 de septiembre de 1528.

11. Leva, *Storia documentata*, II, 503, Contarini a la Señoría, 27 de julio de 1528; AGS *Estado* 848/36, Mai a Carlos, Roma, 11 de mayo de 1529, informando de su audiencia del 24 de abril (impresa en parte, con algunos errores, por Heine, *Briefe*, 520-521; *LCK*, I, 296-298, Carlos a Clemente, abril de 1529, copia de original ológrafo; AGS *Estado* 848/14, Mai a Carlos, Roma, 8 de junio de 1529 (informando de la declaración de Clemente).

12. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 1-7, «Tractatus confoederationis inter Carolum V… & Clementem VII», Barcelona, 29 de junio de 1529; AGS *E* 848/5-6, Breve del papa Clemente VII, 6 de agosto de 1529; *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/3, 2583-2584, embajadores ingleses en Roma a Wolsey, 16 de julio de 1529.

13. *PEG*, I, 427-432, Instrucciones de Carlos a M. de Balançon, septiembre de 1528, copia de ológrafo (este documento pudo ser redactado inmediatamente después del «Razonamiento que hizo el emperador a su Consejo» el 16 de septiembre de 1528, expertamente analizado por Brandi, junto con otros documentos relacionados, en «Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen Karls V», 229-235); *KFF*, II/1, 295-308 y 335-346, Instrucciones de Carlos al barón Montfort, 8 y 28 de noviembre de 1528 (el último sustituía al primero).

14. Sanuto, *I diarii*, L, cols. 279-281, el embajador Malatesta al marqués de Mantua, 24 de febrero de 1529; *RVEC*, 424-430, Salinas a Fernando, 3 de abril de 1529.

15. Sanuto, *I diarii*, L, cols. 63-64, carta de Giovanni Battista Grimaldi a la compañía Grimaldi de Génova, 10 de febrero de 1529. *CDCV*, I, 137-154, publica varios documentos e instrucciones firmados por Carlos el 8 de marzo de 1529. Del testamento que firmó aquel día no ha sobrevivido ninguna copia; sabemos de su existencia porque su tía Margarita hizo acuse de recibo de una de ellas.

16. Boone, *Mercurino*, 135. Sanuto, *I diarii*, L, cols. 63-64, Grimaldi a la Compañía Grimaldi, 10 de febrero de 1529, e ibíd., 279-281, Malatesta a Mantua, 22 de marzo de 1529, ambos con la anotación «primogeniti».

17. RAH *Salazar* A-44/37-41, Carlos a Leyva, 16 de febrero de 1529, borrador escrito por Gattinara, con abundantes correcciones.

18. *KFF*, II/2, 386-390, Instrucciones de Carlos a Montfort, su enviado especial ante Fernando, 3 de abril de 1529; AGS *E* 267/161-163, «Traslado de los capítulos que se enviaron a Don Ugo de Moncada, y después de su fallecimiento al príncipe de Oranges», en Nápoles, fechadas originalmente el 19 de abril de 1529, pero revisadas el 16 de mayo de 1529, minuta. Carlos envió instrucciones similares a Leyva y otros ministros en Lombardía.

19. Boone, *Mercurino*, 136, Autobiografía de Gattinara.

20. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LI, cols. 399-403, «Raporto», 20 de agosto de 1529; Boom, «Voyage», 62. Un vistazo a «Austria, Carlo di» en el índice de Sanuto, vol. 50, que abarca de marzo a junio de 1529, revela que los embajadores venecianos estaban obsesionados con cuándo y de hecho si Carlos viajaría a Italia, y las posibles consecuencias de ello.

21. *KFF*, II/I, 315-317, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de noviembre de 1528 (publicado también en *LCK*, I, 291-292, y Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 675-676); RAH *Salazar*, A-44/37-41, Carlos a Leyva, 16 de febrero de 1529 (si bien con una posdata una semana más tarde en la que declaraba que si alguna vez Francisco se encontraba en Italia «podria ser, encontrándolo, acabaríamos lo de su desaffyo». HSA *B* 2854, Carlos a Enrique VIII, 31 de octubre de 1528 (borrador en AGS *E* 16/285), es una de las cartas enviadas a otros «reyes y príncipes».

22. *L & P Henry VIII*, IV/2, 1918, Tratado de Hampton Court, 15 de junio de 1528 (resumen); Dumont, *Corps*, IV/1, 514-515, Tratado de Gorcum, 3 de octubre de 1528 (parcial).

23. Gachard, «Charles», 567 n., Carlos a Margarita, 15 de octubre de 1528; BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.IX/220-221, Carlos nombra a Margarita su «procuratrix, générale, spéciale et irrevocable» en las conversaciones de paz, 8 de abril de 1529, copia notarial (texto publicado en *Ordonnances des rois de France: François*, V/2, 253-254, seguido del poder paralelo otorgado por Francisco a Luisa, 2 de junio de 1529).

24. *Ordonnances des rois de France: François*, V/2, 221-256, y Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 7-17, paz de Cambrai, 5 de agosto de 1529, con el Tratado de Madrid inserto (aunque no impreso).

25. AGS *GA* 2/29-30, Carlos a la emperatriz, Génova, 30 de agosto de 1529; Le Glay, *Négociations*, II, 693-697, Praet a Granvela, 31 de agosto de 1529.

26. *Ordonnances des rois de France: François*, V/2, 276-278, y Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 52-53, «Protestation» de Francisco contra la paz de Cambrai ante el Parlamento de París, 16 de noviembre de 1529.

27. AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.457 D.43, «Sentencia del Condestable» sobre Juan de Jalón, quien intentó liberar a los príncipes, 28 de mayo de 1529 (Jalón fue ejecutado el día siguiente); AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.26, Carlos al condestable de Castilla y marqués de Berlanga, Palamós, 1 de agosto de 1529; *CDCV*, I, 186, Margarita a la emperatriz, 15 de diciembre de 1529; AGS *GA* 2/29-30, Carlos a la emperatriz, 30 de agosto de 1529; y AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.27, la emperatriz a Berlanga, 27 de septiembre de 1529 (trasladando las órdenes de su marido palabra a palabra).

28. AGS *CMC* 1a/590/1, «Cuenta de Álvaro de Lugo» por el «rescate que rescibió por los hijos del rrey de França», deja constancia de las monedas extra. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 344-345, Andrea Corsoni a Guido Rangon, Bayona, 2 de julio de 1530, registró el «infiniti sagi» de las monedas antes de que los rehenes fueran liberados.

29. *KFF*, II/2, 484-489, Carlos a Ferdinand, Voghera, 5 de septiembre de 1529; y 473-476, Instrucciones de Fernando al conde Noguerol, Linz, 18 de agosto de 1529 (publicadas también en *CDCV*, I, 159-161).

30. *CWE*, XVIII, 19-22 (n.º 2481), Erasmo, *Opus epistolarum*, IX, 254, Erasmo a Bernard Boerio, 11 de abril de 1531. Seis décadas más tarde, el cronista portugués Diogo do Couto abundaba en la idea de los «gemelos» afirmando que Solimán «sucedeo no Imperio Otthomano o mesmo dia em que o invencivel emperador Carlos V foi coroado por emperador», pero de hecho Solimán ascendió al poder el 1 de octubre de 1520, mientras que la coronación de Carlos como rey de Romanos (no como emperador) tuvo lugar el día 23. Lima Cruz, *Diogo do Couto*, I, 191-192 (década VIII, libro III, cap. 1). Mi agradecimiento a Sanjay Subrahmanyam y Jane Hathaway por estos datos.

31. *LCK*, I, 66-68, Carlos a La Chaulx (su enviado especial en Roma), y Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 151, Carlos y Margarita, ambas desde Palencia, 25 de agosto de 1522.

32. Gachard, «Charles», 573, Carlos a Margarita, 23 de septiembre de 1529; *KFF*, II/2, 499-509, Instrucciones de Carlos para Noguerol, de vuelta a Fernando, 23 de septiembre de 1529.

33. AGS *E* 1555/130 y 131, Carlos a de Praet y Mai, 16 y 20 de septiembre de 1529; AGS *E* 848/7, Instrucciones de Carlos al arzobispo de Bari, de camino al encuentro con el Papa, 9 de octubre de 1529.

34. Gachard, «Charles», 575 n. 1, Carlos a Margarita, 16 de noviembre de 1529. Véase también AGS *E* 1454/171, Gattinara a Carlos, 1 de noviembre de 1529, escrito nada más llegar la buena noticia de Viena: «Syendo el turco retirado, y no siendo tan necesaria la yda de Vuestra Magestad en Alemania tan presto», el emperador debería primero «assenta las cosas de Italia».

35. Detalles de Giordano, *Della venuta*, 24-37; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols. 180-181, Gaspar Contarini a la Señoría, Bolonia, 5 y 6 de noviembre de 1529. Sanuto, *op. cit.*, cols. 182-199, incluye otros relatos presenciales del «triunfo»; Stirling-Maxwell, *Entry*,

vuelto a publicar con un comentario de un conjunto de 16 imágenes de la entrada de Carlos en Venecia en 1530. En 1515, Francisco y el papa León también habían cohabitado durante su reunión tras Marignano.

36. Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2.ª serie III, 255-274, Relazione di Gasparo Contarini, 4 de marzo de 1530 (citas de 264 y 269); AGS *PR* 16/96, «Las cosas que Su Magestad ha de tener memoria para hablar y suplicar a Su Santidad son las siguientes», sin fecha, pero finales de 1529 (Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 248-249, publicó este texto con algunos errores y sin las anotaciones de Carlos; *CSPSp*, IV, 239, ofrece un resumen que contiene importantes inexactitudes y el número de catálogo equivocado). Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble coronación*, cap. XI, enumera las fechas de las reuniones secretas.

37. Laurent, *Recueil*, III, 3-4, Indulto papal, Bolonia, 20 de febrero de 1530; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 53-58, tratado de alianza, y Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols. 422-432, tratados de Carlos con Sforza y con Venecia, ambos en Bolonia, 23 de diciembre de 1529. Florencia continuó sin reconciliarse porque sus líderes republicanos se negaron a admitir el gobierno Médici.

38. BL *Addl Ms.* 28.579/288-291, Los Cobos a la emperatriz, 28 de diciembre [1529]; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, 308-309, carta de Federico, secretario del delegado papal en Venecia, a su señor, 20 [*recte* 26] de diciembre de 1529.

39. *KFF*, II/2, 549-563, Carlos a Fernando, 11 de enero de 1530, minuta con correcciones ológrafas (publicada también en *LCK,* I, 360-373). Todas las citas siguientes proceden de este documento.

40. Tracy, *Emperor Charles*, 128.

41. AGS *E* 1454/170, Gattinara a Carlos, 29 de octubre de 1529. (*CSPSp*, IV, 319-320, afirma que Gattinara se refería al emperador Federico Barbarroja, pero esto no es correcto: véase Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, 622-624, «Copia di una lettera» sobre la coronación de Federico III en 1452).

42. Detalles de Stirling-Maxwell, *The procession* (con reproducción de los grabados conmemorativos realizados por Hogenberg). Otros detalles en Boom, «Voyage», 92; y las fuentes publicadas en Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble coronación*, parte IX.

43. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols. 603-679 (fo. 423-448 de su recopilación anual); y Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal* (especialmente el «Repertorio iconográfico», en pp. 247-375).

44. Borrás Gualis, *La imagen triunfal*, 32-34 (proyectos propuestos que nunca se realizaron); Bodart, *Tiziano*, 209, embajador Leonardi al duque de Urbino, 18 de marzo de 1530, informando de la queja de su colega de Mantua. En pp. 61-65, Bodart comentaba esta declaración, que podría simplemente reflejar decepción por el hecho de que Carlos (todavía) no había hecho los honores al marqués de Mantua, pero concluía diciendo que otras quejas por la «estrema avaritia» del emperador avalaban la afirmación del embajador.

45. *RVEC*, 483-485 y 492-494, Salinas a Fernando, 28 de marzo y 24 de abril de 1530. Bodart, «Algunos casos», 18, grabado impreso del monumento, que ya no existe.

46. *LWB*, II, 306-310 (n.o 401), Lutero a Carlos, 28 de abril de 1521 (con una carta similar escrita el mismo día, en latín y en alemán, a los «electores, príncipes y Estados», en pp. 310-318, n.o 402); Laurent, *Recueil*, II, 578-583, Ordenanza publicada el 14 de octubre de 1529 (la lista incluía a tres reformadores fallecidos hacía largo tiempo: Marsilio de Padua, Wyclif y Hus; Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 1-9, «Reichstagsausschreiben» de Carlos V, Bolonia, 21 de enero de 1530.

47. *LWB*, V, 366-370 (n.o 590), Justas Jonas a Lutero, 18 de junio de 1530, y Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 318-319, Paxin Berecio a Thomas Tiepolo, 16 de junio de 1530, donde se describen las procesiones. La «Protesta» fue presentada en una reunión de protestantes luteranos el 19 de abril de 1529.

48. Boone, *Mercurino*, 69.

49. Heine, *Briefe*, 355-357, Loaysa a Carlos, 6 de julio de 1530 (también impreso en *CODOIN*, XIV, 36-39). Nieva Ocampo, «El confesor», 661-662, documentaba la rivalidad entre Gattinara y Loaysa; Martínez Pérez, *El confessor*, 207-238, escribió una crónica de la vida y la época de Loaysa.

50. Heine, *Briefe*, 357-359, Loaysa a Carlos, 18 de julio de 1530 (también publicadas en *CODOIN*, XIV, 43-45).

51. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530-1531*, 60-61 y 63-74, Campeggio a Salviati, 14 y 26 de junio de 1530; *LWB*, V, 383-384 (n.o 1598), Andreas Osiander a Lutero, 21 de junio de 1530 (Osiander escribió la carta en latín, pero utilizó palabras alemanas para el arrebato de Carlos: «Cesarem respondisse, "Nicht kopf abhauen! Nicht kopf abhauen!"», Carlos se dirigía al margrave Jorge de Brandeburgo-Ansbach.)

52. *CWE*, XVI, 343-345 (n.o 2.333), Simon Pistoris a Erasmo, Augsburgo, 27 de junio de 1530; *LWB*, V, 453-459 (n.o 1.633), Lutero al elector Juan, 9 de julio de 1530; Spalatin, citado por Roper en *Martin Luther*, 314.

53. Heine, *Briefe*, 359-362, Loaysa a Carlos, 31 de julio de 1530 (publicado también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 52-55); *CR*, II, cols. 245-246, Brenz a Isenmann, 4 de agosto de 1530; véase también una opinión discrepante en *LWB*, V, 426-429 (n.o 1618), Jonas a Lutero, c. 30 de junio de 1530: «Satis attentus erat Caesar», durante la lectura de la Confesión.

54. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 384 y 504-505, Marco Antonio Magno a Marco Contarini, 20 de julio de 1530 (sobre los banquetes) y 9 de agosto de 1530 (sobre las amenazas); e ibíd., cols. 474-475, Paxin Berecio y Niccolò Tiepolo a Thomas Tiepolo, 7 y 10 de agosto de 1530.

55. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 428-429, Benedeto de Rani a Francesco di Contissi da Faenza, 2 de agosto de 1530; Heine, *Briefe*, 377-378, Loaysa a Carlos, 8 de octubre de 1530 (también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 88-91).

56. AGS *E* 1558/62, Carlos a Loaysa, 20 de octubre de 1530, minuta (con la patética frase desde «por estar» a «grand fuerça» tachada y sustituida por «demás de ser el tiempo muy contrario»); Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 715-725 y 839-841, Reichsabschied, Augsburgo, 13 de octubre y 19 de noviembre de 1530.

57. Roper, *Martin Luther*, 339.

58. *CDCV*, I, 247-250, Carlos a Clemente, sin fecha [pero 30 de octubre de 1530], copia del ológrafo enviado con don Pedro de la Cueva; AGS *E* 849/6, La Cueva a Carlos, Roma, 17 de noviembre de 1530.

59. AGS *CMC* 1a/590, «Cuenta de Álvaro de Luna», cédula fechada en Augsburgo el 4 de agosto de 1530, autorizando el pago de 200.000 al representante especial de Fernando; *CDCV*, I, 256-259, Carlos a la emperatriz, 6 de diciembre de 1530, donde explica el propósito; Lanz, *Staatspapieren*, 50-53, cálculo del coste probable de la elección, sin fechar (pero a finales de 1530). Kohler, *Antihabsburgische Politik*, 132-159, enumera pagos de casi 500.000 florines a los electores.

60. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols. 268-272, Sigismondo de la Torre, embajador de Mantua, al duque, 11 de enero de 1531.

61. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 378-379 Margarita a Carlos, 30 de noviembre de 1530; Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 73, Codicilo del testamento de Margarita, 28 de noviembre de 1530.

62. Gachard, *Collection de documens*, I, 293-294, Carlos al conde Hoogstraeten, 3 de diciembre de 1530, y 296-269, Hoogstraeten y el arzobispo de Palermo a Carlos, 8 de diciembre de 1530.

63. *CMH*, I, 15-20, Carlos a María, 3 de enero de 1531, ológrafo (también publicado en Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 381-386). Carlos pidió perdón por no haberle formulado la pregunta mientras estuvieron juntos en Augsburgo, pero al parecer se equivocaba: el resumen de la carta por parte de la reina menciona «les ofres que luy ay faites a Augsburg» (ibíd., 20), y ella también le comentó a Fernando, al enterarse de la muerte de Margarita, «J'ay en bonne memoire *l'ofre que ay fait* tant à l'empereur que à vous» en Augsburgo, «que vous voroie servir et obeir» (*KFF*, II/2, María a Fernando, 26 de diciembre de 1530, cursiva añadida).

64. AGS *Estado* 496/94, doctor Escoriaza a la emperatriz, Bruselas, 29 de enero (con la anotación de «1530», pero se trata evidentemente de 1531); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols. 430-432, La Torre al duque de Mantua, 26 de abril de 1531.

65. AGS *E* 8335/109, María de Hungría a Felipe II, 4 de septiembre de 1558, copia, hablando de la situación en 1531; Tracy, *Emperor*, 90, citando las Resoluciones de los Estados de los Países Bajos, 29 de marzo de 1531.

66. *KFF*, III/II, 280-295, Carlos a Fernando, 1 de octubre de 1531, donde afirma que algunos de sus funcionarios «cryent le murdre sur moy», una afirmación muy grave. Su carta concluía diciendo: «No deseo que estos detalles sean escritos por ninguna mano salvo la mía, ni a nadie salvo vos. Os ruego por tanto que guardéis esta carta en algún sitio donde nadie más la pueda ver». Compárese con una orden similar dada a su hijo respecto a las Instrucciones de 1543 (capítulo 11).

67. *CMH*, I, XIV, Carlos a María, 1 de febrero de 1533, resumido por la reina. Laurent, *Recueil*, III, 236-254 y 260-279, contiene los numerosos y detallados encargos e instrucciones referentes al gobierno regente de los Países Bajos firmadas por Carlos entre el 27 de septiembre y el 7 de octubre de 1531. Henne, *Histoire*, V, cap. 18, hace un repaso de las actividades de Carlos en los Países Bajos entre 1531 y 1532.

68. *KFF*, III/1, 89-100 y 129-135, Carlos a Fernando, 3 de abril, 16 y 21 de mayo de 1531, todas ológrafas (publicadas también en *LCK*, I, 429-436 y 456-457); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, col. 501, Tiepolo a la Señoría, 1 de julio de 1531, y 566-568, La Torre al duque de Mantua, 7 de agosto de 1531.

69. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530-1531*, 399-404, Alejandro a Salviati y Sanga, 14 de noviembre de 1531 (dos cartas); *KFF*, III/1, 152-156 1 y 183-90, y III/3, Carlos a Fernando, 14 de junio y 7 de julio de 1531 (también publicado en Lanz, I, 479-484 y 490-494), y 3 de enero de 1532, todas ológrafas.

Retrato del emperador como un príncipe del Renacimiento

1. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 375-376, resumen de las deliberaciones del 20.º capítulo de la Orden celebrado en Tournai en diciembre de 1531 realizado por el secretario de la misma.

2. Brandi, *Berichte und Studien*, XIX, 190-192, documento de asesoramiento presentado por Gattinara a finales de 1523, con comentarios del Consejo Real y de Carlos (Gossart, *Notes*, 100-119, publica también este importante documento, pero a partir de una copia imperfecta); Boone, *Mercurino*, 112-213 (de la Autobiografía de Gattinara correspondiente a 1526); BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/260-263v, Navagero a la Señoría, 12 de mayo de 1527.

3. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, 441-443, Margarita a Berghes, 14 o 15 de noviembre de 1521, minuta ológrafa; BNMV *Ms. Italiani,* Classe VII, cod. 1009/399, Contarini al Consejo de los Diez, 4 de diciembre de 1524, donde comunica el informe de un espía respecto al intercambio de Carlos con el nuncio; AGRB *MD* 156/126, La Roche a Margarita, 17 de enero de 1524.

4. *CMH*, I, 89-92, Carlos a María, 18 de febrero de 1532, ológrafo (el ministro rechazado, Jean de le Sauch, tenía desde luego sus propias ideas). Cauchies, «No tyenen», 128, hacía referencia a la muerte, en la década de 1520, de casi todos los que podían ejercer algún control sobre Carlos: Chièvres en 1521, La Roche en 1524, Lannoy en 1527, Gorrevod en 1529, y Lachaulx, Margarita y Gattinara en 1530.

5. *CWE*, IX, 441-452, Erasmo a Udalricus Zasius [23 de marzo], 1523; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C.II/106-120, Boleyn y Sampson a Wolsey, 8 y 18 de marzo de 1523.

6. Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 11-17, 29-33, Castiglione al arzobispo de Capua, secretario papal de Estado, 19 de enero y 24 de marzo de 1526 (donde señala también que Carlos «es tenaz en sus opiniones»; *CWE*, XV, 255-261, Valdés a Erasmo, 15 de mayo de 1529. Al final, Valdés fue exonerado y su principal acusador, Jean Lallemand (otro secretario), expulsado de la corte.

7. BMECB, *Mémoires de Granvelle*, I, 151-155, Carlos a Montfort, 16 de noviembre y 23 de diciembre de 1528, ambas ológrafas, e ídem, fo. 172-177, Instrucciones a Balançon, septiembre de 1528, copia de carta ológrafa (impresa con algunos errores en *PEG*, I, 427-447). StirlingMaxwell, *The chief victories*, 76-77, publicó un facsímil de la primera carta junto con una transcripción imperfecta de la misma.

8. BMECB, *Mémoires de Granvelle*, I, 153-160, Carlos a Montfort, 23 de diciembre de 1528 y 24 de enero de 1529, ambas ológrafas (publicadas con algunos errores en *PEG*, I, 441-447).

9. Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2.ª serie III, 255-274, Relazione di Gasparo Contarini, 4 de marzo de 1530 (citas en páginas 269-270); Walser, «Spanien und Karl V», 167-173, Tavera a Carlos, enero de 1535; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 203-204, Relazione di Niccolò Tiepolo, 23 de agosto de 1533.

10. Gachard, «Notice des archives de M. le duc de Caraman», 243-244, donde se describe un Registro llevado por el barón Boussu, del 1 de agosto de 1530 al 31 de enero de 1532, firmado personalmente por Carlos al final de cada mes (lamentablemente, el tomo está perdido, al parecer).

11. BL *Cott. Ms.* Ms. Galba B.VII fo. 5-6, Wingfield y Spinelly a Wolsey, 11 de febrero de 1522; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, col. 258, Tiepolo a la Señoría, 30 de noviembre de 1531. Véase también BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.VI/188-190, Spinelly a Wolsey, 19 de junio de 1520. Véase en Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 665-666, Corner a la Señoría, 8 de febrero de 1521; e ibíd., LIV, col. 501, Tiépolo a la Señoría, 1 de julio de 1531, con algunas de las numerosas quejas en el mismo sentido.

12. *CMH*, I, 12-13, Carlos a María, Augsburgo, 18 de junio de 1530, ológrafo; *KFF*, 240-246, Carlos a Fernando, Galapagar, 28 de mayo de 1534.

13. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios reales*, I, 104-129, enumera los 653 libros que eran propiedad de Carlos en mayo de 1536 (Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca*, I, 253-262, comenta los Libros de Horas).

14. Boone, *Mercurino*, 135 (Autobiografía); Poumerède, «Le voyage», 265, cita una queja del embajador de Ferrara, a quien Carlos se negó a ver; BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6753/181v-3, Navagero a la Señoría, Sevilla, 1 de junio de 1526.

15. BNE *Ms*. 18.634 n.º 58 (antes fo. 260-262), «Lo que el Comendador Mayor scrivió a Su Magestad desde Gante con Ydiáquez, estando Su Magestad en Grumendala [Groenendaal], y su respuesta». Aunque sin fechar, queda documentalmente probado que Los Cobos (en Gante) la escribió durante la Semana Santa, y el único año en que él y Carlos estuvieron juntos en los Países Bajos durante la Semana Santa fue 1531. Escribió el «martes» de Semana Santa, que fue el 4 de abril de 1531; Carlos decía en su respuesta que estaba a punto de partir hacia Lovaina, y Foronda; *Viajes*, demuestra que llegó allí el 13 de abril; así que, probablemente, respondió el 11 de abril de 1531. En Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIV, cols. 384-385, el embajador de Mantua al duque, Gante, 4 de abril de 1531, informaba de que Carlos acababa de entrar en Groenendaal y que se quedaría allí una semana. *CDCV*, I, 260-263, publica esta fascinante consulta, aunque con numerosos errores de transcripción y sin fecha de la firma.

16. *CWE*, IX, 137-141, Erasmo a Pierre Barbier [14 de julio de 1522], menciona los contactos de Erasmo con Glapion (véase también *CWE*, IX, 64-68, Erasmo a Glapion [21 de abril], 1521, la única de las cartas que ha sobrevivido). Godin, «La société», 344-359, y Lippens, «Jean Glapion», XLV, 50-57 y 66-69, resumen sus sermones de Cuaresma de 1520 y 1522. Bujanda, *Index*, 186-187, señala la prohibición en 1546 de

la traducción al neerlandés de un libro de peregrinaciones «gemaect by broeder Jan Glappion vander minrebroeder oorden, *der Keyserlijcker maiesteyt Biechtvader*» (cursiva añadida).

17. *RVEC*, 347-355, Salinas a Fernando, 11 de marzo de 1527 (en la misma carta hace referencia dos veces más a «el confesor, en quien de todo se hace [Carlos] principal cuenta y se hará de aquí adelante»).

18. Heine, *Briefe*, 381-382, 450-453 y 494-495, Loaysa a Carlos, 16 de octubre de 1530, 2 de octubre de 1531 y 8 de mayo de 1532 (la segunda publicada también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 221-223).

19. Heine, *Briefe*, 350-352, Loaysa a Carlos, 26 de mayo de 1530 (publicado también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 25-28).

20. Heine, *Briefe*, 403-405, 462-465 y 444-445, Loaysa a Carlos, 20 de diciembre de 1530, 1 de septiembre de 1531 (también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 203-205), y 9 de noviembre de 1531 (también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 242-247).

21. AGS *E* 25/211, Loaysa a Carlos, 7 de marzo de 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, 495-500, del mismo al mismo, 17 de mayo de 1532.

22. Heine, *Briefe*, 390-395, Loaysa a Carlos, 30 de noviembre de 1530 (publicado también en *CODOIN*, XIV, 104-111); *CODOIN*, XIV, 134-136, del mismo al mismo, 27 de marzo de 1531; Heine, *Briefe*, 494-495, del mismo al mismo, 8 de mayo de 1532.

23. AGS *E* 1558/60 y 66, Carlos a Loaysa, 2 de agosto de 1530 y 16 de febrero de 1531. Para más sobre Loaysa, véase Nieva Ocampo, «El confesor».

24. *CMH*, I, 399-401, Carlos a María, 13 de agosto de 1532, ológrafo.

25. Rodríguez-Salgado, «Charles V and the dynasty», 56.

26. Gachard, *Collection*, III, 136 (relato de Vital). Checa Cremades, *Inventarios reales*, 890-893 (por Miguel Ángel Zalama) y 3017-3018 (por Annemarie Jordan Gschwend), documentó el vergonzoso acto a partir del testimonio de un contemporáneo: «El emperador nuestro señor mandó sacar muchas joyas de oro e joyas e piedras que estaban en la cámara de la reina nuestra señora… y de allí tomo lo que su majestad quiso, así para su majestad como para la reina de Portugal» (891-892). Dos años más tarde, Carlos repitió esta conducta, llevándose los tapices y otros artículos de la mermada colección de su madre para ofrecérselos a su esposa como regalo de boda.

27. Tamusio, *Ferrante*, 213-218, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola a Isabella d'Este, 7 de noviembre de 1524.

28. HHStA, *Belgien PA* 2/2/1-12, Instrucciones de Carlos a M. de Lachaulx, 15 de enero de 1522; *KFF*, I, 322-326 y 366-368, Carlos a Fernando, 1 de septiembre de 1525 y 2 de febrero de 1526.

29. *CDCV*, I, 292-294, Carlos a Isabel, 13 de junio de 1531 (el emperador no llegó siquiera a escribir estas palabras él mismo: venían en una carta oficial redactada por Los Cobos, en mitad de una lista de los problemas políticos que iban a mantener al

emperador fuera de España en un futuro próximo); AGS *E* 30/113, Tavera a Carlos, 24 de junio de 1535. Sobre la desolación que la muerte de su hijo Fernando causó a Isabel, véase *RVEC*, 499-502, Salinas a Fernando, 14 de septiembre de 1530.

30. *CDCV*, I, 186, Margarita a Isabel, 15 de diciembre de 1529 (cursiva añadida).

31. *CMH*, I, 221-222 y 447-448, Carlos a María, 7 de mayo y 4 de septiembre de 1532, ológrafa (ninguna de las epístolas ológrafas de Carlos a su esposa parecen haber sobrevivido); Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 99-101 y 262, Isabel a Carlos, 25 de enero de 1530.

32. Rodríguez-Salgado, «Carlos V y la dinastía», 74.

33. Tamusio, *Ferrante*, 259-263, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola a Isabella d'Este, 9 de agosto de 1526 (Carlos salía a montar a caballo cada atardecer «y cuando vuelve va a visitar a su hermana»); HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/2/1-12, Instrucciones de Carlos a M. de Lachaulx, 15 de enero de 1522; GRM, II, 365, Carlos a Felipe, 31 de marzo de 1558. Sobre su carta secreta a Carlos en 1536, véase capítulo 11.

34. Piot, «Correspondance», 109-110, Carlos a Leonor, 18 de diciembre de 1522; GRM, II, 334-335, Carlos a Quixada, 19 de marzo de 1558 (cursiva añadida). Sobre Leonor y Federico véase capítulo 3, más adelante, y Moeller, *Éléonore*; sobre las negociaciones para el matrimonio con Borbón y con Francisco, véase capítulo 8. Los sentimientos de Leonor sobre la forzosa separación de cuatro años de Francisco pueden deducirse a partir de los indiscretos comentarios realizados por la hermana del rey algunos años después: Francisco, le dijo a un embajador, no había dormido con Leonor durante siete meses, porque «cuando se acuesta con ella, no puede dormir; y cuando no se acuesta con ella, duerme como nadie». A lo que yo dije «Señora, ¿y cuál es la causa?». Y ella respondió «Es muy fogosa en la cama y quiere que la abracen mucho» (*L & P Henry VIII*, VI, 308-311, lord Norfolk a Enrique VIII, 19 de junio de 1533).

35. Brandi, «Die Testamente», 104-105, codicilo de Carlos firmado el 21 de junio de 1544, cláusula 9, por el que se capacita a María para decidir el orden sucesorio caso de que tanto él como el príncipe Felipe murieran; *CMH*, I, 15-20, Carlos a María, 3 de enero de 1531, ológrafa.

36. *CMH*, I, 399-401, Carlos a María, 13 de agosto de 1532; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVIII, 71-72, Giovanni Bassadonna (embajador en Milán) a la Señoría, 14 de abril de 1533 (donde informaba del relato de Granvela sobre la equivocación del emperador y la solución que le había dado); Dumont, *Corps universel*, IV/2, 96-98, contrato matrimonial entre Cristina y Sforza, Barcelona, 10 de junio de 1533. Gorter-van Royen, «María», 197-198, señala el contraste entre los poderes otorgados a María y a Isabel.

37. HHStA *Belgien PA* 25/2/235-238v, Carlos a María, 31 de julio de 1533 (transcripciones imperfectas en Leva, *Storia documentata*, III, 121, y Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 235); *LCK*, II, 87-89, María a Carlos, 25 de agosto de 1533, y respuesta de Carlos del 11 de septiembre de 1533. Cartwright, *Christina*, publicó numerosas cartas ológrafas de Cristina a su marido, de las que se deduce que mantuvo una relación cordial durante su breve matrimonio. Carlos concertó más tarde desposarla con el duque de Lorena, con quien tuvo tres hijos. Murió en 1590.

38. AGS *Estado* 8335/109, María a Felipe, 4 de septiembre de 1558, copia enviada a Carlos (GRM, I, 341-352, publicó la carta a partir de una copia inferior, fechada incorrectamente el 7 de septiembre); GRM, II, 495-499, Garcilaso de la Vega a Felipe, 7 de septiembre de 1558; GRM, I, XLIV, Carlos a Juana, 27 de agosto de 1558 (en la que describe su carta a María, al parecer actualmente perdida, dirigida expresamente a vencer su resistencia).

39. *CDCV*, I, 79-80, Carlos a Cisneros, 27 de septiembre de 1517; Keniston, *Memorias*, 151; Fagel, «Don Fernando», 270, Fernando a Carlos, febrero de 1519.

40. *KFF* I, 216-219, 250-253 y 407-421, Carlos a Fernando, 7 de septiembre de 1524, 4 de febrero de 1525 y 27 de julio de 1526.

41. *RVEC*, 667-684, Salinas a Fernando y el secretario Castillejo, 6 de diciembre de 1535. Laferl, «Las relaciones», 112-114, ofrece más ejemplos de regañinas de Carlos a su hermano.

42. *KFF*, I, 312-317, Carlos a Fernando, 20 de julio de 1525 (con posdata escrita el 31 de julio). Cuando Sforza murió una década después, Carlos anexionó el ducado de Milán, frustrando de nuevo las esperanzas de Fernando.

43. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 120-121, Relazione de Contarini, 16 de noviembre de 1525. Véase también Firpo, *Relazioni*, VIII, 34, Relazione de Vicenzo Quirino, 1506: «en todos sus actos» el joven Carlos «se mostraba obstinado y cruel».

44. Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, I, 378-379 Margarita a Carlos, 30 de noviembre de 1530; GRM, II, 113, Leonor a Carlos, noviembre de 1556; *PEG*, IV, 469, María a Carlos, agosto de 1555; Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2-3, relata las conversaciones con Fernando en 1563-1564. El testamento de Germana de Foix, abuelastra de Carlos, en 1536, también dejaba constancia del «sobrado amor que tenemos» a «la Magestad del Emperador, mi señor e hijo»: AGS *PR* 29/59, copia notariada.

45. Viaud, *Lettres*, 107 y 176, Catalina a Carlos, 21 de agosto de 1528 y 31 de enero de 1532.

46. Viaud, *Lettres*, 95, Catalina a Carlos, 25 de abril de 1528; Checa Cremades, *Inventarios reales*, III, 3018-3019 (por Jordan Gschwend). Catalina se opuso a Carlos solo en una ocasión: tras la muerte de su marido en 1557, se aseguró que ella, y no su sobrina Juana, sería la regente de Portugal.

47. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 215-216 y 318-319, Paxin Berecio a Tomás Tiepolo, Innsbruck, 9 de mayo de 1530, y Augsburgo, 16 de junio de 1530; ídem, LIV, cols. 384-385, La Torre al duque de Mantua, 4 de abril de 1531; ídem, LV, cols. 68-69, copia de una carta procedente de Bruselas, 7 de octubre de 1531.

48. García Cerezada, *Tratado* 133; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 212, Relazione de Tiepolo, 23 de agosto de 1533; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols. 209-210, «L'ordine del mangiar de l'imperatore» (sin fechar, pero 1529-1530).

49. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 205-207, Suardino a Mantua, 15 de marzo de 1525; BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/66-67, Navagero a la Señoría, 24 de septiembre de 1525 (cita bíblica en latín); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, col. 505 Camillo Ghilini al duque de

Milán, 28 de julio de 1530 (quizá el embajador exageraba: véase su estallido a este respecto con su hermana María, p. 273).

50. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 95-96, Antonio Zorzi a su hermano, Vicenza, 30 de marzo de 1530; ibíd., LII, cols. 209-210, «L'ordine del mangiar de l'imperatore» (sin fechar, pero 1529-1530).

51. Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, II, 37-40. Redondo, *Antonio*, 330, demostraron que Santa Cruz copió el pasaje de la Crónica no publicada escrita por Guevara entre 1527 y 1536.

52. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 83-150, Relación Final de Contarini, 16 de noviembre de 1525. Véase también Bodart, «Il mento "posticcio"», y comentarios similares en Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXVIII, cols. 203-205, Contarini a la Señoría, 26 de marzo 1525; y LVII, cols. 212-214, informe de Marco Minio y otros diplomáticos a la Señoría, sin fechar, pero noviembre de 1532.

53. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LI, cols. 369-372, carta desde Génova al cardenal de Mantua, 17 de agosto de 1529.

54. Giordano, *Della venuta*, 35 (de una *Cronaca* contemporánea). Giordano, *op. cit.*, Tavolo XII, reproduce medallas conmemorativas de la coronación, en todas las cuales Carlos aparece con barba y cabello rizado y corto. Bodart, «Algunos casos», reproduce y comenta imágenes de Carlos de esta época; Civil, «Enjeux et stratégies», 107-108, compara las descripciones escritas con los retratos de Carlos en torno a 1530.

55. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (edición de 1528), prólogo. Aparecieron 52 capítulos del *Libro áureo* entre los 144 capítulos del *Relox de príncipes*, lo que en efecto les convirtió en una sola obra. La tercera parte, capítulos 3-4 y 12-16, trataban sobre la guerra.

56. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (edición de 1528), prólogo (el ejemplar de regalo del *Libro áureo* se encuentra actualmente en BSLE *Ms.* g-II-14, con un extraño error en la dedicatoria, donde se lee «don Carlos *sexto*»); Guevara, *Relox de príncipes* (edición de 1529), prólogo; Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 176-177, sobre el traspaso a Simancas (como parte de una sección dedicada a «Guevara, el autor preferido del César»).

57. Guevara, *Libro áureo* (edición de 1528), prólogo. Redondo, *Antonio*, 693-694, cita fragmentos de las instrucciones de Carlos a su hijo en 1543 y 1548 que aparentemente recuerdan a las del *Relox* como prueba de que el emperador había leído y asimilado a Guevara, pero todas son generalizaciones que también se encuentran en muchos otros libros del Renacimiento sobre consejos para príncipes.

9. El último cruzado, 1532-1536

1. *CMH*, I, 41-42 y 57-60, Carlos a María, 18 y 28 de enero de 1532, ambas ológrafas.

2. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, col. 597, Tiepolo a la Señoría, 25 de febrero de 1532; *CMH*, I, 89-92, Carlos a María, 18 de febrero de 1532, ológrafa.

3. *CMH*, I, 110-112 y 126-128, Carlos a María, 8 y 12 de marzo de 1532, ológrafas; *CDCV*, I, 334-335, el doctor Escoriaza a la emperatriz, sin fechar (pero 6 de abril de 1532); Sanuto, *I diarii*, LV, cols. 658-659 y 671, el embajador de Mantua al duque, y los embajadores de Venecia a la Señoría, Ratisbona, 5 y 12 de marzo de 1532.

4. *CMH*, I, 151-157 y 211-217, Carlos a María, 24 de marzo y 3 de mayo de 1532, ológrafa; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols. 109-110, Tiepolo y Contarini a la Señoría, 18 de abril de 1532, y 364-5, Contarini, 21 de mayo de 1532; Beltrán de Heredia, *Cartulario*, II, 450-451, Escoriaza a la emperatriz, 22 de abril de 1532.

5. Pocock, *Records*, II, 259-262, Augustus Augustinus a Thomas Cromwell, Ratisbona, 16 de mayo de 1532; Sanuto, *I Diarii*, LVI, cols. 250 y 261-263, Contarini a la Señoría, 3 y 11 de mayo de 1532; *CMH*, I, 221-222, 295-299 y 347-350, Carlos a María, 7 de mayo, 19 de junio y 15 de julio de 1532, todas ológrafas.

6. *CSPV*, V, 619-621, Giovanni Antonio Venier al Dogo, 8 de mayo de 1531, en referencia a una audiencia con el rey Francisco; Necipoglu, «Suleiman», describe la tiara veneciana de Solimán y otros ornamentos.

7. Charrière, *Négociations*, I. 184-190, Francisco a su embajador en Roma, 25 de enero de 1532.

8. Von Gévay, *Urkunden*, I parte V, 87-89 Solimán a Fernando, Esseg (Osijek), 12 de julio de 1532, en latín con imperfecta traducción italiana (la última también en Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, 784-785, de una copia llevada a Venecia por Rincón).

9. *CMH*, I, 281-282, Carlos a María, 12 de junio de 1532, minuta. *RTA*, X, 149-155, analiza el tamaño de la Dieta.

10. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 102-107 y 179-186, Aleandro a Sanga, 25 de marzo y 30 de marzo/23 de abril de 1532 (relatando una audiencia que tuvo con Carlos el día 20).

11. *CODOIN*, XIV, 201-202, Loaysa a Carlos, 31 de julio de 1531 (también en Heine, *Briefe*, 369-370, pero fechado en 1530); AGS *E* 25/207, «Relación de las cartas» de Loaysa a Carlos, 15 de febrero de 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, Loaysa a Carlos, 8 de junio de 1532; *CDCV*, I, 375-379, Carlos a la emperatriz, 9 de agosto de 1532 (con la noticia de la Paz de Núremberg acordada con los protestantes alemanes el 27 de julio).

12. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, 656-657, 717-718, 757-759, 812-813, Contarini al Dogo, 18 de julio y 2, 4 y 10 de agosto de 1532.

13. Ibíd., cols. 864-865 y 989-990, Contarini al Dogo, 17 de agosto y 16 de septiembre de 1532, y cols. 1023-1024, recuento de la flota imperial, 1 de septiembre de 1532. Turetschek, *Die Turkenpolitik*, 364-368, «Überblick über das Kriegsvolk des Kaisers, König Ferdinands und des deutschen Reiches», 16 de agosto de 1532.

14. *CDCV*, I, 375-379, Carlos a la emperatriz, 9 de agosto de 1532.

15. *CDCV*, I, 345-348, Carlos a Álvaro de Lugo y a la emperatriz, 6 de abril de 1532; ibíd., 361, Carlos a la emperatriz, 11 de junio de 1532; AGS *CMC* 1a/590, «Cuenta de Álvaro de Lugo». Más detalles sobre cómo Carlos financió la campaña de 1532 en Tracy, *Emperor Charles*, 149-154.

16. Contarini dejó constancia con cierto detalle de los consejos (aceptados por Carlos) dados tanto por Antonio de Leyva (llevar a cabo algunas escaramuzas, pero evitar la batalla) como por el duque de Alba (levantar el campamento antes de que los suministros se agotaran): Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, cols. 865-867 y 989-990, cartas del 21 de agosto y 16 de septiembre de 1532.

17. *NBD, 2. Ergänzungsband 1532*, 559-580, el cardenal Hipólito de Médici a Carlos, Viena, finales de septiembre de 1532; Heine, *Briefe*, 512-515, Loaysa a Carlos, Roma, 31 de octubre de 1532.

18. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 165-166, embajada veneciana con Carlos a la Señoría, 28 de octubre de 1532 y 171-172, descripción del huésped imperial por el podestà de Conegliano al día siguiente.

19. Ibíd., cols. 284-286 y 309-310, Contarini y Basadonna al Consejo de los Diez y la Señoría, Mantua, 24 de noviembre y 1 de diciembre de 1532. Foronda, *Viajes*, 368, además de muchos otros después (véase Keniston, *Francisco*, 153), afirma que Carlos pasó solo la noche del 7 de noviembre en Mantua, entrando en Bolonia el 13 de noviembre, pero esto es incorrecto: se quedó en Mantua un mes entero y no entró en Bolonia hasta el 13 de diciembre.

20. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 332-335, Contarini a la Señoría, 7 y 18 [*recte* 8] de diciembre de 1532.

21. Ibíd., cols. 308-309, Contarini y Basadonna a la Señoría, Mantua, 27 de noviembre de 1532; Rosenthal, *The palace*, 57 y 266-267, demostraron que las obras del nuevo palacio comenzaron en mayo de 1533, con un presupuesto de 50.000 ducados pagaderos en seis años. Tanto Brothers, «The Renaissance reception», 91-92, como Tafuri, *Interpreting*, cap. 6, apuntaron las similitudes entre el palacio de Carlos en Granada y la arquitectura de Mantua, pero al parecer ignoraban que el emperador inició la construcción mientras residía en la ciudad. Rosenthal, «The house», 343, señaló que «la casa de Andrea Mantegna» fue «la primera villa renacentista redonda construida», y demostró que en 1532-1533 formaba parte del «Palazzo della Pusterla» de Gonzaga, de manera que ciertamente Carlos la habría podido ver.

22. Bodart, «Frédéric Gonzague», 28. Otros artistas que pintaron retratos del emperador en aquel momento fueron Parmigianino, Vermeyen, Amberger y Behaim.

23. TNA *SP* 1/71/154-155, embajador Nicholas Hawkins a Enrique, 24 de diciembre de 1532, ológrafo; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 368-369, 383-385 y 388, Marco Antonio Venier (embajador ante el Papa) a la Señoría, 16, 18, 21 y 26 de diciembre de 1532; TNA *SP* 1/74/18-19v, John Hackett al duque de Norfolk, 8 de enero de 1533.

24. Pocock, *Records*, II, 365-366, Clemente a Enrique, 2 de enero de 1533; *L & P Henry VIII*, VII, 7, Clemente a Francisco, 2 de enero de 1533, junto con una justificación del concilio (enviada también a Enrique); ibíd., 70-72, Augustus Augustinus a Thomas Cromwell, 13 de febrero de 1533; *KFF*, IV, 89-92, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de marzo de 1533.

25. *CDCV*, IV, 500, *Memorias* de Carlos; TNA *SP* 1/71/154-155, Hawkins a Enrique, 24 de diciembre de 1532.

26. *PEG*, II, 1-19, tratado secreto entre Carlos y Clemente, 24 de febrero de 1533, y liga de defensa, 27 de febrero de 1533 (Sanuto hizo una copia de esta última, aunque Venecia no se unió a ella: *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 600-610).

27. Hamy, *Entrevue*, CCLXXXV-CCXCVI, Instrucciones de Francisco a los cardenales Grammont y Tournon, 10 de noviembre de 1532, y CCLXXXCCLXXXI, proyecto de Francisco para un tratado secreto con Clemente, ológrafo, marzo de 1533.

28. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 657-659, Basadonna y Contarini a la Señoría, 18 de marzo de 1533, enumera las piezas de caza cobradas por el emperador; ibíd., LVIII, 196-199, Contarini a la Señoría, 26 y 29 de abril de 1533, es el autor del único relato detallado del infernal viaje en la galera (apuntando en tono resentido que los barcos de vela tardaron cuatro días en completar el mismo viaje); Girón, *Crónica*, 30, echó la cuenta de las horas que Carlos pasó en la cama con su mujer.

29. AHN *Inq* libro 101/695-697, licenciado Hernando Arenillas de Reynoso a Felipe II, 4 de diciembre de 1594, con rescripto.

30. Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel*, 292-295, 262, 301-305 y 329-331, Isabel a Carlos, 16 de septiembre de 1530, 25 de enero de 1530, 12 de enero y 16 de diciembre de 1531. Véanse más ejemplos de la creciente independencia de Isabel en ibíd., 119-138.

31. TNA *SP* 1/76/174-174v y 1/78/1, Hawkins a Enrique VIII, 11 de junio y 16 de julio de 1533; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVII, cols. 472-474, Contarini a la Señoría, 23-24 de junio de 1533; Foronda, *Viajes*, 377 n. 1 (velocidad del viaje de Carlos).

32. *RVEC*, 545-547, Salinas a Castillejo, 12 de octubre de 1533. Girón, *Crónica*, 41-44, y Foronda, *Viajes*, 388-390, proporcionan el itinerario.

33. González de Ávila, *Historia*, 475-476; Girón, *Crónica*, 42-44, dejó constancia de la «disputa» y nombraba a un protagonista (don Alonso Osorio); BL *Cott. Ms.* Vesp. C/XIII fo. 327-328v, Mason a Starkey, 3 de julio de 1534, menciona el tema.

34. *RVEC*, 604-607 y 614-617, Salinas a Fernando, 15 de julio y 4 de septiembre de 1534; BNE *Ms.* 3825/337 (donde se evidencia que el texto está claramente editado: véase también Girón, *Crónica*, 44). Dado que la princesa Juana nació el 23 de junio de 1535, deduzco que el embarazo comenzó en octubre o noviembre de 1534.

35. *KFF*, IV, 121-125, Carlos a Fernando, 23/28 de mayo de 1533.

36. BL *Addl. Ms.* 28.586/191, el doctor Ortiz a Carlos, 24 de marzo de 1534; y BL *Addl. Ms*. 28,586/223, «Los puntos que se consultaron con Su Magestad en Toledo a xij de abril 1534 para responder a Roma sobre la sentencia de Inglaterra».

37. El *Diccionario* de la Real Academia de la Lengua apunta que el término *anabolena* es un ejemplo de «antropónimo antonomástico», como «celestina», «cicerón» y «jezebel»: Salvador, «El hablar», 80-81. (Agradezco a José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero esta referencia).

38. *KFF*, IV, 227-236 y 314-322, Carlos a Fernando, 24 de abril y 3 de septiembre de 1534. Sin embargo, Brandi, *The emperor*, 330-331, tenía seguramente razón al asombrarse de que «la dinastía imperial, que estaba preparada para luchar durante una generación entera por Milán, se tomara la pérdida de Wurtemberg con tanta filosofía».

39. TNA *SP* 1/86/48-49, sir Gregory Casale a lord Rochford, Roma, 15 de octubre de 1534; *CDCV*, I, 405-406, Carlos a Soria, 4 de septiembre de 1534.

40. Poumarède, «Le Voyage», 267, secretario de Estado papal al nuncio Poggio en España, 4 de marzo de 1535.

41. *PEG*, II, 206-221, «Arraisonnement sur ce à quoy le roy de France parsiste pour parvenir à establissement de paix» escrito por Granvela, octubre de 1534 (véase capítulo 4 con los anteriores argumentos sobre la escalada de potenciales desastres); Walser, «Spanien», 167-171, consulta realizada por Tavera, enero de 1535, ológrafo.

42. *KFF*, V, 161-172, Carlos a Fernando, 3 de febrero de 1535; Girón, *Crónica*, 49; *RVEC*, 631-632, Salinas a Fernando, 21 de febrero de 1535, aunque también apuntaba perspicazmente que «después que se ha publicado la partida» Los Cobos «no se ha reído» (ibíd., 632-634, a Castillejo, aquel mismo día).

43. *KFF*, V, 211-212, María a Fernando, 12 de abril de 1535 (véase respuesta de Fernando, iracundo por el engaño: ibíd. 223-227). Este testamento no ha sobrevivido. Carlos también envió a María una copia de sus Instrucciones para que la emperatriz actuara como regente de Castilla, fechada el 1 de marzo de 1535, pero en ellas se decía que se dirigía a Aragón, no a África: *CDCV*, I, 408-19.

44. March, *Niñez y Juventud*, II, 224, doña Estefanía de Requesens a su madre, Madrid, 3 de marzo de 1535.

45. BNE *Ms.* 1937/102v y 104v, de fray Alonso de Sanabria, *Comentarios y guerra de Túnez*; *RVEC*, 642-645, Salinas a Fernando, 11 de mayo de 1535. Girón, *Crónica*, 56, enumera a los nobles; hace lo mismo BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.XIII/334, «Tanto los nobles españoles como los italianos que fueron con el emperador a la conquista de la ciudad de Túnez en África».

46. AGS *E* 1458/102-108, «Lo que se consultó en Barcelona», abril de 1535; *LCK*, II, 177-179, Carlos a Nassau, 10 de mayo de 1535; *KFF*, V, 161-172, Instrucciones a Roeulx, enviado especial de Carlos a Fernando, 1 de febrero de 1535, y carta a Fernando, 3 de febrero de 1535.

47. BNE *Ms.* 1937/103v, Sanabria, *Comentarios*; BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.VII/43-44, «Anno 1535. La Armada que o emperador leva de Barcelona».

48. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 7-8. El licenciado Arcos, otro testigo presencial, proporcionaba un relato muy similar del mismo acontecimiento en su *Conquista de Túnez por el emperador Carlos* (BNE *Ms*. 19.441/33).

49. BNE *Ms.* 1937/108, de los *Comentarios* de Sanabria (el autor, un franciscano, ponía una atención especial en la devoción de Carlos).

50. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 21. La flota arribó primero a Ghar el Mehl (antes conocido como Utica y Porto Farina).

51. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 24, 37, 43; BNE *Ms.* 1937/150v151 (Sanabria); TNA *SP* 1/97/32-33, Peter Rede a Geoffrey Loveday, 27 de septiembre de 1535 (un relato especialmente vívido).

52. Gachet, «Expédition», 37-40, Carlos a María, 26 de julio de 1535 (Sanabria apuntó también que la noche siguiente al saqueo de La Goleta «en el consejo de guerra secreto ouo diversidad de opiniones»: BNE *Ms.* 1937/160v.).

53. Foucard, *Ferrara*, 24-30, Alfonso Rossetti al duque de Ferrara, 22 de julio de 1535; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, II, 58.

54. Giovio, *Delle historie,* 377 (libro XXXIV: un episodio narrado por Vasto, lo que confirma su credibilidad); TNA *SP* 1/97/32-33, Peter Rede a Geoffrey Loveday, 27 de septiembre de 1535. Véanse también los relatos del saqueo citados en Nordman, *Tempête*, 253-256.

55. Foucard, *Ferrara*, 28-29, Rossetti a Ferrara, 22 de julio de 1535; Gachet, «Expédition», 37-40, Carlos a María, 26 de julio de 1535. *PEG*, II, 368-377, publica parte del tratado entre Carlos y Muley Hasan, 6 de agosto de 1535.

56. AGS *E*, 1311/20-23, Soria a Carlos, 21 de mayo de 1535; *CDCV*, I, 441-444, Carlos a Soria, «data en nuestra galera, cerca de La Goleta de Túnez», 16 de agosto de 1535; *LCK,* II, 200, Carlos a Jean Hannart, 16 de agosto de 1535; BL *Cott. Ms*. Nero B.VII/115, Bernardino Sandro a Thomas Starkey, Venecia, 19 de agosto de 1535.

57. TNA *SP*1/94/173-178v, sir Gregory da Casale a Thomas Cromwell, Ferrara, 27 de julio de 1535, textos en italiano y en latín gravemente dañados, aumentados con la traducción al inglés en *L & P Henry VIII*, VIII, 439-440; Charrière, *Les négociations*, I, 272-275; Virginio Orsini, conde de Anguillara, a «Monseñor Pietro», La Goletta, 28 de julio de 1535. La predicción de Casale se cumplió tras el fracaso de la segunda campaña africana de Carlos en 1541.

58. Walser, «Spanien», 167-171, consulta escrita por Tavera, sin fechar, pero de mediados de enero de 1535, ológrafa.

59. Morales Foguera, «El viaje», 100, 106 (el Salmo 112:3 de la Vulgata dice «a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini»).

60. Rosso, *Istoria*, 63 (sobre Carlos en Nápoles); Di Blasi, *Storia*, 174 (sobre Carlos en Palermo, donde se añade que en 1842 el asiento que ocupó durante su visita a los archivos estaba todavía allí, con la inscripción «Sedia di Carlo V»); *L & P Henry VIII*, IX, 146, Granvela a Eustache Chapuys, Palermo, 26 de septiembre de 1535.

61. Rosso, *Istoria*, 66, 70; Poumerède, «Le voyage», 282, Fabio Arcella al secretario de Estado Ricalcati, 5 de febrero de 1536 (Arcella escribió «si stette in danze et festa fin alle X hore», lo que, según el calendario italiano entonces vigente, significaba 10 horas y media después de la puesta de sol). Carlos recibió la noticia de la muerte de su tía el 7 de enero.

62. Cernigliaro, *Sovranità*, 299, discurso de apertura al Parlamento del 8 de enero de 1536; *CDCV*, I, 469-473, Carlos a Isabel, 18 de febrero de 1536; Gilliard, «La politica», 229, Antoine Perrenin a Leonard de Gruyères, enviado especial en Suiza, 31 de diciembre de 1535.

63. Rabelais, *Lettres*, 33-64, a Geoffroy d'Estissac, 30 de diciembre de 1535 y 28 de enero de 1536; *KFF*, V, 452-458, Carlos a Fernando, 18 de abril de 1536.

64. *L & P Henry VIII*, X, 265-274, Richard Pate a Enrique VIII, Roma, 14 de abril de 1536; Cadenas y Vicent, *Discurso*, 35-37; *RVEC*, 714-719, Salinas a Castillejo, 22 de abril de 1536.

65. Brandi, *The emperor*, 371.

66. Scheurl, *Einritt*, portada, citando II Samuel 3:21.

1. Scheurer, *Correspondance*, II, 140-144, Jean du Bellay y Charles Hémard de Denonville a Francisco I, Roma, 12 de noviembre de 1535.

2. AGS E 1368/105, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa a la emperatriz, Génova, 13 de noviembre de 1535.

3. *CDCV*, I, 451, Carlos a Isabel, 18 de enero de 1536; AGS *E* 1180/86, Leyva a Carlos, 27 de noviembre de 1536; *RVEC*, 667-671, Salinas a Fernando, 6 de diciembre de 1535, tras una reunión en la que Granvela «hizo un discurso de su parecer en tres propósitos con su pro y contra» sobre lo que Carlos podía hacer con Milán. Sobre la muerte de Giovannni Paolo Sforza el 12 de diciembre de 1535, tal vez por envenenamiento, véase De Leva, *Storia*, III, 153, y Scheurer, *Correspondance*, II, 141 nota.

4. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl,* II, 254-255, Leyva a Carlos, 3 de diciembre de 1535; BL *Cott. Ms*. Nero B.VII/113, Bernardino Sandro a Thomas Starkey, Venecia, 14 de noviembre de 1535.

5. Rosso, *Istoria*, 65.

6. AGS *E* 1311/11 y 34-37, Soria a Carlos, 22 de agosto de 1535 (véase un veredicto similar sobre la ambigua actitud de Venecia hacia Carlos en una carta de Soria del 9 de agosto de 1535: AGS *E* 1311/40-42). RAH *Salazar* A-40/446-447, Soria a Carlos, 25 de mayo de 1527, mencionaba «Yo me acuerdo en xxviij años que ha que estoy en Italia».

7. Gilliard, «La política», 233, Gruyères a Granvela, 22 de diciembre de 1535; AGS *E* 1024/26, «Lo que ha sido acordado, so el buen placer de Su Magestad en lo que toca a los negocios de estado generalmente y a otros particulares deste reyno [= Nápoles]», 31 de diciembre de 1535 (*CSPSp*, V, 304-308, lo publica como traducción del inglés, pero fechada el 26 de diciembre de 1536 y con numerosos errores).

8. *L & P Henry VIII*, X, 40, «Copie de la deffiance et lettres patentes mandées au Duc de Savoye par ung herault d'armes, de la part de la seigneurie de Berne», 27 de enero de 1536; *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, VIII, 18-22, movilización general y «Pouvoir» para invadir y «recuperar» Bresse, Bugey y Valromey, ambos del 11 de febrero de 1536; ibíd., 65, edicto de incorporación de estas áreas a Francia, 1 de marzo de 1536; Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, II, 338-339, Francisco a Biron.

9. *PEG*, II, 445-450, «Mémoire remis à l'empereur sur la question de la guerre et de la paix» sin fechar, pero marzo de 1536; *CDCV*, I, 455-464, Carlos a Isabel, 1 de febrero de 1536. Este grave fracaso de inteligencia se reflejaba también en parte en los informes de Gruyères desde Suiza, que insistía en que «todo aquí sigue sin novedad, no se oye hablar de ningún problema»: Gilliard, «La politica», 231, Gruyères a la emperatriz, 22 de diciembre de 1535.

10. De Leva, *Historia*, III, 163-164, cita de «Minuta de las condiziones que se dieron al Papa del parte de Su Magestad cerca de tratar del estado de Milán para el duque de Angulema, en Roma, año de 1536».

11. *PEG*, II, 414-418 y 431-436, Carlos a Hannart, 14 de diciembre de 1535 (resumiendo la carta secreta de Leonor) y 21 de febrero de 1536 (con «ung billet apart ziffré»); *CDCV*, I, 473-476, Carlos a Isabel, 20 de febrero de 1536, ológrafa.

12. *CDCV*, I, 485-490, Carlos a Isabel, 18 de abril de 1536. De Leva, *Historia*, III, 164-165, argumentaba plausiblemente que la llegada del embajador francés Vély con la única facultad de negociar la cesión de Milán a Orleans desencadenó la arenga del emperador.

13. Cadenas y Vicent, *El discurso*, 35-37, relato contemporáneo.

14. *RVEC*, 712-714, Salinas a Fernando, 22 de abril de 1536, resumió el discurso y envió «un escripto… para se poder mostrar, y si fuere menester, imprimir», que probablemente fue el texto publicado por MorelFatio, «L'espagnol», 212-214 (reimpreso en Cadenas y Vicent, *El discurso*, 61-63). Véase también el texto en *LCK*, II, 223-229, Carlos a Hannart, su embajador en Francia, 17 de abril de 1536; y el reconstruido de memoria por los embajadores franceses en Roma: Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 304, Macon (que no entendía español) y Vély a Francisco, 19 de abril de 1536 (ambos reimpresos, junto con otras versiones, en Cadenas y Vicent, *El discurso*, y Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, Beilage 4 y 5).

15. *RVEC*, 712-714, Salinas a Fernando, 22 de abril de 1536; Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 304, Macon y Vély a Francisco, 19 de abril de 1536. Los embajadores dejaron constancia de que el emperador les habló basándose en unos apuntes que llevaba («lisoit en ung billet qu'il avoit à la main»), como también lo haría en su «discurso de despedida» en 1555 (capítulo 15).

16. AGS *E* 1564/40, Carlos al conde de Cifuentes, 4 de mayo de 1536 (véase también *PEG*, II, 459, Carlos al embajador francés Vély, 7 de mayo de 1536, planteando la misma cuestión); Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, II, 402-412, Francisco a Pablo III; *Receuil d'aucunes lectres*, unfol., Carlos a Pablo III, 19 de mayo de 1536.

17. *RVEC*, 707-709 y 728-730, Salinas a Castillejos, 21 de mayo de 1521 (y no 31 de marzo como sugería el editor); e ibíd., 726-730, Salinas a Fernando, 30 de mayo y 10 de junio de 1536.

18. *KFF*, V, 389-393, Carlos a Fernando, 27 de enero de 1536; 495-499, María a Fernando, 25 de mayo de 1536; y 514-520, Carlos a Fernando, 9 de junio de 1536; TNA *SP* 1/103/120-121, Richard Moryson a Thomas Starkey, 12 de abril de 1536.

19. AGS *E* 1367/46-47, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa a Carlos, 8 de julio de 1534, refiere las conclusiones de dos entrevistas separadas con Doria y Leyva (copia en f. 48); *RVEC*, 751-755, Salinas a Fernando, 17 de julio de 1536. Sobre el debate respecto a los «inconvenientes» de la participación de Carlos, véase BL *Addl. Ms.* 28.589/3-5v, «Las dificultades que ocurren que ay en la pasada de su Majestad en Francia», 13 de julio de 1536. Sherer, *Warriors*, 60, aporta un excelente mapa de campaña.

20. *RVEC*, 756-772, Salinas a Castillejo y a Fernando, 17 de julio de 1536, 4 y 5 de agosto de 1536; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, 151, 157-158.

21. Decrue, *Anne*, 271, Montmorency a Francisco, 1 de agosto de 1536.

22. *RVEC*, 770, Salinas a Fernando, 5 de agosto de 1536; De Leva, *Historia*, III, 169 (sobre si Carlos pretendía o no anexionar la Provenza). *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, VIII, 29-37, publica el Protocolo entre Francisco y Solimán de febrero de 1536; Setton, *The papacy*, IV, 401 n. 20-21, apoya su autenticidad.

23. *LCK*, II, 657-667, resumen de las cartas intercambiadas entre María y Carlos en 1536.

24. García Cerezada, *Tratado*, 160. De Leva, *Historia*, III, 169, argumenta convincentemente que Carlos tenía intención de anexionar la Provenza.

25. *PEG*, II, 480-481, «Substancial» de un informe realizado por el nuncio papal, c 11 Aug. 1536; BNF *F. f* . 3008/144, Montmorency a M. de Humières, 2 de septiembre de 1536 (bajas); *LCK*, II, 248-252, Carlos a Nassau, 4 de septiembre de 1536.

26. BNF *Dupuy* 265/297, Jean de Breton, secretario real, a Jean du Bellay, Arlés, 20 de septiembre de 1536; Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, II, 299, de Martin du Bellay, quien insistía en «haber escrito lo que he visto».

27. *RVEC*, 772-786, Salinas a Castillejo, 14 de septiembre de 1536; García Cerezada, *Tratado*, 195-198; Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida*, 64. Véase un ejemplo de la afectuosa relación con el poeta en: BNE *Ms*. 20,212/7/2, Garcilaso de la Vega a Carlos, Génova, 20 de mayo de 1536, firmado solo «Garcilasso», una de las últimas cosas que el poeta escribió.

28. Decrue, *Anne*, 286 (estimación de daños realizada por el embajador veneciano); Bourrilly, *Histoire*, I, 295 (predicción de Honoré de Valbelle de Marsella).

29. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, III, 118-119; Holanda, *De la pintura*, 181-182 (refiriendo una conversación con Miguel Ángel); Bourrilly, «Charles-Quint», 277-280 (alardeando en la Provenza y Roma).

30. *RVEC*, 789-799, Salinas a Fernando, 14 de noviembre de 1536 y 18 de marzo de 1537.

31. Girón, *Crónica*, 99-100. Sobre las consecuencias del asesinato del duque Alejandro, véase el capítulo 12.

32. March, *Niñez*, II, 337, doña Estefanía de Requesens a su madre, 18 de mayo de 1537; *RVEC*, 794-799 y 820-822, Salinas a Fernando, 18 de marzo de 1537, y a Castillejo, 18 de noviembre de 1537; Girón, *Crónica*, 110.

33. Girón, *Crónica*, 125; March, *Niñez*, II, 345, doña Estefanía de Requesens a su madre, 23 de marzo de 1538. Foronda, *Viajes*, 446-447, registra la llegada del emperador a Valladolid el 27 de noviembre y su marcha el 21 de diciembre de 1537.

34. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 431-432, Idiáquez a Los Cobos y Granvela, y a Los Cobos solo, 15 de enero de 1538.

35. Ibíd., 433-437, «Las pláticas que el emperador passó con el señor de Pressiu por la misma forma y palabras syn dejar nada», enviado por Idiáquez a Los Cobos y Granvela, febrero de 1538.

36. BNF *F. f.* 3015/123, «Double des lettres» enviado desde AiguesMortes, probablemente al cardenal Du Bellay, 15 de julio de 1538; TNA *SP* 3/17/49-v, informe enviado por sir Francis Bryan, embajador inglés en Francia, el 16 de julio de 1538; *LCK*, II, 284-289, Carlos a María, 18 de julio de 1538.

37. Le Person, «A moment», 20 (del relato de un testigo presencial); *LCK*, II, 284-289; TNA *SP* 3/17/49-v (como en la nota precedente); Knecht, «Charles V's journey», 153. *RVEC*, 869-871, licenciado Gamiz a Fernando, 18 de julio de 1538, otro testigo presencial relató de forma casi idéntica el intercambio de juramentos y anillos.

38. AGS *E* 867/64, Carlos al marqués de Aguilar, su embajador en Roma, 7 de septiembre de 1538; Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 273, Carlos a Fernando, 22 de septiembre de 1538; *RVEC*, 874-878, Salinas a Fernando, 23 de septiembre de 1538.

39. *RVEC*, 879, Salinas a Fernando, 28 de octubre de 1538; y 887-895, a Castillejo, 26 de noviembre de 1538 (dos cartas).

40. *RVEC*, 897, Salinas a Fernando, 4 de febrero de 1539 (dos meses después, una vez más, «el emperador se va a holgar a la caza por algunos días»: ibíd., 903-906, del mismo al mismo, 18 de abril de 1539. La misma carta decía que «en este mes de mayo que viene, entra [Isabel] en el noveno mes de su preñado» por lo que la concepción se produjo en septiembre); Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 288, Carlos a Fernando, 21 de abril de 1539.

41. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 289, Carlos a Fernando, 2 de mayo de 1539; *RVEC*, 913-915, Salinas a Fernando, 3 de mayo de 1539.

42. AGRB *Audience* 868/110-114v, «Estat» de gasto «procédent des guerres de France, de Dennemarcke et d'Overyssel»; Gachard, «CharlesQuint», 617, Carlos a los magistrados de Gante, 31 de enero de 1538.

43. Ribier, *Lettres*, I, 368-370, el embajador Tarbes a Montmorency, 6 de febrero de 1539.

44. *RVEC*, 920-924, Salinas a Fernando, 11 de julio y 7 de agosto de 1539.

45. Gachard, «Charles-Quint», col. 625n, María a Carlos, 9 de junio de 1538; Gachard, *Relation des troubles de Gand*, 249-251, Los Cobos y Granvela a Bonvalot, embajador imperial en Francia, 27 de septiembre de 1539; Decrue, *Anne*, 374, Granvela a De Praet, 6 de diciembre de 1539 (transmitiendo la promesa de Montmorency de que «no hablaremos con su Majestad de ningún asunto público durante su viaje). Gachard, *Relation des troubles de Gand*, 258-262, publicó las cartas de invitación de Francisco y algunas otras), con fecha de 7 de octubre de 1539; Paillard, «Voyage», 517-518, enumera a todos los remitentes.

46. El cardenal había presidido el Consejo Real desde 1524 y asistido a la emperatriz como primer ministro mientras esta actuó como regente durante anteriores ausencias de Carlos.

47. *CDCV*, II, 32-55, publica las instrucciones para Felipe y para Tavera y Los Cobos, ambas fechadas el 5 de noviembre de 1539, con un texto en francés del primero en *PEG*, II, 549-561. Manuel Fernández Álvarez arguyó, razonablemente, que Carlos

dictó sus Instrucciones para Felipe en francés, siendo por tanto la versión española una traducción imperfecta.

48. Este pasaje (*CDCV*, II, 34-36) contiene dos ideas muy destacables: que Carlos estaba dispuesto a renegar de las solemnes promesas que había hecho a su hermano, como lo volvería a hacer en Augsburgo en 1551; y que preveía los potenciales peligros que se derivarían del hecho de que Felipe heredara tanto España como los Países Bajos (como en efecto ocurrió una década después de su abdicación).

49. *PEG*, II, 542-548, codicilo fechado el 5 de noviembre de 1539, copia en francés del original en latín, con dos copias firmadas en español; todas las cuales, así como el testamento realizado por Carlos en 1535, al parecer han desaparecido.

50. Gachard, *Relation*, 653-658, Carlos a Tavera, París, 6 de enero de 1540, y «Relation du voyage»; ASF *MdP*4297/7, Alessandro Giovanni Bandini a Agnolo Niccolini, 7 de diciembre de 1539 desde Loches, el día que se encontraron Carlos y Francisco. Paillard, «Voyage», y Knecht, «Charles V's journey», ofrecen unas reseñas muy útiles (en la p. 154, el último incluye un mapa del itinerario de Carlos).

51. Gachard, *Relation*, 662-663, Carlos a Tavera, 21 de enero de 1540. BL *Addl. Ms*. 28.592/1-2, Granvela a Los Cobos, 6 de enero de 1540, confirmó que «en casamientos ny otros negocios no se ha hablado nada: muy bien se ha observado lo que se prometió de todo».

52. Gachard, *Relation*, 668, Carlos a Tavera, Gante, 14 de febrero de 1540.

53. Henne, *Histoire*, VII, 62-65 y 88-95 (presenta una lista de los que fueron castigados en Gante y otros lugares de Flandes); Gachard, *Relation*, 156-160, a partir de un relato contemporáneo de la «amende honorable» del 3 de mayo de 1540. Boone, «From cuckoo's egg», apunta que Carlos eligió el emplazamiento de la ciudadela tras estudiar los planos realizados para Carlos el Temerario en 1469 así como para Maximiliano en 1492. Véase *Recueil des ordonnances*, IV, 170-191, sobre los edictos de condena a Gante (30 de abril de 1540); 198 y 200, sobre los concernientes a la ciudadela (5-6 de mayo de 1540); y 206-207 y 211-216, sobre los de condena a Oudenaarde (junio de 1540) y Kortrijk (17 de julio de 1540) por su participación en la resistencia flamenca.

54. *PEG*, II, 562-572, Instrucciones de Carlos a François Bonvalot, su embajador en Francia, Gante, 24 de marzo de 1540.

55. *CDCV*, IV, 509 *(Memorias)*; Ribier, *Lettres*, I, 514-516, embajadores de Selva y Hellin a Montmorency, Gante, 11 de abril de 1540; Nott, *The works*, II, 408-416, Thomas Wyatt a Thomas Cromwell, Gante, 5 y 12 de abril de 1540.

56. *PEG*, II, 597-599, Carlos a Bonvalot, 9 de junio de 1540, aceptando la propuesta de Francisco de «laisser ainsi les choses pour maintenant»; y 599-604, Codicilo al testamento de Carlos, 28 de octubre de 1540 (la última frase demuestra que no había informado a su hermano de este importante cambio); *NBD*, VI, 338-341, Carlos a Fernando, 2 de julio de 1540. Dumont, *Corps universel*, IV/2, 200-202, publicó el acta de Carlos en virtud de la cual otorgaba Milán a su hijo, 11 de octubre de 1540.

57. *Catalogue des actes*, IV, 106 (n.o 11485-11486), órdenes de pago a Rincón, 1 de mayo de 1540; Setton, *Papacy,* III, 456 (original turco).

58. *Recueil des ordonnances*, IV, 229-230, 232-238 y 240-253, edictos promulgados por Carlos en octubre de 1540; AGS *E* 49/81-85, Los Cobos (alcaide de Simancas) a Juan Vázquez de Molina, 26 de junio de 1540 (ordenando a su sobrino asegurarse de que el emperador firmara «una cédula en blanco» que él adjuntaba, que contenía «la orden para que se haga en Simancas» un nuevo archivo); AGS *Cámara de Castilla*, 247/1, Real cédula, Bruselas, 16 de septiembre de 1540.

59. Martín Lutero, *Von den Conciliis und Kirchen* (Estrasburgo, 1539).

60. Schultze, «Dreizehn Depeschen», 150-156, Contarini al cardenal Farnesio 13 de marzo de 1541.

61. *CSPV*, V, 96-98, Francesco Contarini (pariente lejano del legado cardenalicio) a la Señoría, Ratisbona, 6 de abril de 1541.

62. Schultze, «Dreizehn Depeschen», 159-161, Gasparo Contarini al cardenal Farnesio, 18 de marzo de 1541 (la naturaleza de la Eucaristía «era già stato determinate» por el Cuarto Concilio de Letrán en 1215); Pastor, «Correspondenz», 388-390, Contarini a Farnesio, 15 de mayo de 1541; Dittrich, «Die Nuntiaturberichte», 465-472 y 620-623, Morone a Farnesio, 29 de mayo y 21 de junio de 1541.

63. *CSPV*, V, 105-106 y 107-108, Francesco Contarini a la Señoría, 22 de junio y 26 de julio de 1541.

64. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 67-76, Tiepolo, Corner, Contarini, Venier y Mocenigo al Dogo, Niza, 24 de mayo de 1538.

65. Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 263-268, Consulta escrita por María, [10] de agosto de 1538. Véase también otra carta de María a Carlos escrita ese mismo día, sobre el mismo tema: *LCK*, II, 289-290.

66. ASF *MdP* 652/256, Agnolo Niccolini a Lorenzo Pagni, 1 de agosto de 1541.

67. Nordman, *Tempête*, 451. Como prueba de que Carlos creía que atacar Argel reduciría la presión sobre Hungría, véase ibíd., 239-240.

68. *CDCV*, IV, 511 *(Memorias)*; Friedensburg, «Aktenstücke», 3842, dos documentos sobre «cosas que tratar en Lucca», uno del nuncio papal ante Carlos (que enumeraba «le cose private et particolari») y el otro de Granvela.

69. AGS *E* 53/67-68, Vázquez de Molina a Los Cobos, 15 de octubre de 1541. Las dos Instrucciones parecen haberse perdido, pero se supone que se parecerían al plan de campaña que Carlos preparó para su hijo en mayo de 1543: capítulo 11.

70. Nordman, *Tempête*, 493 y 495, citando a Antonio Magnalotti; 356-357 y 381-383, citando versiones de Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon; y 225-227, citando fuentes cristianas y musulmanas sobre el número de caballos que sirvieron de comida; Sandoval, *Historia*, 347; *CDCV*, IV, 512.

71. Nordman, *Tempête*, 456 (Gómara), 493 (Antonio Magnalotti) y 358 (Villegaignon); Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 434-436, Francesco Giustiniani al Consejo de los Diez, Bugía, 10 de noviembre de 1541.

72. *CDCV*, IV, 511 n. 105, Carlos a las Cortes de Castilla, 1542; e ibíd., 511 *(Memorias)*. Carlos volvería a utilizar este argumento en Metz en 1552.

73. Nordman, *Tempête*, 564, citando a un testigo presencial argelino; y 212-213, el imán.

74. *L & P Henry VIII*, XVI, 595-596, el cardenal Beaton a Jacobo V de Escocia, Dijon, 25 de octubre de 1541, todavía creía que Carlos había zarpado hacia Constantinopla.

75. P. P., «L'expédition», 187, y Nordman, *Tempête*, 562-563 (traducido del relato de un manuscrito en árabe); ASF *MdP* 4298, unfol., Alessandro Giovanni Bandini al duque Cosimo, Bugía, 4 de noviembre de 1541.

76. Nordman, *Tempête*, 381-383, Villegaignon a Du Bellay, 25 de octubre de 1541.

77. *Op. cit.*, 497, Antonio Magnalotti, citando a Doria.

78. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 434-436, Francesco Giustiniani al Consejo de los Diez, Bugía, 10 de noviembre de 1541; Giovio, *Opera*, I, 269-271, Giovio al cardenal Pio di Carpi, 17 de septiembre de 1541; *CDCV*, IV, 511 (*Memorias* de Carlos). Nordman, *Tempête*, 248-260, presenta pruebas convincentes de que el éxito de Túnez «tentó» a Carlos a comportarse de forma tan irreflexiva.

79. *CSPSp*, VI/2, 105, Carlos a Eustache Chapuys, su embajador en Inglaterra, 12 de agosto de 1542 (disculpándose por tener tan pocos documentos de importancia en su poder, «ayant esté les aultres perdues au voyage d'Algey»); *CDCV*, II, 453-458, Carlos al príncipe Felipe, 17 de marzo de 1546 (pérdidas en caballos); Charrière, *Négociations*, I, 522-524, «Rapport d'un agent à François Ier sur l'expédition d'Alger», diciembre de 1541.

11. Ajustando cuentas, primera parte: Güeldres y Francia, 1541-1544

1. Detalles tomados de AGS *E* 638/106, Vasto a Carlos, 7 de julio de 1541, copia; AGS *E* 1374/167, Vasto a Los Cobos, 6 de julio de 1541, y f. 238, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa a Carlos, 8 de julio de 1541; Ruble, *Le marriage*, 149-151, Carlos de Boisot a María de Hungría, 12 de agosto de 1541; y Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 361-363, Guillaume Pellicier, obispo de Montpellier y embajador francés en Venecia, a Georges d'Armagnac, obispo de Rodez y embajador francés en Roma, 23 de julio de 1541; e ibíd., 434-438, Pellicier a Francisco, 6 de octubre de 1541.

2. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LVI, col. 781, entrada correspondiente al 20 de agosto de 1532, donde consta la presencia en Venecia de «tre spagnoli che zercano de amazarlo» a Rincón. En 1541 tanto Vasto como Enrique VIII declararon que Carlos les había ofrecido una «grosse rescompense à ceulx qui le luy livreroient», Rincón: Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 349-353, Pellicier a Francisco, 9 de julio de 1541 (Vasto), y Kaulek, *Correspondance,* 326-328, Marillac a Francisco, 12 de agosto de 1541 (Enrique).

3. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 349-353, Pellicier a Francisco, 9 de julio de 1541; Alba, «Correspondencia», 83-86, Carlos a Vasto, Ratisbona, 23 de junio de 1541.

4. Alba, «Correspondencia», 119-120, Vasto a Carlos, 9 de julio de 1541; AGS *E* 638/106, del mismo al mismo, 7 de julio de 1541, con una posdata del día 9, cursiva añadida (copia incompleta en Alba, «Correspondencia», 117-119). El mensajero era Pirro Colonna, enviado a Ratisbona por Vasto el 5 de julio.

5. AGS *E* 52/359, «Lo que paresce que se deve screvir al marqués del Gasto», consulta redactada por el secretario de Carlos, Idiáquez, sin fecha, pero de mediados de julio de 1541.

6. Alba, «Correspondencia», 93-94, Carlos a Vasto, 20 de julio de 1542 (véase también la recriminatoria carta escrita una semana antes: ibíd., 91-93).

7. Alba, «Correspondencia», 93, Carlos a Vasto, Ratisbona, 19 de julio de 1541 (no de 1542, como consta en el texto); *LCK*, II, 315-318, Carlos a Bonvalot, 23 de julio de 1541; Alba, «Correspondencia», 120-121, nombramiento de Carlos a favor de Carlos de Boysot, 23 de julio de 1541. Véase también Ruble, *Le marriage*, 149-151, Boisot a María, 12 de agosto de 1541, informando de su misión.

8. Alba, «Correspondencia», 94-96, Carlos a Vasto, 8 de agosto de 1541 (la versión impresa fecha esta carta en 1542, pero se refiere a otra carta enviada «ayer de Ispruch» y Carlos fue a Innsbruck el 6 y 7 de agosto de 1541). Esta carta fue, como se sabría después, la «prueba irrefutable», porque revelaba que, aunque el emperador no había ordenado personalmente el asesinato de los embajadores, aprobaba la acción.

9. Gachard, *Collection*, II, 189-190, Diario de Jean Vandenesse correspondiente a agosto de 1541. Carlos llegó a Cremona, a solo 150 kilómetros de Génova, el 18 de agosto. Luego se dirigió al norte, a Milán, a 180 kilómetros de Génova (dado que hizo

el viaje pasando por Pavía y Alessandria). La magnificiencia de la solemne entrada del emperador queda descrita e ilustrada en Anon., *Trattato del'intrar in Milano*.

10. *Catalogue des actes*, IV, 198 (n.º 11914) y 203 (n.º 11935), órdenes de pago a Rincón; Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 353-354 y 379-380, Pellicier a Rodez, 9 y 30 de julio de 1541; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 322-323, Francisco al embajador Marillac, 26 de julio de 1541; y *LCK*, II, 324-326, Bonvalot a Carlos, 3 de agosto de 1541 (donde el canciller hacía referencia a «*le droit de la société des hommes*»).

11. AGS *E* 1374/167, Vasto a Los Cobos, 6 de julio de 1541; Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 398-403, Pellicier a Francisco, 22 de agosto de 1541.

12. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance*, I, 439-441, Pellicier al capitán Polin, 6 de octubre de 1541; *LCK*, II, 326-327, Carlos a María, 26 de septiembre de 1541; Giovio, *Opera*, I, 269-271, Giovio al cardenal Pio di Carpi, 17 de septiembre de 1541.

13. Lestocquoy, *Correspondance… Capodiferro*, 99-102, Niccolò Ardinghello al cardenal Farnesio, 1 y 3 de diciembre de 1541; *SP*, VIII (parte V, vol. 3), 639-644, embajador William Paget a Enrique VIII, 7 de diciembre de 1541 (donde repite lo que Francisco le dijo a Ardinghello en francés, aquí traducido); Lestocquoy, *op. cit*., 95-98. Nuncio Capodiferro a Farnesio, 27 de diciembre de 1541.

14. *LCK*, II, 683-684, María a Carlos y la respuesta de este, julio de 1538, y 289-290, María a Carlos, 10 de agosto de 1538.

15. Dumont, *Corps universel*, IV/2, 196, 216-217 y 228-230 (tratados entre Francia y Cléveris, 17 de julio de 1540, Dinamarca, 29 de noviembre de 1541, y Suecia, 1 de julio de 1542); *SP*, VIII (parte V, vol. 3), 635-644, Paget a Enrique VIII, 21 de noviembre y 7 de diciembre de 1541 (véase «Articles agreed upon by certain capitaines of Almayn, entreteined by the French king» («Artículos acordados con ciertos capitanes de Alemania a los que recibió el rey francés») en p. 640, n. 1); Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 327-331 y 347-351, Marillac a Francisco, 12 de agosto y 12 de octubre de 1541. Francisco otorgó poderes a Marillac para que ultimara los términos del matrimonio el 10 de febrero de 1542: ibíd., 388.

16. *PEG*, II, 628-631, «Cry de la guerre ouverte», 12 de julio de 1543 (traducción inglesa en *CSPSp*, VI/2, 62-63; Guiffrey, *Cronique*, 392-396, publicó el mismo documento a partir de otra copia, con fecha de 10 de julio de 1542); Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 431, Instrucciones a L'Aubespine, 8 de julio de 1542, incluía la declaración de guerra. Un año después, Francisco seguía aún usando el asesinato de sus embajadores para justificar una demanda de nuevos impuestos para su guerra contra Carlos: BL *Egerton charters* 38, *Mandement* para exigir el *taille* en Quercy, 31 de agosto de 1543.

17. Williams, «Re-orienting», 21-22, Solimán a Fernando, 12/21 de septiembre de 1541, y Jerome Laski a Fernando, noviembre de 1541; Kaulek, *Correspondance*, 340-341, Rustem Pasha a Laski, enviado a Francisco a través de un agente en Belgrado, 18 de agosto de 1541, y enviado a su vez al embajador Marillac en Inglaterra. Sobre las abundantes consecuencias que tuvo el asesinato de Fregoso y Rincón, que siguió constituyendo una *cause célèbre* diplomática hasta la década de 1790, véase Poumarède, Le «vilain et sale assassinat», 37-44.

18. Friedensburg, «Aktenstücke», 45-57, documento de posicionamiento de Granvela, que comienza «Affinque l'empereur se puisse mieulx determiner et mander son intencion et bon plesir» a sus ministros de todo el imperio, Siena, 28 de noviembre de 1541. Es evidente que el ministro había recibido copias de cartas dirigidas al emperador por sus hermanos (e.g. Árpad, «Kiadatlan», 490-493, Fernando a Carlos, 20 de octubre de 1541; y Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 434, y lámina 6, consejo de Granvela sobre cómo responder a las cartas de María del 15 de octubre de 1541.)

19. Árpad, «Kiadatlan», 497-499, Carlos a Fernando, y Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 430-433, Carlos a María, ambas fechadas el 29 de diciembre de 1541.

20. HHStA *Belgien PA* 32/1/7-10, Carlos a María, Tordesillas, 26 de enero de 1542, borrador lleno de correcciones, en su mayoría ológrafo (copia en limpio, tal vez un desencriptado hecho para María, en *Belgien PA* 32/1/ 32/1/11-14). Sobre el plan de recuperar Güeldres, Carlos escribió «que j'avoys fayt à mon partement d'Alemaigne», es decir, en julio de 1541.

21. Árpad, «Kiadatlan», 514-518, Carlos a Fernando, 10 [no 19] de mayo de 1542.

22. HHStA, *Belgien PA*, 32/4/332-334v, y Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 323, Carlos a María, 13 de mayo y 10 de junio de 1542, ambas ológrafas.

23. HHStA *Belgien PA* 32/3/242-247v, María a Carlos, 30 de junio de 1542, minuta, enviada «tout en cyffre forte».

24. *SP*, IX, 157-163, Bonner a Enrique VIII, 9 de septiembre de 1542; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/38-40v, Carlos a Fernando, 9 de octubre de 1542, copia del registro; *LCK*, II, 364-367, M. de Praet a Carlos, 24 de septiembre de 1542.

25. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/44-45, Carlos a Fernando, 3 de noviembre de 1542, ológrafo, copia del registro (publicado con algunos errores en Árpad, «Kiadatlan», 537).

26. BL *Addl. Ms*. 28.706 contiene todos los documentos importantes relativos al tratado matrimonial; HHStA *Belgien PA* 38/2/183-187v, Carlos a María, 12 de abril de 1543, mencionaba el pago por adelantado de 150.000 ducados de la dote para su futura nuera, los cuales Carlos tenía previsto utilizar «pour me secourir» en los preparativos de «mon passage» fuera de España.

27. Véanse ejemplos de la información secreta proporcionada por Jehan de Hons en *CSPSp*, VI/1, 341-343, y VI/2, 8-9, Chapuys a Carlos, 16 de julio de 1541 y 7 de mayo de 1542. Sobre su identidad, ídem VI/2, 427, Chapuys a María, 5 de julio de 1543. Como David Potter apuntó sagazmente: «El misterio está en cómo de Hons fue capaz de encontrar tiempo para hacer las copias de tantos despachos cifrados de su señor» (Potter, *The war*, 67-68).

28. *CSPSp* VI/2, 236-238, Carlos a Chapuys, 23 de enero de 1543; Rymer, *Foedera*, XIV, 768-780, tratado «contra Franciscum cum Turcha confoederatum, de guerra indicenda & Franciae invadenda», 11 de febrero de 1542.

29. *CSPSp* VI/2, 236-238, Carlos a Chapuys, 23 de enero de 1543.

30. *SP*, IX, 355-360 y 374-376, Bonner a Enrique, 15 de abril y 14 de mayo de 1543.

31. *SPs*, IX, 374-376, Bonner a Enrique, 14 de mayo de 1543; Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, de donde se han tomado esta y todas las demás citas de las Instrucciones del 4 y el 6 de mayo de 1543.

32. Véanse, como justificación de esta advertencia, las evidencias de las facciones existentes entre los ministros de Carlos reveladas en Tellechea Idígoras*, Fray Bartolomé de Carranza, Documentos Históricos*, I, con el testimonio de más de 50 cortesanos durante la fase de recusación del juicio de Carranza en 1559-1560.

33. El emperador dedicó más tiempo a la evaluación de Los Cobos que a la de ningún otro. También le dijo a su hijo «Yo le he avisado» de sus fallos y «creo que se remedyará».

34. Antonio Perrenot (1517-1586), el cardenal Granvela a partir de 1561 prestaría servicio al emperador y su hijo en Alemania y los Países Bajos hasta 1564 y en Italia desde entonces hasta 1579, fecha en la que regresó a España como ministro principal. Como Carlos había predicho, «será para servyr». Sobre la confianza del emperador en los consejos de Granvela, véase capítulo 11.

35. Fernando de Valdés Salas (1488-1568) sirvió como presidente de la Chancillería de Valladolid durante 1535-1539 y como presidente del Consejo Real durante 1539-1546; y como arzobispo de Sevilla e inquisidor general desde 1546 hasta su muerte. Había acompañado a Carlos a Inglaterra, los Países Bajos y Alemania en 1520-1522: véase Colón de Carvajal, «Don Fernando de Valdés». Véase capítulo 15 sobre su último intercambio con el emperador.

36. *Bibliographie Nationale de Belgique*, 3 (Bruselas, 1872), col. 666, entrada de Gachard sobre Carlos; *SP*, IX, 355-360, Bonner a Enrique, 15 de abril de 1543.

37. AGS *E* 60/193-194, Loaysa (veterano en las «cumbres» entre el Papa y el emperador celebradas en Bolonia en 1530 y 1533) a Carlos, 28 de septiembre de 1543, ológrafo; AGS *PR* 16/75, Instrucciones de Carlos a Juan de Vega, su nuevo embajador ante el Papa, 5 de julio de 1543.

38. Giovio, *Delle Istorie*, 693 (libro XLIII; en Busseto en junio de 1543); Gachard, «Notice historique», 45-46, Carlos a los Estados de Flandes, 13 de junio de 1543 (HHStA *Belgien PA* 38/3 contiene minutas de 12 cartas similares).

39. *SP*, IX, 450-452, Nicholas Wotton a Enrique, Bruselas, 21 de julio de 1543, ológrafo; ASF *MdP* 4301/104-110, Ricasoli al duque Cosimo, Espira, 2 de agosto de 1543. Véase también *MdP* 4301/141, del mismo al mismo, 11 de agosto de 1543, informando de que «persiste la duda de si su Majestad se quedará con el ejército o irá a Bruselas».

40. *SP*, IX, 484-487, Bonner a Enrique, Colonia, 24 de agosto de 1543; Gachard, *Analectes Historiques*, I, 246-257, Carlos a Felipe, 25 de septiembre de 1543.

41. Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, II, 4; ASF *MdP* 4301/179, Ricasoli al duque Cosimo, desde el campamento imperial, 30 de agosto de 1543.

42. *PEG*, II, 669, describe cómo Carlos recibió al duque Guillermo con el mismo desprecio que lo había hecho en Gante tres años antes, simulando durante algún tiempo que tomaría medidas más duras.

43. *SP*, IX, 505-507, Wotton a Enrique, 9 de septiembre de 1543; AA 4/95, Carlos a Alba, 27 de octubre de 1543, posdata ológrafa (copia en f. 46).

44. ASF *MdP* 4301/182-185, Ricasoli al duque Cosimo, 12 de septiembre de 1543; *SP*, IX, 505-507, Wotton a Enrique, 9 de septiembre de 1543; *PEG*, II, 678-682, Instrucciones de Carlos al barón Chantonnay, su enviado especial ante Enrique para proponerle una invasión angloimperial conjunta de Francia «para el año próximo», 12 de septiembre de 1543.

45. *SP*, IX, 522-525, sir John Wallop, comandante de la fuerza expedicionaria inglesa, a Enrique VIII, 21 de octubre de 1543, informando de una conversación con Carlos del día anterior; Gachard, *Analectes Historiques*, II, 216-219, Granvela a María, 29 de octubre de 1543 (poniendo algunas de las palabras pronunciadas por el ministro en segunda persona).

46. ASF *MdP* 4301/280-281, Ricasoli al duque Cosimo, 27 de octubre de 1543, citando al marqués de Marignano. *SP*, IX, 527-529 y TNA *SP* 1/182/39-41, Wallop a Paget, 22 y 26 de octubre de 1543, describió con gran detalle las «balas artificiales» disparadas por los morteros «que escupían fuego por todas partes», sugiriendo que eran nuevas.

47. Gachard, *Trois années*, 22, Navagero a la Señoría, 2 de noviembre de 1543; *SP*, IX, 538-542, Wallop a Enrique, 6 de noviembre de 1543. AGS *E* 60/193-194, Loaysa a Carlos, 9 de septiembre de 1543, ológrafo, animando al emperador a atraer a Francisco a «otra jornada peor que la de Pavya».

48. *SP*, IX, 538-542, Wallop a Enrique, 6 de noviembre de 1543; ibíd., 543-545, Wallop a Paget, 7 de noviembre de 1543, con una posdata del día 10; HHStA *Hs Blau* 596/1/57, Carlos a Fernando, 19 de noviembre de 1543; Gachard, *Trois années*, 23, Navagero a la Señoría, 28 de noviembre de 1543. Véase también Gachard, *Analectes Historiques*, II, 34-38, Carlos a María, 4 y 5 de noviembre de 1543.

49. Isom-Verhaaren, «Barbarossa», 419, citando una carta de Barbarroja a Solimán, 22 de marzo de 1544.

50. TNA *SP* 1/182/157-164, «Artículos acordados entre el virrey [Gonzaga] y los altos comisionados de su majestad para la invasión de Francia», borrador con abundantes correcciones efectuadas por distintas personas, pero principalmente Paget; partes en francés. Sin fechar, pero enviado a Wallop el 4 de enero de 1544: *SP*, IX, 576-581.

51. Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, IV, 236; TNA *SP* 1/187/86-88, Wotton a Enrique VIII, 7 de mayo de 1544; Gachard, *Trois années*, 36-37, Navagero y Morosini a la Señoría, 26 de abril de 1544, tras una audiencia con Carlos.

52. ASF *MdF* 4301/464, Ricasoli al duque Cosimo, 1 de marzo de 1544, citando al nuncio; *PEG*, III, 21-25, respuesta de la Dieta a la propuesta del emperador, Espira, 10 de junio de 1544.

53. Brandi, «Die Testamente», 96-107, codicilo firmado ante testigos el 21 de junio de 1544, y enviado sellado a Fernando: AGS *E* 500/73, Carlos a Los Cobos, 7 de julio de 1544.

54. BNE *MR*/43/283, «Descripción de parte de Francia por donde entró el emperador», 56 x 107 centímetros, sin fechar, pero de 1544.

55. Rozet y Lembey, *L'invasion*, 545-546, el embajador Heironymo Feruffino al duque de Ferrara, 7 de julio de 1544; ibíd., 539, del mismo al mismo, 23 de junio de 1544; ibíd., 666-668, Navagero a la Señoría, 22 de junio de 1544. Rozet y Lembey, *op. cit.*, 511-743, publicaron importantes fragmentos de casi 200 despachos de campaña escritos por enviados de Venecia, Ferrara y Mantua a los gobiernos de sus respectivos países. *SP*, IX y X incluyen los del embajador inglés.

56. HHStA *Belgien PA* 40/3/293-298, Carlos a María, 20 de julio de 1544.

57. HHStA *Belgien PA* 40/3/363-368, Carlos a María, 31 de agosto de 1544; *CDCV*, IV, 522 (*Memorias* de Carlos). Rozet y Lembey, *L'invasion*, 574-576, Feruffino a Ferrara, 4 de septiembre de 1544; y 638-648, Camillo Capilupo a los regentes de Mantua, 19 de septiembre de 1544, ofrecen excelentes relatos de la marcha bajo la luz de la luna.

58. Rozet y Lembey, *L'invasion*, 713-715, Navagero a la Señoría, «16 leguas de París», 6 de septiembre de 1544; ibíd., 638-648, Capilupo a los regentes de Mantua, 19 de septiembre de 1544; TNA *SP* 1/192/36, Wotton a Paget, 6 de septiembre; Giovio, *Opera*, I, 348-350, Giovio al cardenal Farnesio, 23 de septiembre de 1544. La debacle militar de Francia en 1544 fue de este modo tan rápida y completa como la de 1940, cuando otro ejército enemigo organizó otra invasión por sorpresa desde el este.

59. *CDCV*, IV, 523-524 (*Memorias* de Carlos); Rozet y Lembey, *L'invasion*, 574-576, Feruffino a Ferrara, 4 de septiembre de 1544; Von Druffel, «Kaiser Karl V», 266-270, Instrucciones de Carlos a Perrenot, 7 de septiembre de 1544.

60. AGS *E* 64/95, Los Cobos a Carlos, 17 de septiembre de 1544; BMECB *Ms. Granvela* III, 166-168, consejo de Granvela sobre hacer la paz, sin fechar, pero presentado un borrador con abundantes correcciones (texto editado en *PEG*, III, 26-29) a Carlos el 14 o 15 de septiembre de 1544. El análisis de Granvela era correcto: poco después de tomar Boulogne, Enrique empezó a planear su regreso.

61. Rozet y Lembey, *L'invasion*, 577-578, Feruffino a Ferrara, 1114 de septiembre de 1544.

62. AGS *E* 64/95, Los Cobos a Granvela, 17 de septiembre del 44; AGS *E* 64/197, Loaysa a Carlos, 5 de enero de 1544; *CDCV*, II, 282-284, Felipe a Carlos, 28 de septiembre de 1544 (una interesante formulación del punto de vista de los teólogos de la Escuela de Salamanca, que sostenían que los vencedores no deberían destruir a los vencidos, sino por el contrario ofrecerles la paz); *CDCV*, IV, 523-524 (*Memorias* de Carlos).

63. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 279-287, tratado de Crépy, 18 de septiembre de 1544.

64. Hasenclever, «Die Geheimartikel», 420-422, texto firmado el 19 de septiembre de 1544.

65. HHStA *Hs Blau* 596/1/69v-72, Carlos a María, 19 de septiembre de 1544, copia de registro (algunas partes publicadas en Von Druffel, «Kaiser Karl V», 270-271).

66. Giovio, *Opera*, I, 352-354, carta «a un amigo», Roma, 14 de octubre de 1544; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 197.

12. Ajustando cuentas, segunda parte: Alemania e Italia, 1545-1548

1. *SP*, X, 178-187 y 202-207, Hertford, Gardiner y Wotton a Enrique, 7, 9 y 17 de noviembre de 1544.

2. *SP*, X, 71-72, Enrique a Wotton, [15] de septiembre de 1544 (escrito, por tanto, inmediatamente antes del tratado de paz); Gachard, *Trois années*, 43, Chapuys y Corrières a Carlos, 16 de septiembre de 1544, transmitía el mismo mensaje. El único error en el razonamiento de Enrique era que «los Países Bajos, al ser herencia cierta del sucesor del emperador, sin ningún asomo de duda», se podía «mantener sin grandes costes» mientras siguieran perteneciendo a España.

3. TNA *SP* 1/194/39-40, Wotton al Consejo Privado, 21 de octubre de 1544 (describiendo a Idiáquez y su misión); *CDCV*, II, 300-301, Felipe a Carlos, 13 de diciembre de 1544 (y no el 24, como se afirmaba en ibíd., p. 311.)

4. Chabod, «¿Milán o los Países Bajos?», 244-251, «Los puntos que se apuntaron por los del Consejo de Estado en las dos comunicaciones que se tuvo sobre la alternativa que ofreció Su Magestad», sin fechar, pero escritas en noviembre de 1544.

5. *CDCV* II, 299-311, Felipe a Carlos, 14 de diciembre de 1544 (fechada equivocadamente el 24 de diciembre). Tal y como Carlos había predicho en mayo de 1543, Los Cobos se posicionó de parte de Alba, y don Juan de Zúñiga del lado de Tavera: Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 117.

6. *PEG*, III, 67-87, «Ce que l'on doibt considérer sur la déclaration de l'alternative contenue au traité de Crespy», seguido de «Discours et arraisonnement des considérations que l'on peult prendre sur l'Alternative», sin fechar, pero antes del 17 de febrero de 1545, cuando Carlos informó a su hijo de que «las personas más principales y aceptas a Nos destos Stados» habían «dado por scripto» su preferencia respecto a «la alternativa»: *CDCV*, III, 336-343, 17 de febrero de 1545.

7. *SP*, X, 236-237, Wotton a Enrique VIII, 27 de noviembre de 1544; AGS *E* 872/129, Carlos a Juan de Vega, sin fechar, pero escrita el 17 de febrero de 1545 (con órdenes de informar al Papa).

8. Gachard, *Trois années*, 68-69 y 71, Navagero a la Señoría, 22 de junio y 27 de marzo de 1545; *PEG*, III, 55-58, Carlos a Fernando, 1 de febrero de 1545; *CDCV*, III, 336-343, Carlos a Felipe, 17 de febrero de 1545. Dumont, *Corps*, IV/2, 288, publicó la declaración de Carlos.

9. *CDCV*, IV, 527 y 538. La frase «vivo o muerto» también apareció en Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 12v («Muchas vezes yo le oý desir, hablando en esta terrible guerra, que muerto o bivo él avía de quedar en Alemaña»), una de las muchas duplicaciones similares que existen, lo que llevó a Von Ranke a sugerir que Carlos utilizó el texto de Ávila (publicado por primera vez en 1548) cuando redactó sus *Memorias: Deutsche Gechichte*, IV, 76-77.

10. Close, «City-states», 214-215, Ulm a otras ciudades de la Liga, 18 de junio de 1544.

11. Winckelmann, *Politische Correspondenz*, III, 504-507, Jacob Sturm a Estrasburgo, Espira, 18 de marzo de 1544, comentaba que la propuesta del emperador de dejar a Brunswick «in eine dritte hand». *RTA* XVI, 1474-1494, documenta las varias tentativas de la Dieta de Worms para resolver la cuestión de Brunswick: Mariotte, *Philippe*, caps. 6 y 9, presenta un relato claro y conciso de las campañas de Wurtemberg y Brunswick.

12. Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, I, 564-566, informe de Christoph von Carlowitz a Mauricio sobre su reunión con Granvela, 28 de febrero de 1543; HHStA *Belgien PA* 37/1/120-123, Granvela a Carlos, 1 de mayo de 1543, informando de sus conversaciones con Carlowitz.

13. Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 37*-40*, Carlos a Felipe, 16 de febrero de 1546; *CDCV*, IV, 526-527 *(Memorias)*; *NBD*, VIII, 170-177, Fabio Mignanelli al cardenal Santa Fiora, Worms, 28 de mayo de 1545. *RTA*, XVII, 1201-1375, contiene los debates, en los que Fernando tuvo un papel protagonista hasta la llegada de Carlos el 16 de mayo, fecha a partir de la cual Granvela actuó como principal portavoz imperial.

14. AGS *E* 641/2, «Relación de los negocios que embía el secretario Idiáquez» a Los Cobos, sin fechar, pero en torno al 20 de junio de 1545, con la petición de que sus notas «se quemen después de ser leydas» (afortunadamente para los historiadores, Los Cobos no lo cumplió). *NBD*, VIII, 221-226, el nuncio Verallo a Farnesio, 1 de julio de 1545, mencionaba que Granvela «mi mostrò una carta con più di cinquanta capituli, tutti concernenti la impresa» contra los luteranos, que iba a comentar con Carlos.

15. *CDCV*, IV, 529-530, *Memorias*; TNA *SP* 1/208/38-40, fray Gabriel de Guzmán a Carlos, 20 de septiembre de 1545, donde informa sobre su misión de tranquilizar a Francisco; *SP*, XI, 19-20, Mont a Enrique VIII, Fráncfort, 17 de enero de 1546, sobre el rumor acerca de África (que él no se creía). Véase también *PEG*, III, 186-204, argumentos de Granvela para mantener la paz pese a la muerte de Orleans, utilizando la analogía de que el tratado seguiría en pie incluso «si Dios permitía que un terremoto destruyera una de las ciudades cuya restitución estaba estipulada».

16. *CDCV*, II, 418-422, Felipe a Carlos, 3 de septiembre de 1545; *CSPSp*, VIII, 229, Los Cobos a Carlos, sin fechar, pero también del 3 de septiembre de 1545; Brandi, *Kaiser Karl,* II, 356-357, María a Granvela, minuta sin fechar, finales de 1545.

17. *CDCV*, IV, 531 *(Memorias)*; *CDCV*, II, 453-458, Carlos a Felipe, 17 de marzo de 1546.

18. *CDCV*, IV, 532; Von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 1-24, «Protokoll der Verhandlung des Landgrafen Philipp mit Kaiser Karl zu Speier», 28 y 29 de marzo de 1546 (otras partes también publicadas en *RTA*, XVII, 64-78); *NBD*, VIII, 623-624, Serristori al duque Cosme de Florencia, 29 de marzo de 1546.

19. *CDCV*, II, 471-474, Carlos a Felipe, 20 de mayo de 1546. Sobre Bárbara Blomberg, véanse los capítulos 14 y 16.

20. HHStA *Hs Blau* 596/1/103-104, Carlos a Fernando, 18 de abril de 1546.

21. Véanse más detalles en *LCK*, II, 648-652, tratado secreto firmado por Carlos, Fernando y Baviera, 7 de junio de 1546; y Brandeburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, II, 660-664, tratado secreto firmado por Carlos, Fernando y Mauricio, 19 de junio de 1546.

22. Kannengiesser, *Karl V*, 197, Carlos a Buren, 9 de junio de 1546; *LCK*, II, 486-491, Carlos a María, 9 de junio de 1546; *SP*, XI, 219-221, Thirlby a Paget, Ratisbona, 15 de junio de 1546; AGS *CMC* 1.ª/1455, Cuentas de García Portillo, patentes firmadas en Ratisbona, 21 de junio de 1546.

23. *SP*, XI, 223-227, Mason a Paget, 25 de junio de 1546, informando de una reunión con Federico en Heidelberg. Sobre el servicio prestado por Mason en la corte imperial, véase *ODNB* s.v.

24. Brandi, *The emperor*, 541; *CDCV*, IV, 531, n 144.

25. *CDCV*, II, II, 336-343, Carlos a Felipe, 17 de febrero de 1545. Véanse más ejemplos de planificación adelantada en el memorándum enviado por Idiáquez a Los Cobos a mediados de junio de 1545 (página 338); y *CSPSp*, VIII, 183-184, Juan de Vega a Felipe, Roma, 20 de julio de 1545.

26. Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, 37*-40*, Carlos a Felipe, 16 de febrero de 1546 (3 cartas). Sobre el fracaso de negociar en el Reichstag de Ratisbona, véanse los documentos que se encuentran en *RTA*, XVII, 433-489.

27. TNA *SP* 1/123/100-103, Vaughan al Consejo Privado, 12 de agosto de 1546; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 605, Relación final de Mocenigo, 1548. Mariotte, «Charles-Quint», 379, denominó la decisión del emperador de iniciar las hostilidades antes de concentrar sus fuerzas «un coup de poker».

28. Ávila, *Comentario*, 10v. *RTA*, XVII, 484-489, publica las cartas de los miembros de la Liga en las que mandaban volver a sus procuradores de la Dieta; Brady, *Protestant politics*, 299, enumera los miembros de la Liga que se movilizaron.

29. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 610, Relación Final de Mocenigo, donde se detalla la deficiente estructura de mando del ejército de la Liga.

30. *NBD*, IX, 158-166, Verallo al cardenal Farnesio, 30-31 de julio de 1546; BL *Addl. Ms*. 28.595/42-44, Carlos a Juan de Vega, 31 de julio de 1546.

31. *CDCV*, II, 489-492, Carlos a Felipe, 10 de agosto de 1546; AGS *E* 73/239, Carlos a Los Cobos, 11 de agosto de 1546, ológrafo decodificado.

32. Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 48 (relato similar en Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 13). *RTA*, XVII, 567-574, publica el «Absagebrief», fechado el 11 de agosto de 1547 y firmado por 8 príncipes y los representantes de 5 ciudades; Sleidan, *De statu*, 533 (libro XVII), dejó constancia de la renuencia del elector a dirigirse a Carlos como «emperador»; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/104-106, Carlos a Fernando, 17 de agosto de 1546 (publicada parcialmente en Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 14-15), le informaba de que la declaración llegó «sur ung baston fendu, qu'est la forme de défiance que l'on a accoustumé user en Allemaigne», conocido como *Fehdebrief*.

33. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 13 (relato similar en Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 48). *RTA*, XVII, 552-562, imprime el «vando», fechado el 20 de julio de 1546, pero no lo publica hasta el 14 de agosto. Von Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch*, 54, registró «Advenit Italicus exercitus» el 13 de agosto, y «Litterae ab lantgravio cum trompeta, quibus renunciabant jus vasallagii et fidelitatis» el 14 de agosto.

34. Greppi, «Extraits», 123-124, Stroppiana al duque de Saboya, 6 de septiembre de 1546; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 662-663, Mocenigo al Dogo, 1 de septiembre de 1546 (Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 72-78, también resaltaba los bastiones y «caballeros» destinados a las defensas del campamento). Los protestantes destacaron a su vez que «de noche y de día, el emperador fortificaba su campamento»: Schertlin von Burtenbach, *Leben*, 46. Véase el mapa de asedio en Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, 39.

35. Greppi, «Extraits», 125-131, Stroppiana al duque de Saboya, 6 de septiembre de 1546; Mugnet, «Les faictz», 279-280; Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 21; Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 60.

36. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/106-107v y 108v-109v, Carlos a Fernando, 2 y 19 de septiembre de 1546, posdatas ológrafas (publicadas parcialmente en Von Drüffel, *Beiträge*, I, 19 y 21). Otros también le reprocharon a Carlos poner en riesgo «su persona, de la cual dependía el destino de toda la Cristiandad»: Greppi, «Extraits», 127, Stroppiana al duque, 6 de septiembre de 1546. Incluso Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 31v, dudaban de si era prudente que el emperador «se ponga en estos peligros como vn capitan o soldado particular».

37. *NBD*, IX, 226 n. 4, Serristori al duque Cosme, 4 de septiembre de 1546 (motivos luteranos para la retirada); Schertlin von Burtenbach, *Leben*, 46; Möllenberg, «Die Verhandlung», 49-50, y Dullen, *Neue Beiträge*, 60-61, Felipe de Hesse a su esposa Margareta, 11 y 21 de septiembre de 1546, ambas ológrafas.

38. Mogen, *Historia*, 291-292 § 89 (del diario del secretario del landgrave); Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 673-677 y II, 66-67, Mocenigo al Dogo, 7/8 de septiembre y 24 de octubre de 1546 (insultos de Hesse referidos por un diplomático que había sido detenido en el campamento protestante).

39. Busto, *Geschichte*, 112; *CDCV*, IV, 550, *Memorias* de Carlos. Sobre la cambiante fuerza de los dos ejércitos, véanse las cifras en Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, 88-94.

40. Brandenburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, II, 872-877, alianza defensivo-ofensiva entre Fernando y Mauricio, Praga, 14 de octubre de 1546; Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser*, II, 506-508, «Abschiedt zu Giengen gemacht, den 16 Novembris 1546» respecto al «Abzug und Winterlager» del ejército de la Liga.

41. Bernays, *Politische Correspondenz*, IV/1, 494-497, Sturm al landgrave, 21 de noviembre de 1546 y la respuesta del landgrave del día siguiente, con correcciones ológrafas. Sobre la campaña, véase Schüz, *Der Donaufeldzug*, basado no solo en fuentes impresas, sino en su reconocimiento personal del terreno, con 7 mapas; y Crouzet, *Charles-Quint*, capítulo 15.

42. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 35-36; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 10-14 y 19-22, Mocenigo a la Señoría, 22 y 27 de septiembre de 1546 (citando al médico de Carlos, Cornelis van Baersdorp); Mugnet, «Les faictz», 290-291 (entrada del 4 de

octubre de 1546).

43. Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 173-174.

44. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 61v-62v; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 125-126, Mocenigo al Dogo, 19 de diciembre de 1546; Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 26-28, Carlos a María, 23 de noviembre de 1546.

45. Dumont, *Corps universelle*, IV/2, 326-327, tratado entre Carlos y el duque Ulrico, 3 de enero de 1547; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 151-152 y 156-160, Mocenigo al Dogo, 29 de junio y 2 de febrero de 1546.

46. *LCK*, II, 524-527, Carlos a Fernando, 9 de enero de 1547 (copia en HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/117-119v).

47. *LCK*, II, 529-531, Carlos a Fernando, 2 de febrero de 1547 (copia en HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/126-127v).

48. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 39-46, Carlos a St. Mauris, 19 de enero de 1547; *LCK*, II, 539-541, Carlos a Fernando, 19 de febrero de 1547 (copia en HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/131-133v). Véase también *LCK*, II, 34-37, María a Carlos, 10 de enero de 1547, advirtiendo de que los franceses podrían montar un ataque sorpresa «como hicieron en 1542». Glagau, «Landgraf Philipp», 37-44, documenta las negociaciones entre Francia y Hesse.

49. Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 85. Crouzet, *Charles-Quint*, capítulo 16, ofrece el mejor relato moderno de la campaña.

50. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 234-242, Mocenigo y Lorenzo Contarini al Dogo, 25 y 26 de abril de 1548.

51. ASP *CF* 510/1, «Avvisi mandati da Mr Valerio Amano», 25 de abril de 1547; Mugnier, «Les faictz», 341-342; Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 90v; Núñez Alba, *Diálogo*, 210. Véase también la descripción de este incidente en Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 242-243, Mocenigo y Contarini al Dogo, 27 de abril de 1547. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 16, atribuye la amenazadora frase a Fernando, pero Sastrow todavía no había llegado al campamento imperial; por otro lado, solamente él registró el saludo del elector en alemán: «Allergnedigster Keyser und Herr». Crouzet, *CharlesQuint*, cap. 18, ofrece un excelente relato moderno del triunfo de Carlos en el Elba.

52. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 58, Perrenot a María, «desde el campo de la victoria del Elba», 25 de abril de 1547; Dumont, *Corps universelle*, IV/2, 332, *Todesurteil* de Carlos contra Juan Federico, 10 de mayo de 1547.

53. Benavent Benavent y Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 41-47, «Artículos acordados con el prisionero Juan Federico de Saxonia debaxo de los quales el emperador a moderado la pena que avía meresçido por aver sido rebelde», Halle, 19 de mayo de 1547.

54. Petritsch, «Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag», 6870, publica el texto de la tregua, firmada en Estambul el 19 de junio de 1547 y ratificada por Carlos el 1 de agosto de 1547; Pánek, «Emperador», 143-148, aborda la repercusión que la guerra de Esmalcalda tuvo para los bohemios.

55. Glagau, «Landgraf Philipp», 42, Felipe a Mauricio de Sajonia, 30 de abril de 1547; Von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 231-232, Felipe a su Consejo de Regencia, 28 de mayo de 1547.

56. Von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 248-253, publicó los términos de la capitulación, fechada el 19 de junio de 1547, pero casi con toda seguridad redactada el 3 o 4 de junio. Felipe no firmó la ratificación hasta el 19 (ibíd., 253). Véase también un texto español en Benavent Benavent y Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 50-52, «Capitulación dada al landgrave de Hessen sobre su libertad, sumisión y perdón».

57. Preuschen, «Ein gleichzeitiger Bericht», 148 (relato anónimo enviado al elector de Maguncia afirmando que Felipe había «mit den Churfürsten etwas geredt vnnd gelechelt»); Sastrow, *Herkommen* II, 29-30 (afirmando que el «lachede gar schimpfflich», y que el emperador le amenazó en neerlandés: «Wel, ik zal u leeren lachgen»). Véanse también las versiones que constan en *NBD*, X, 24-27, del nuncio Verallo al cardenal Farnesio, 20 de junio de 1547; y *LCK*, II, 585-595, Perrenot a María, 20 y 21 de junio de 1547.

58. *LCK*, II, 585-595, Perrenot a María, 20 y 21 de junio de 1547, y «Touchant le prinse du landtgraue» (traducción española en Benavent Benavent y Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 52ff); Brandeburg, *Politische Korrespondenz*, III, 443-445, instrucciones de Mauricio a sus enviados ante Fernando, 21 de junio de 1547.

59. Stumpf, *Baierns politische Geschichte*, primera parte 2, 287, nota, relato de Seld «ubers Fursten von Baiern Tafel» del ardid de Perrenot durante la reunión con los electores de junio de 1548 (fecha correcta tomada de Mariotte, «Charles», 401). Von Rommel, *Philipp*, III, 235-236, publicó ambas palabras —«einiger» y «ewiger»— en su edición del texto de la rendición del landgrave. El engaño fue mencionado en 1552 en Rabelais, *Les cinq livres*, libro IV: al final del cap. 17 Pantagruel navegaba por «les isles aussi de Enig et Evig, des quelles par avant estoit advenue l'estafillade au Langrauff d'Esse» (caracteres góticos en el original; publicado mientras el landgrave languidecía en prisión).

60. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/144v-145, Carlos a Fernando, Halle, 15 de junio de 1547, copia de registro (parcialmente publicada en Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 458 n. 88, y Von Bucholz, *Gechichte*, IX, 427-428); HHStA *Belgien* PA 8/2/138-139v, Fernando a Carlos, 17 de junio de 1547, con la interesante observación de que dado que Juan Federico era demasiado peligroso para dejarle permanecer en Alemania, debía ser trasladado bajo vigilancia española al Tirol y de allí enviado a España (publicado parcialmente en Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 460 n. 89, y Von Bucholz, *Gechichte*, IX, 428-429).

61. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/148v-151, Carlos a Fernando, 28 de junio de 1547, copia de registro (véase también la minuta llena de correcciones en HHStA *Belgien PA* 5/2/70-75, donde queda demostrado el cuidado que Carlos puso en la redacción de su relato. Partes publicadas en Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 63-68, y en Von Bucholz, *Gechichte*, IX, 429-433, pero con varios errores de transcripción y la fecha equivocada).

62. HHStA *Belgien* PA 8/2/148-151, Fernando a Carlos, 14 de julio de 1547, original cifrado con desencriptado en los márgenes (partes publicadas en Bucholz, *Geschichte*, IX, 433-434). Issleib, *Aufsätze*, 258-264, presenta un excelente análisis de si

Carlos había tenido o no intención de engañar.

63. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 48 y 31.

64. Tracy, *Emperor*, 223-228; AGS *CMC* 1.ª/1189, cuentas de Alonso de Baeza, y *CMC* 1.ª/1491, cuentas de García Portillo.

65. Busto, *Geschichte*, 185 (Ávila y Zúñiga, *Comentario*, 92, relatan la misma anécdota). Disposiciones militares en *NBD*, X, 377-380, Santa Croce a Farnesio, 15 de junio de 1548.

66. *LCK*, II, 599-602, Perrenot a María de Hungría, 11 de julio de 1547.

67. Rabe, *Reichsbund*, sigue constituyendo el estudio clásico de la «Dieta Armada» de 1547-1548; *RTA*, XVIII, publicó los documentos relevantes al caso, incluidos los 108 artículos de *Reichsabschied* (Receso) el 30 de junio de 1548 (pp. 2651-2694). Para más información sobre la creación del Círculo Borgoñón, véase cap. 14 más adelante.

68. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 349-371, publicó el Diario de Vandenesse entre el 1 de septiembre de 1547 y el 30 de junio de 1548: véanse las entradas cronológicas relevantes. Rabe, *Reichsbund*, 197, señaló que Maximiliano presidió la inauguración solemne de la Dieta en la residencia de Fugger el 1 de septiembre de 1547, a pesar de que Carlos estaba presente.

69. Gachard, *Voyages*, II, 349-350 (entrada de Vandenesse correspondiente al 1 de septiembre de 1547; véase ídem, 306, donde afirma que el emperador también tomó palo de Indias entre el 10 de febrero y el 15 de marzo de 1545); *NBD*, X, 76-79, el nuncio Verallo al cardenal Farnesio, 11-12 de agosto de 1547; ídem, 185-189, Mignanelli a Farnesio, 4 de noviembre de 1547; ASF *MdP* 3101a/1085, Francesco di Paolo Vinta al duque Cosme, 2 de abril de 1548; Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370-371, «Sommaire de l'Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l'empereur Charles V, en l'année 1550». Carlos se llevó una sauna alemana a Yuste: véase capítulo 16.

70. AGS *E* 644/77 y 83, Carlos a don Diego de Mendoza, 11 de febrero y 17 de marzo de 1547, narrando con considerable regocijo cómo había insultado a varios emisarios pontificios.

71. AGS *E* 643/32, Carlos a don Francisco de Toledo, 11 de abril de 1547. Sobre el uso que Felipe II hizo de esta fórmula, véase *FBD*, cap. 5.

72. *LWS,* LIV, 208, en *Wider das Babstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft* (Wittenberg, 1545); AGS *E* 644/99, Granvela a Mendoza, 29 de agosto de 1547.

73. Rein, «Faith and empire», 51, traducido del *Interim*, y 54. Mi resumen del *Interim* se basa en gran parte en el análisis de Rein. El título completo del documento era revelador: *Das Römischen kaiserlichen maiestat erclärung, wie es der Religion halben im hailigen Reich, biss zü ausstrag des gemainen Concili gehalten warden soll, auff dem Reichstag zü Augsburg, den XV May im M.D.XLVIII Jar publiciert und eröffnet und von gmainen Stennden angenonnen*. Curiosamente, hasta su muerte, Felipe II guardó en su escritorio la copia que heredó de su tía María, que actualmente se encuentra en SLEE 102-III-43. *RTA*, XVIII, 1910-1948, publicó el texto en latín del documento.

74. *NBD*, X, 327-333, Nuncio Sfondrati al cardenal Farnesio, Augsburgo, 16 de mayo de 1548, con la carta de Perrenot a María escrita el mismo día, en p. 329 n. 1.

75. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 335-346 (versión de un testigo presencial).

76. Naujoks, *Kaiser Karl*, 57-58 (Augsburgo) y 61-64 (Ulm); Dobras, «Karl V», 215-221 (Constanza); Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 345-347 (el autor siguió la misma ruta que Carlos había seguido pocos días antes).

77. Fürstenwerth, *Verfassungsänderungen*, 101, 34; Groten, *Beschlüsse des Rates*, V, 622 (entrada del 12 de septiembre de 1548); Naujoks, *Kaiser Karl*, XXIII y 169-199, sobre las 25 ciudades cuyos fueros Carlos remodeló en 1551-1552.

78. Reinard, «Governi stretti», 160; Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 180-182, Carlos y Fernando, 10 de diciembre de 1548.

79. Cavalcanti, *Trattati*, 231, de un tratado dirigido a Enrique II de Francia en 1552, pero no publicado hasta 1571 (la frase clave era *«governi stretti e tirrannici»*).

80. Detalles en Hewlett, «Fortune's fool». Burlamacchi se hubiera convertido en un heroico precursor de la unidad italiana: véase Carlo Minutoli, *Il primo martire dell'unità italiana* (1844) y la estatua en su honor erigida en Lucca en 1863.

81. Levin, «A failure of intelligence» (cita de la p. 20); ha-Kohen, *Sefer divre ha-yamin*, II, 421-432; Spinola, «Documenti», 30-32, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa al príncipe Felipe, 6 de enero de 1547. Al igual que Burlamacchi, más adelante a Fieschi se le consideraría un precursor de la unidad italiana: véanse las obras sobre su «congiura» escritas por Agostino Mascardi (1629), el cardenal de Retz (1655) y Friedrich Schiller (1784).

82. Castaldo, *Historia di Napoli*, 113. Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla*, 311-312, demuestra que la iniciativa inquisitorial se originó cuando el virrey pidió a su hermano, un veterano inquisidor de Roma, que consiguiera un breve del Papa; no por una petición de Carlos, como han afirmado Sandoval y otros historiadores.

83. Vigo, *Uno stato nell'impero*, 14, citando a Guicciardini (*«dove non ci fusse principe che potesse dare le leggi agli altri»*).

84. Pacini, *La Genova*, 603-604, Figueroa a Carlos, 7 de diciembre de 1545 y 7 de mayo de 1546; Spinola, «Documenti», 11-13, Gonzaga a Carlos, 2 de junio de 1547.

85. Spinola, «Documenti», 40-44, Gonzaga a Carlos, 9 de enero de 1547; ídem, 47-48 y 55-57, Carlos a Figueroa, 10 y 14 de enero de 1547; AGS *PR* 45/71, «Instrucción» de Gonzaga a Juan Gallego, su emisario ante el príncipe Felipe, sobre «hazer una Fortaleza en la ciudad» de Génova, 1548.

86. Spinola, «Documenti», 57-60, Carlos a Gonzaga, 14 de enero de 1547.

87. Spinola, «Documenti», 64-65, Juan de Vega a Carlos, 17 de enero de 1547; ídem, 121-123, Carlos a Gonzaga, 11 de febrero de 1547.

88. Bertomeu Masiá, *La guerra secreta*, 458-459, Gonzaga a Carlos, 13 de junio de 1547; Podestà, *Del delitto*, 90 n. 34, Carlos a Gonzaga, 28 de junio de 1547.

89. AGS *E* 1193/31, Gonzaga a Carlos, 12 de octubre de 1547; Bertomeu Masiá, *La guerra secreta*, 459-461, Gonzaga a Carlos, 10 y 23 de julio de 1547; Podestà, *Del delitto*, 101, Carlos a Gonzaga, 24 de julio de 1547. La preocupación de los conspiradores por la venganza estaba más que justificada. Los agentes de Farnesio no tardaron en asesinar a dos de ellos y el resto vivieron bajo un miedo constante.

90. AGS *E* 1465/248, Gonzaga a Carlos, Piacenza, 12 de septiembre de 1547, describiendo la toma de la ciudad como si Carlos no supiera nada al respecto; AGS *E* 1193/31, del mismo al mismo, 12 de octubre de 1547, anunciando su plan de «amazzare» a Strozzi, «valendome dei ministri del duca de Fiorenza».

91. Sobre los varios asesinatos judiciales orquestados por Gonzaga en 1548, y sobre su éxito a la hora de desviar la culpa lejos de Carlos, véase Dall'Aglio, *The duke's assassin*.

92. *CDCV*, II, 659-662, Carlos a Felipe, 2 de septiembre de 1548; Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 170-171, Fernando a Carlos, 15 de octubre de 1548 («il a la teste chaulde»). Carlos luego alardeó de haber dejado «en tres fortalezas del Estado de Wurtemberg 2.000 españoles de presidio»: *CDCV*, IV, 567 *(Memorias)*. Véase también AGS 1a/1231, Relato de García Portillo, pagos a la «ynfantería y caballería española que quedó en guardia y presidio de las tres fuertes del ducado de Wirtemberg».

93. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 101-102.

13. La dominación de América

1. López de Gómara, dedicatoria de *Hispania victrix*. Carlos no se dejó impresionar por ello y ordenó la eliminación del libro: véase capítulo 14. Véase también Brading, *The first America*, 44-50, para un excelente análisis de la obra y su acogida.

2. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 216-220, de las Leyes Nuevas, 20 de noviembre de 1542. Muchas estimaciones discrepan en cuanto a la población de América, tanto europea como indígena, a principios del siglo XVI. Yo he seguido las de Newson, «The demographic impact», y Boyd-Bowman, «Patterns», y las fuentes que estos citan.

3. Pietschmann, *Alemania*, 109, «Carlos V y la formación», 469, y «Carlos V y América», 265.

4. Cedillo, *El cardenal*, II, 268 y 287, Carlos a Cisneros, 28 de junio y 24 de julio de 1516.

5. AGNM *Mercedes* IV/331v-332v, orden del virrey Velasco, México, 10 de abril de 1556, donde se cita una cédula de la princesa Juana, regente de Castilla, 4 de septiembre de 1555.

6. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 77, Carlos a la Casa de Contratación, 25 de febrero de 1518; *SLID,* III, 234-236 («Retiro, estancia y muerte»). Véase también ibíd., 235 n. 183, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 12 de noviembre de 1556, trasladando las alabanzas de Carlos a las «colchas» y su petición de más.

7. AGI *IG* 419/6 f. 516, Cédula a la Casa de Contratación, 3 de septiembre de 1516, seguida de un recibo firmado por el propio Montesinos. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, libro III, cap. 4, publicó el sermón que Montesinos pronunció en Santo Domingo el 21 de diciembre de 1511.

8. Las Casas, *Historia*, IV, 368; Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 90-91, cédula real del 13 de enero de 1518. Ídem, II, 57-60, expone este documento, comentado en «pleno Consilio Indiarum a XI de Diziembre de DXVII años» (una reunión, según Giménez Fernández, presidida por Carlos).

9. Las Casas, *Historia*, IV, 377 (Las Casas aseguró que «me hallé aquel día y hora en la cámara» del canciller cuando llegó Magallanes con su globo). Es evidente que Carlos había entendido la ventaja de un globo para cuando los circunnavegadores regresaron, porque envió a su hermano «una palla, dove è pinto tutto el ditto viaggio» de la flota de Magallanes (Morsolin, «Francesco Chiericati», 231, Chiericati a Isabella d'Este, Núremberg, 10 de enero de 1523); y al año siguiente sus negociadores presentes en la Junta de Badajoz llevaron con ellos dos globos: Brendecke, *Imperio*, 167.

10. Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección*, IV, 116-121, Capitulación y asiento entre Carlos y Magallanes, 22 de marzo de 1518, copia. Sobre los precedentes de Castilla, véase Nader, *The book*, 50 y página 148. Sobre el primer ejemplo relativo a América, véase Nader, *op. cit.,* 265-267, Reyes Católicos a Colón, 23 de abril de 1497.

11. AGI *Patronato* 34 ramo 2, Magallanes a Carlos, Sevilla, 24 de octubre de 1518, ológrafo (impreso por Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección*, IV, 124-127, aunque sin el significativo visado «Recibida y proveydo en vj de noviembre»). Si Magallanes hubiera llegado el año siguiente, cuando la prioridad principal de Carlos y sus ministros era financiar su viaje a Alemania, su solicitud probablemente no habría sido atendida.

12. *CODOIN… América,* XXII, 38-46, capitulación con Velázquez, 13 de noviembre de 1518. Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 131-141, evalúa las cifras discrepantes sobre el tamaño de la expedición de Cortés; pero, ya comandara 12 barcos o solo 11, el tamaño de esta expedición difería significativamente de las dos enviadas con anterioridad por Velázquez, compuestas por solo 3 o 4 barcos.

13. Cortés, *Cartas*, 65, Carta de Relación del cabildo de Veracruz a Carlos y Juana, 10 de julio de 1519; AGI *México*, 95/1, «Pedimiento que hiso Francisco Aluares Chico, procurador desta Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz», 20 de junio de 1519 (un documento identificado y transcrito por Carlos E. Sharpe, estudiante de posgrado de la OSU). La presencia del «Pedimiento» en AGI indica que fue enviado a Carlos a través de los emisarios que le llevaron la «Carta de Relación», a la que el «Pedimiento» hace referencia.

14. Las Casas, *Historia*, V, 95, 98, comentado y datado por Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 742-753.

15. Cosenza, «Copia litterarum», Valladolid, 7 de marzo de 1520; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXVIII, cols. 375-376, Cornaro a la Señoría, 6 de marzo de 1520. Cortés, *Cartas*, 71-76, afirma que Carlos recibió la «muestra» «en Valladolid en la Semana Santa en principio del mes de abril», pero esto es imposible porque en 1520 Carlos pasó la Semana Santa en Galicia, no en Valladolid. Los testimonios de Cosenza, Corner y otros prueban que Carlos recibió los regalos «en principio del mes de *marzo*».

16. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 790-810, describió los debates que mantuvo el Consejo sobre el tema de América entre el 12 y el 19 de mayo de 1520, y en pp. 794-799 publicó la Declaración de La Coruña del 17 de mayo de 1520.

17. Durero, *Diary*, 64, entrada correspondiente al 27 de agosto de 1520. Aunque son pocos los artículos de esta muestra que han sobrevivido, dos ellos proceden del área en torno a Veracruz: «dos libros de los que acá tienen los yndios», actualmente ÖNB, Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I, y BL, Codex Zouche-Nutall.

18. Cortés, *Cartas*, 80 y 181, Cortés a Carlos V, 30 de octubre de 1520.

19. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 1182 y 1103 n. 3785, citando cédulas reales emitidas entre el 11 y el 14 de abril de 1521, y a Diego Colón y otros funcionarios españoles, 6 de septiembre de 1521. Íbid., II, 1254-1286, registra la señal de Gattinara en cada cédula relacionada con los asuntos de América. Yo discrepo respetuosamente de la afirmación de Pérez, *La revolución*, 667, cuando dice que «No parece que los acontecimientos de Castilla tuvieran repercusión en América».

20. Cortés, *Cartas*, 182, coda a la segunda carta de Cortés incluida en la primera edición impresa. Sanuto, *I diarii,* XXXIII, cols. 501-503 y 557, Contarini a la Señoría, 24 de septiembre y 24 de noviembre de 1522, dejaba claro que la noticia de la pérdida de Tenochtitlan llegó a España al mismo tiempo que la noticia de su recuperación.

21. Cortés, *Cartas*, 275, Cortés a Carlos, 15 de mayo de 1522; Haring, «Ledgers», 175, ofrece el registro de la Hacienda Real llevada a España por el tesorero Julián de Alderete. Un escuadrón francés interceptó y se apropió del cargamento, pero no del registro correspondiente, por lo que Carlos sí tuvo constancia de lo que Cortés podía proporcionar: véase Johnson, *Cultural hierarchy*, 113 y 117-119.

22. AGI *Patronato* 48 ramo 20, Juan Sebastián Elcano a Carlos, Sevilla, 6 de septiembre de 1522, copia; *LCK*, I, 73, Carlos a Margarita, 31 de octubre de 1522.

23. Avonto, *Mercurino*, 47-51, sobre la comisión (cita en p. 49); *CODOIN*, I, 97-100, y *CODOIN… América*, XXVI, 59-70, Carlos a Cortés, 15 de octubre de 1522 (tres cédulas); AGI *IG* 415/2/451-463, copias de registro de las instrucciones que «en octubre de 1522 se despachó para la Nueva España».

24. Brandi, «Aus den Kabinettsakten», 183-186, documento de consejo de Gattinara, noviembre-diciembre de 1523, con los votos individuales de Lachaux, La Roche, Nassau, Gorrevod, Gattinara y Hernando de Vega (el único español de la Junta), y decretos emitidos por Carlos; AGS *Quitaciones de Corte*, 20, nómina de Loaysa, 4 de agosto de 1524.

25. *Libros de Antaño*, VIII, 368-376, Navagero a Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Toledo, 12 de septiembre de 1525; BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasian C. III/158-175v, Tunstal, Wingfield y Sampson a Enrique, 2 de junio de 1525, informando sobre su reunión con el Gran Canciller.

26. *CODOIN… Ultramar*, IX, 214-226, Instrucciones a Luis Ponce de León, 4 de noviembre de 1525; *CODOIN*, I, 101-102, Carlos a Cortés, 4 de noviembre de 1525 (en respuesta a su Carta de Relación del 15 de octubre de 1524).

27. Bornate, «Historia», 458-476, «Consigli del gran cancellier all'Imperatore», septiembre de 1525, minuta ológrafa (cita en p. 460); *CODOIN… Ultramar*, IX, 214-226, Instrucciones a Luis Ponce de León, 4 de noviembre de 1525 (Avonto, *Mercurino*, 93-97, comentó tanto esta como una segunda Instrucción de la misma fecha).

28. Gómara, *Segunda parte*, libro 192, sobre «Cómo vino Cortés a España», incluye el texto de la carta de Loaysa. El 5 de abril de 1528, Carlos firmó una cédula autorizando a Cortés a venir (Martínez, *Documentos cortesianos*, III, 11-12), pero dado que partió de Veracruz a mediados de abril, está claro que actuó antes de que le llegara la carta.

29. Gómara, *Segunda parte*, libro 192.

30. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Ms. 22.474, pp. 1-14 (nativos americanos), 77 (Cortés) y 83 (Doria). Estas bellas acuarelas pueden verse en línea en http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/213/html.

31. AGI *Patronato* 16/2 ramo 8, Carlos al «gouernador don Hernando Cortés marqués del Valle», 1 de abril de 1529 (publicado de forma incompleta e imperfecta en *CODOIN… América*, XII, 379-380); AGI, *IG* 737/1, Carlos al Consejo de Indias, 24 de mayo de 1529, ordenando la preparación de los documentos pertinentes; y AGI *Patronato* 16/2 ramos 13, 14 y 15, cédulas fechadas el 6 de julio de 1529, copias notarizadas (también en AGI *México* 1088/1 ff 23-27, y publicadas en *CODOIN… América*, XII, 291-297 y 380-386, y Martínez, *Documentos cortesianos*, III, 4961). Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 505-510, enumera los pueblos concedidos a Cortés en 1529 y señala las diferencias respecto a los que él había solicitado.

32. AGI *México* 1088/1/38-39, Carlos a la Audiencia de México, 10 de agosto de 1528.

33. AGI *IG* 737/4, Tavera a Carlos, 10 de diciembre de 1529. El futuro virrey, don Antonio de Mendoza, era uno de los que pedía «cosas tan desaforadas».

34. Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 261-271, «Capitulación con los armadores sobre la dicha Specería», 13 de noviembre de 1522 (en referencia a la expedición comandada por García Jofré de Loaysa para colonizar las islas de las Especias, que partió de La Coruña en 1525); *LCK*, I, 73, Carlos a Margarita, 31 de octubre de 1522.

35. Brendecke, *Imperio*, 164-169; Cortés, *Cartas,* 325, Carta de Relación a Carlos, 15 de octubre de 1524.

36. Fernández de Navarette, *Colección*, V, 440-441, Carlos a Cortés, 20 de junio de 1526. Cabrero Fernández, «El empeño», 1093, menciona el abortado tratado de Sevilla.

37. BMECB, *Ms. Granvelle*, I, 153-155, Carlos al barón de Montfort, 23 de diciembre de 1528, ológrafo (publicado con algunos errores en *PEG*, I, 441-444).

38. Cabrero Fernández, «El empeño», relata las desesperantes negociaciones de las condiciones del tratado en Zaragoza, y publica el texto definitivo, firmado por Gattinara y Loaysa el 22 de abril de 1529.

39. AGI *Patronato* 275/20, Carlos a la Audiencia de México, Madrid, 13 de marzo de 1535 (Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 229, argumenta, basándose en una copia existente en AGNM, que la fecha fue el 13 de mayo de 1535, pero la copia del AGI establece claramente marzo); AGI *IG* 422/16/201r, real cédula para el pago a Diego Rodríguez de Narváez, 12 de mayo de 1535.

40. AGI *IG* 415/2/352-364, Instrucciones a Mendoza, 25 de abril de 1535 (visada como «dezima») y 14 de julio de 1536 (visada como «duodezima», copias con numerosas anotaciones). *CODOIN… América*, XXIII, 423-445 y 454-467, y Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 21-38, publica estos documentos, aunque sin las anotaciones. Merluzzi, «Con el cuidado», 158-165, comenta en detalle las instrucciones de Carlos a Mendoza.

41. BNE *Ms. Res.* 261/70, Cortés a Carlos, Madrid, 26 de junio de 1540.

42. AGI *IG* 737/1, Carlos al Consejo de Indias, Barcelona, 24 de mayo de 1529 (la misma carta anunciaba la concesión a Cortés de un título nobiliario y tierras); Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario*, I, 18-30, reales cédulas, 26 de julio de 1529.

43. Detalles tomados de Pogo, «The anonymous» (Cristóbal de Mena), 242; y Xerez, *Verdadera relación*, 91-92 y 96.

44. *Libro primero de… Lima*, III, 127, Hernando Pizarro a Carlos, Sevilla, 14 de enero de 1534.

45. Cieza de León, *Primera parte* (1553), fo. 234 (1.ª parte, libro XCIV); *Libro primero de Cabildos*, III, 127-128, Carlos a la Casa de Contratación, 21 de enero de 1534; Medina, *La imprenta*, I, 163-170, «Relación del oro del Perú que recibimos», febrero de 1534, y Carlos a la Casa, 30 de enero de 1535.

46. *CODOIN… Ultramar*, 2.ª serie X, 160-167, ídem, XV, 113 y AGI *Patronato* 90A/1 ramo 10, Reales Cédulas a Pizarro, 8 de marzo de 1533, 21 de mayo de 1534 y 10 de octubre de 1537.

47. Maples, «The death», establece brillantemente una correspondencia entre las crónicas escritas de la muerte de Pizarro en 1541 con las heridas apreciadas en el esqueleto que pudo examinar en 1984.

48. Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 137-139, Vitoria a fray Miguel de Arcos, 8 de noviembre de 1534.

49. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 153-159, real cédula a las Audiencias de América, 20 de febrero de 1534; AGI *Justicia* 259/2 ff 25-26v, Descargos del Virrey, México, 30 de octubre de 1546, descargo 38, en respuesta a las acusaciones de que había maltratado a indios en época de guerra. Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 135, comenta la práctica del «aperreamiento» con una perturbadora imagen de dicha práctica procedente de una fuente indígena.

50. Hanke, *The Spanish struggle*, 73 (bula papal); Sandoval, *Historia*, III, 70 (Libro 24, cap. 8: el condestable de Castilla); Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 99 (Vitoria escribió su *Relectio* en 1538 y la pronunció en enero de 1539).

51. Pereña Vicente, «El emperador Carlos V», 385-386; Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, 152-153, Carlos al prior de San Esteban, 10 de noviembre de 1539.

52. Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: el César*, 641-643, sugirió una conexión entre Argel y las Leyes Nuevas. Aunque no citó fuentes, la idea parece plausible.

53. Danvila y Collado, *El poder civil*, V, 313, petición 94 de las Cortes de Castilla, Valladolid, abril de 1542; Las Casas, *Brevíssima relación*, ff. 3-3v, afirmaba que Silíceo, exmaestro de Felipe, «siendo obispo de Cartagena, me las pidió e presentó a Vuestra Alteza».

54. *CODOIN*, LXXVI, 340-355, texto de las Leyes Nuevas, firmado por el emperador el 20 de noviembre de 1542, y pregonado en Sevilla el mes de julio siguiente.

55. *CODOIN… Ultramar*, 2.ª serie X, 86-93, Provisión de la emperatriz al gobernador de Santa Marta, 4 de abril de 1531; *CODOIN… América*, XLI, 198-204, Real cédula, 26 de mayo de 1536.

56. Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario*, IV, 60-61, Audiencia de México a Carlos, 8 de octubre de 1543.

57. Ibíd., IV, 64-75, López al emperador «en su Consejo», México, 25 de octubre de 1543. Véase en este mismo sentido la crítica de Tomás López Medel en p. 451.

58. Véase más sobre pensamiento grupal en capítulo 15.

59. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 383-395, Gonzalo Pizarro a Carlos, sin fecha (probablemente 2 o 3 de agosto de 1544) y 193-197 y 199-203, del mismo al cabildo de Lima y a Blasco Núñez Vela, 2 de agosto de 1544, así como a la Audiencia de Lima, 3 de agosto de 1544. Reseñas en inglés en *From Panama to Peru*, 17-25.

60. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 97-99. Aunque Calvete escribió su estudio a petición de La Gasca en 1565-1567, él era preceptor del príncipe en el momento de este debate y por tanto miembro importante de su corte. No hay razón pues para dudar de la veracidad de su relato.

61. Ibíd., I, 101-102. Sobre la presencia de antiguos comuneros entre los rebeldes del Perú, véase Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 280, y página 187. Pietschman, «Carlos V y la formación», 446-454, comparó la revuelta de Pizarro con la de los comuneros.

62. Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 77, Los Cobos a La Gasca, 29 de agosto de 1545.

63. *CDCV*, II, 398-399, Felipe a Carlos, y Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 76, Los Cobos a Carlos, ambas el 30 de junio de 1545.

64. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 236-237, Carlos a la Audiencia de la Nueva España, Malinas, 20 de octubre de 1545; RAH *Ms* 9/4846/66, Carlos al Consejo de Indias, sin fechar, pero probablemente febrero de 1546.

65. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 110, debates del Consejo sobre las peticiones de La Gasca; *CODOIN… América*, XXIII, 507-519, instrucciones de Carlos a La Gasca, 14 de febrero de 1546. Véase también BPM *Ms* II/1960 n.º 12/85-93, copia de La Gasca sobre el borrador de las Instrucciones, con sus comentarios ológrafos a cada cláusula, que revela cuáles eran sus demandas no negociables. Merluzzi, «Mediación», 96-97, resumió los poderes que finalmente se le concedieron.

66. *CODOIN*, XXVI, 274-284, documento de consejo sobre cómo debía actuar La Gasca, sin fecha ni lugar, e incorrectamente atribuido a Felipe II. Hampe Martínez, *Don Pedro*, 84-88, comenta brillantemente todos estos documentos.

67. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 375-384, La Gasca a Gonzalo Pizarro, Jauja, 16 de diciembre de 1547 (publicado también en *CODOIN*, XLIX, 260-276; resumen en inglés en *From Panama*, 439-444).

68. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 401-421, La Gasca a Los Cobos, 3 de mayo de 1548.

69. Íbid., II, 401-421 y 258-277, La Gasca a Los Cobos, 3 de mayo de 1548, y al Consejo de Indias, 26 de septiembre de 1548 (*CODOIN*, XLIX, 359-427, publicó las mismas cartas, pero algunas de ellas con diferente fecha: resúmenes en inglés en *From Panama*, 474-482 y 486-488). Otros datos sobre el castigo de los que no se habían opuesto a Gonzalo Pizarro pueden encontrarse en Anthony, «Intimate invasion», capítulo 6, que es el mejor relato del que disponemos.

70. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 607-609, Fernández de Oviedo a La Gasca, 3 de enero de 1550.

71. Hunt *PL* 122, Carlos a La Gasca, 26 de febrero de 1549 (un documento omitido por Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*).

72. *CDCV*, III, 250-255, Carlos a María, Augsburgo, 30 de diciembre de 1550, y 243-246, Carlos a Maximiliano y María, 20 de octubre de 1550.

73. AGI *Patronato* 180/7, «Parecer del virrey don Antonio cerca de los seruicios personales y tamemes», y *CDCV*, III, 255-257, «Relaçión de don Antonio de Mendoça», ambas sin fechar, pero en 1550. Véanse otros ejemplos de *Fortuna Caesaris* en capítulo 8.

74. Saville, «Some unpublished documents», facsímil de la carta n.º 2, La Gasca a la Audiencia de Guatemala, 15 de diciembre de 1546. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza*, 175-176, documenta cómo la fuerza expedicionaria mexicana se preparó en respuesta al llamamiento de La Gasca.

75. Discurso a las Cortes de La Coruña, página 147; *RVEC*, 146-150, Salinas a Fernando, 4 de octubre de 1523. En una carta fechada el 16 de diciembre de 1523, Salinas corrigió su cifra original de 800.000 a 180.000 pesos.

76. Porras Barrenechea, *Las relaciones*, 38-40, licenciado Espinosa a Carlos, Panamá, 21 de julio de 1533; *RVEC*, 645-652, Salinas a Castillejo, 11 de mayo de 1535; Tracy, *Emperor*, 155.

77. García-Baquero González, «Agobios carolinos», 313-314, reales cédulas del 3 de septiembre de 1523, 22 y 30 de enero de 1535 y enero de 1543. Cifras tomadas de Haring, «The ledgers». García-Baquero González, *op. cit*, afirmaba que Carlos autorizó ocho secuestros, pero Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 382, contabilizó nueve.

78. Viciana, *Tercero libro*, 324 (escrito alrededor de 1564). Cifras de Tracy, *Emperor*, 111.

79. López Medel, *Colonización*, 62-80, López Medel a los regentes Maximiliano y María, 25 de marzo de 1551; Haring, *Los Virreyes*, I, 38-57, «Relación, apuntamientos y avisos que por mandado de Su Majestad di a Luis de Velasco», escrito de Mendoza, 1551-1552.

80. López Medel, loc. cit.; *CDCV*. III, 255-257, «Relaçión de don Antonio de Mendoça», sin fechar, pero 1550 (publicado también en Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 57-58). Véase el similar reproche de Jerónimo López en 1543, citado en páginas 440-441.

81. Giménez Fernández, *Las Casas*, II, 237, Carlos a los comisarios de la orden jerónima, 12 de octubre de 1518; *CODOIN… Ultramar*, I, 354-361, Real cédula al «gobernador y oficiales de la Isla Fernandina», 9 de noviembre de 1526; AGI *IG* 415/2/352-364, Instrucciones a Mendoza, 25 de abril de 1535 y 14 de julio de 1536.

82. Brendecke, *Imperio*, 184-185, con citas de las cédulas reales fechadas el 20 de junio y el 6 de octubre de 1526, y el 16 de marzo de 1527.

83. *CODOIN… Ultramar*, IX, 239-246, Reales Provisiones del 11 de mayo y 21 de agosto de 1526; Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 258-259, real cédula sobre acuñación de moneda, 6 de junio de 1544. Konetze, *Colección*, I, 68338 (nos. 31-243), publicó la legislación social relacionada con América emitida por Carlos; Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos I*, 299-512, publicó todas las leyes en la *Nueva Recopilación* relativa a América promulgadas entre 1516 y 1556.

84. Konetzke, *Colección*, I, 175-176, real cédula al gobernador de Nicaragua, 9 de septiembre de 1536.

85. AGI *Patronato* 193, ramo 18, ff. 213-233, dosier sobre «lo del río de Chagres», que incluye una real cédula para Francisco de Barrionuevo, gobernador de Tierra Firme (sin fechar, pero enero de 1534). Agradezco a Bethany Aram la aportación de esta referencia.

86. AGI *IG* 737/63, «Lo que resulta para consultar a Vuestra Magestad lo que scriven los del Consejo de Indias», mediados de noviembre de 1550 (sin fechar, pero dado que el documento menciona el testamento del difunto licenciado Villalobos, fiscal del Consejo, fallecido el 8 de noviembre de 1550, se deduce que la consulta fue escrita muy poco después); AGI *México* 1089 L. 4/419v-423v, tres cédulas reales fechadas en Toro, 21 de septiembre de 1551, en relación con el Nuevo «estudio y universidad» de México.

87. Lee, *Libros de cabildos*, IV, 258, instrucciones a los procuradores, 23 de enero de 1550; AGI, *Lima* 566 L.6/368-8v y 382v-383, Real cédula a la Audiencia de Lima, 1 de mayo de 1551 y Provisión para la creación de un Nuevo «estudio general», 12 de mayo de 1551, ambas firmadas en Valladolid.

88. En el sitio web de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos se afirma que su fundación fue firmada en Valladolid el 12 de mayo de 1551, bien por Carlos (que en ese momento se encontraba en Augsburgo) o por Juana (que estaba en Tordesillas). Iba firmada por «La reyna»: la fórmula empleada entonces por la hija de Carlos, María, reina de Bohemia y regente en España.

89. *CDCV*, III, 403-404, Carlos a Felipe, marzo de 1552 (el emperador prestó especial atención a la amenaza portuguesa sobre sus propias posesiones transatlánticas, un problema en el cual la Relación de Mendoza hacía mucho hincapié: coincidencia que identifica a ambos documentos).

90. *CDCV*, III, 255-257, «Relación de don Antonio de Mendoça» (publicado con una importante variante —«mudar» en lugar de «mandar»— en Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 57-58).

91. AGNM *Mercedes* II/257, «Provisión del rey para la libertad de los de Tascala», 29 de marzo de 1541, publicada de nuevo el 4 de abril de 1542. Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 80-82, comenta esta conflictiva legislación.

92. Hanke, *Los virreyes*, I, 131, Instrucciones para Velasco, 16 de abril de 1550; AGNM *Mercedes* III/102 (expediente 253), orden a favor del hijo del difunto Sebastián Rodríguez, 18 de julio de 1550, una de las numerosas cédulas de este tipo.

93. *CDCV*, III, 577-592, Carlos a Felipe, 2 de abril de 1553, con una posdata fechada el 27 de abril; Kamen, *Felipe*, 60-61, cita un intercambio de pareceres sobre los indios, de septiembre de 1554.

94. Las Casas, *Brevíssima relación*, ff. 3-3v (dedicatoria) y ff. 63v-64 («Sumario» de la declaración de fray Domingo de Soto); Castilla Urbano, «La superación», 41, Consejo de Indias a Carlos, 15 de diciembre de 1554. Castilla Urbano ofrece el mejor y más conciso relato de la Junta, que estuvo reunida en Valladolid entre agosto y septiembre de 1550 y abril y mayo de 1551. La Gasca solo participó en la segunda sesión.

95. Lippens, «Jean Glapion», XLV, 39-41 (Glapion murió poco antes de salir de España); Castet, *Annales*, VIII, 225 (comentando los esfuerzos de Glapion para crear y llevar a un grupo de misioneros franciscanos desde los Países Bajos a América).

96. Konetzke, *Colección*, 113-120, «Ordenanzas» publicadas el 4 de diciembre de 1528, y 131-132, «Consulta del Consejo», 10 de diciembre de 1529. Véanse otros ejemplos en Konetzke, *Colección*, 103-106 (1528: Provisión de Carlos y Juana, «queriendo en esto descargar nuestras conciencias reales»), 130-131 (1529: Provisión «para descargo de nuestras conciencias»), etcétera.

97. Martínez, *Documentos*, III, 136 (Petición de Francisco Núñez a Carlos, mayo de 1530) y 266-277 (Relación de la Audiencia a Carlos, 1531), y IV, 62-77 (Relación de Cortés a Carlos, 1533). Véanse otros ejemplos de Cortés (entre muchos) en íbid., 132-135 (1535), 190 (1539), 210-215 (1540), 243-245 (1543), 257-270 (1544) y 328 (Testamento de Cortés, cláusula XXXVII, 12 de octubre de 1547).

98. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, II, 544-547, La Gasca a los magistrados de Arica, 28 de septiembre de 1549, minuta. Aunque La Gasca no identificaba el remitente de esta interesante carta llena de referencias a la «delicada conciencia» de Carlos, deduzco que se trataba de Arica porque se halla precisamente a 170 leguas de Potosí.

99. Grunberg, «Le vocabulaire de la "conquista"», 18-21.

100. Espinosa a Carlos, Panamá, 21 de julio de 1533 (página 457); *Este es vn traslado*, f. 4 (agradezco a Danielle Anthony que me informara sobre este poco conocido panfleto).

101. Pietschmann, «Los problemas», 54, 59.

Retrato del emperador en su plenitud

1. Firpo, *Relazioni*. I, 336, Relazione di Giovanni Micheli, 13 de mayo de 1557; BMECB *Ms. Granvelle*, 8/189, Gonzalo Pérez a Antonio Perrenot, cardenal Granvela, 19 de febrero de 1564 (minuta en AGS *E* 525/81), tratando de excusar el tardío desarrollo del nieto de Carlos, don Carlos.

2. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, instrucción del 6 de mayo de 1543. Véase más sobre este documento en el capítulo 11 y en la lámina 9; sobre las limitaciones lingüísticas de Carlos en 1517-1518, véase el capítulo 4.

3. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LII, cols. 302-307, carta de Hironimo Bontempo, Bolonia, 25 de noviembre de 1529; ASF *MdP* 4296/57v, Alessandro Serristori al duque Cosme, 16 de octubre de 1537 («Sua Maestà nelle riposte che mi faceva sempre parlò in lingua Toscana»); TNA *SP* 68/11, n.º 611, Dudley y Morison al Consejo Privado, 25 de enero de 1553 (Richard Morison había estudiado durante cuatro años en la Universidad de Padua, lo que explica su manejo del italiano); Howard, *Discursos*, 37, licencia de Carlos para publicar una traducción española, dedicada al príncipe Felipe, 15 de marzo de 1550.

4. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIX, cols. 371-372, informe de Corner sobre la coronación en Aquisgrán («perchè lei non parla anchora molto promptamente lo idioma aleman»); Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana*, VII, 197, Dantisco al rey Segismundo, Madrid, 16 de marzo de 1525, en latín, pero con las palabras de Carlos transcritas en la escritura gótica propia de los textos alemanes (texto español en Fontán y Axer, *Españoles y polacos*, 172).

5. Sobre el uso de un alemán idiosincrásico en la Dieta de Augsburgo en 1530, véase página 254. Durante la Dieta de Espira, en 1543, de nuevo Carlos «germanica respondebat»: Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, II, 225-232, Martin Bucer a Heinrich Bullinger, 23 de diciembre de 1543. En varias ocasiones durante 1547-1548, Bartholomaus Sastrow oyó a Carlos hablar en holandés y registró sus palabras exactas: «Wel, Carlevitz, how zal het nu wel worden?» (a Christoph von Carlowitz, principal consejero de Mauricio de Sajonia); «Wel, ik zal u leeren lachgen» (al landgrave de Hesse); y «Vesali, gy zult naar Carlevitz gaan, die zal ieswat schik zyn; ziet, dat gy hem helpt» (Andreas Vesalius fue médico personal de Carlos además de uno de los mejores anatomistas de su época). Véase Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 16, 29-30 y 84.

6. BL *Cott Mss*, Vesp. C.III/227-231, Lee a Wolsey, 21 de marzo de 1526; Illescas, *Segunda parte*, 197-198 (citando quizá una anécdota encontrada por primera vez en Giovio, *Delle Historie*, libro XXVII, según la cual esto había ocurrido cuando Carlos llegó a Génova en 1529); Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 65-66, Instrucciones del 4 de mayo de 1543; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 76-78, Van Male a Praet, 23 de noviembre de 1552 (Van Male utilizaba la palabra griega equivalente a «alardear»).

7. Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, col. 384 Marco Antonio Magno a Marco Contarini, 20 de julio de 1530; ídem, LVII, 212-214, Relación de Marco Minio y otros embajadores, noviembre de 1532, tras 18 días «sempre cavalcando con la Cesarea Magestad». La evidencia anterior contradice de plano las categóricas afirmaciones de Alfred Morel-Fatio sobre que Carlos «nunca fue capaz de hablar durante 90 minutos en italiano» y «no entendía el alemán»: Morel-Fatio, «L'espagnole», 218.

8. Fabrizi d'Acquapendente, *De Locutione*, 23, ofreció dos versiones de estas anécdotas, afirmando que una procedía de «un alemán». Esta parece ser la primera de las varias narraciones de la historia que se publicó (luego habría muchas más versiones), pero dado que Fabrizio había nacido en 1533 y publicado su breve tratado (sobre el habla) en 1603, es evidente que lo relató de oídas.

9. *NBD, 1. Ergänzungsband 1530-1531*, 414, Aleandro al cardenal Salviati, 19 de noviembre de 1531. Sobre la insistencia de Maximiliano en el dominio de las lenguas, véase capítulo 2.

10. Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida*, 47-49 (basado parcialmente en Ribadeneyra, *Vida*, fos 11v-12). Véase también el capítulo 9 sobre la visita de Carlos a la Universidad de Salamanca por la misma época.

11. Neefe, *Tafel-Reden*, 2-3, relata las conversaciones entre Fernando y el doctor en 1563-1564 (agradezco a Annemarie Jordan Gschwend esta referencia).

12. ASF *MdP* 652/355, Agnolo Niccolini a Lorenzo Pagni, 25 de julio de 1541; AGS *E* 73/239, Carlos a Los Cobos, 11 de agosto de 1546, descifrada.

13. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 829, *Relazione* de Marino Cavalli, 1551, tras pasar tres años en la corte imperial (véanse ejemplos anteriores de los análisis razonados del emperador en el capítulo titulado «Retrato del emperador como príncipe del Renacimiento»).

14. *NBD*, IX, 71-73, cardenal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg al cardenal Farnesio, 9 de junio de 1546; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 673-677, Mocenigo al Dogo, 7/8 de septiembre de 1546 (el embajador escribió que el Consejo estuvo reunido «fino alle 5 hore di note», lo que, según la medición veneciana del tiempo, equivalía a 5½ después de ponerse el sol. En Ingolstadt, a mediados de septiembre —porque el 8 de septiembre era el 18 de septiembre según el calendario gregoriano— el sol se pone sobre las 19.20, por lo que «5 hore di note» era casi la medianoche.

15. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/27-35v, Carlos a Fernando, 11 de agosto de 1542.

16. ASP *GG busta* 43, sin foliar, instrucciones de Gonzaga a Gonzalo Girón, 20 de diciembre de 1553, copia; e ibíd., Musi a Gonzaga, 13 de diciembre de 1553, copia, informando de una conversación con Juan de Figueroa.

17. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance*, 10, Selve a Francisco I, 10 de julio de 1546, citando al canciller Wriothesley; *NBD*, XII, 235-238, el nuncio Camaiani al cardenal Del Monte, 12 de marzo de 1552.

18. Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, 415-417, relato del capítulo de la Orden celebrada en enero de 1546 en Utrecht (al igual que Tournai, un territorio adquirido por Carlos). La narración es más concisa de lo habitual, tal vez debido a un registro incompleto: ibíd., p. VIII.

19. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, 320-321 y 326.

20. *CWE*, XI, 54-56 (n.º 1554), Erasmo a Lallemand, 24 de febrero de 1525; *CWE*, XV, 255-261 (n.º 2163), Valdés a Erasmo, 15 de mayo de 1529; *CCG*, IV, 558, Granvela a Morillon, 11 de mayo de 1573.

21. ADN *B* 2177, registro de Simon Longin correspondiente a 1502, incluidos los pagos a Francisco de Taxis entre los «menus voyaiges et messageries»; Alcázar Molina, «La política postal española», 227-229 (sobre el contrato de 1516); Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 65-98; Pettegree, *The invention*, 17-18 y 169.

22. *LCK*, II, 361, Carlos a Fernando, 11 de enero de 1530; Mártir, *Epistolario*, III 364-365 (n.º 643), a los marqueses de Los Vélez y Mondéjar, 15 de julio de 1519; BNMV, *Ms Italiani, Classe* VII, Cod 1009/164v, Contarini a la Señoría, Bruselas, 22

de enero de 1522; Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 81 (un mensajero partió de Roma a la «ore 20» el 17 de junio de 1545 y llegó a Worms a la «ore 11» el 23 de junio); Ugolini, «Le comunicazioni», 32.

23. *KKF*, I, XXVIII-XXX, y II/1, IX-XII. Strohmeyer, *Die Korrespondenz*, 61-66, demostró que las cartas intercambiadas entre los Habsburgo austriacos y los españoles en la década de 1560 tardaban entre 19 y 85 días en llegar a su destino.

24. Fagel, *De Hispano-Vlaamse Wereld,* 317.

25. *SP*, VI, 451-476, Tunstall y Sampson a Enrique VIII, 11 de agosto de 1525 (Enrique había firmado las cartas el 3 de junio); *LCK*, I, 270, el príncipe de Orange a Carlos, 14 de junio de 1528; AGS *E* 874/8, Vega a Carlos, 8 de febrero de 1547.

26. *SP*, IX, 355-360, Bonner a Enrique, 15 de abril de 1543.

27. Tracy, *Emperor*, 109.

28. Lanz, *Actenstücke*, 496-500, instrucciones de Carlos a sus embajadores en Inglaterra, 13 de diciembre de 1521; HHStA *Belgien PA* 2/4/68, Carlos a Margarita, 25 de agosto de 1522, copia; RAH *Ms* 9/4817/247, Carlos a sus embajadores en Roma, 10 de enero de 1525, minuta; AGS *PR* 17 n.º 35, instrucciones de Carlos a Figueroa, febrero de 1529; AGS *PR* 16 n.º 75, instrucciones de Carlos a Juan de Vega, 4 de julio de 1543 (la cursiva se ha añadido en todas las citas).

29. AA 4/95, Carlos a Alba, 27 de octubre de 1543, ológrafo.

30. AGS *PR* 17 n.º 35, instrucciones de Carlos a Figueroa, febrero de 1529; AGS *PR* 45 n.º 21, instrucciones de Carlos a Soria, 19 de abril de 1529. Gran parte del archivo personal de Soria ha sobrevivido, quedando de este modo de manifiesto la extensión de su correspondencia con otros servidores imperiales y súbditos de Italia: véase Ibarra y Rodríguez y Arsenio de Ibarra, «Catálogo», y Pizarro Llorente, «Un embajador». Véase también BNE *Ms* 20214/62, 17 cartas en latín de Soria al joven Antonio Perrenot mientras este era estudiante en Padua, 1538-1539.

31. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 465-466, Relazione de Navagero, julio de 1546.

32. *LCK*, I, 300-308, Margarita a Carlos, 26 de mayo de 1529 (Carlos el Temerario había muerto en batalla en 1477; Carlos de Francia, con quien Margarita había estado en cierto momento prometida, había conseguido escapar a duras penas del mismo destino en 1495); *KFF*, V, 211-212, María a Fernando, 12 de abril de 1535. Sobre la oposición de María a que Carlos se expusiera a la batalla en 1538.

33. HSA *B* 2032, Carlos a Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, su embajador en Portugal, 30 de agosto de 1549 (olvidando —a su conveniencia— que él había nombrado a Luis su segundo al mando durante la campaña de Túnez); *SP*, IX, 683-693, Paget y Wotton a Enrique VIII, 2 de junio de 1544 (Carlos había dado el mismo argumento durante la campaña de Túnez).

34. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 595/149-152, Carlos a Fernando, 30 de noviembre de 1538; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/139v-140v, Carlos a Fernando, 21 y 26 de marzo de 1547, posdatas ológrafas. Itinerarios tomados de Foronda, *Viajes*, 589.

35. García Fuentes, «Testigo», 93, de la crónica de Bernabé Busto; ASF *MdP* 4308, sin foliar, Bernardo de Médici a Cosme el 8 de junio de 1551; De Witte, «Cornelis», 184-188, 11 cartas a María de Hungría, de abril a agosto de 1548 (inexplicablemente, De Witte insistía en que Baersdorp dirigía sus cartas a la emperatriz Isabel, que murió en 1539: en realidad escribía a María de Hungría).

36. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370-371, «Sommaire de l'Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l'empereur Charles V, en l'année 1550».

37. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 171, enumeraba los 17 ataques de gota registrados en las *Memorias* entre 1528 y 1550.

38. Gachard, *Trois années*, 69, Navagero a la Señoría, 18 de enero de 1545; ASF *MdP* 3101A/1085, Francesco di Paolo Vinta al duque Cosme, 2 de abril de 1548 (desde Milán, de ahí que la atención se centre en un retrato en lugar de en el retratado).

39. De Witte, «Cornelis», 7-8, 11 cartas a María de Hungría, 10 de julio y 7 de agosto de 1548; Giles, *The whole works*, I.II, 267-268, Roger Ascham a Edward Raven, Augsburgo, 29 de enero de 1551; Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 370-371, «Sommaire» de Marillac, 1550-1551.

40. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 86-88, basado en su observación de las comidas del emperador en Bruselas y durante la visita a Augsburgo, Espira y Worms. Véanse observaciones similares de los modales de Carlos en la mesa en pp. 100-101.

41. ASF *MdP* 4308, sin foliar, Bernardo de Médici a Cosme, el 22 de julio de 1550 («certo è eccellentissimo imberciatore»); Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 19-21, Van Male a Praet, 9 de junio de 1551.

42. *SP*, X, 319-321 y TNA *SP* 1/212/42, Paget a Petrie, 1 de marzo y 16 de diciembre de 1545, cursiva añadida; *NBD*, VIII, 68-70, Verallo al cardenal Farnesio, 9 de febrero de 1545. Cursiva añadida.

43. Alarcón, *Viajes*, 66-69 (descripción de septiembre de 1872); Ordi, «The severe gout», 519. Véase también Apéndice II.

44. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 88; Rassow, *Der Kaiser-Idee*, 433-436, «Las pláticas que el emperador passó con [el embajador francés]», de Idiáquez, 1538; ASF *MdP* 4306/71, Bernardo de Médici al duque Cosme, 28 de junio de 1548.

45. Enzinas, *Mémoires*, I, 205-207, describiendo una audiencia celebrada el 25 de noviembre de 1543 durante la cual obsequió al emperador con una copia de *El nvevo testamento… dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad. Habla Dios*. Dos semanas antes, Carlos había prohibido el libro de Enzinas por herético, pero en ese momento no se dio cuenta de que tenía delante a su autor: Enzinas, *Mémoires*, I, 642-644.

46. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 88 y 629 (señalando que, en ocasiones similares, el príncipe Felipe no se comportaba con la misma educación).

47. ASF *MdP* 4308, sin foliar, Bernardo de Médici a Cosme, 6 de julio de 1551; *CSPF Edward VI*, 137-138, el doctor Wotton al Consejo Privado, 30 de junio de 1551. Sobre otras «duras palabras» pronunciadas durante una audiencia en 1548, véase página 409.

48. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 366-370, informe de Marillac sobre su embajada, 1550; *NBD*, XII, 198-200, Camaiani al papa Julio, 22 de febrero de 1552.

49. Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, II, 225-232, Bucer a Bullinger, 23 de diciembre de 1543, latín.

14. *Paterfamilias*, 1548-1551

1. Bodart, *Tiziano*, 209, embajador Leonardi al duque de Urbino, 18 de marzo de 1530; Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 541 (Mocenigo) y III, 55 (Badoer); Lalanne, *Oeuvres*, I, 33, de la biografía póstuma del emperador hecha por Brantôme.

2. Sobre la errónea sugerencia de que Carlos hubiera engendrado una cuarta hija ilegítima, véase el Apéndice IV.

3. Crutzen, «L'origine», 159-162, cita la cédula por la que Carlos concede a Juana una pensión anual de 24 libras el 1 de agosto de 1522, sin duda poco tiempo después de que hubiera dado a luz; su cédula del 31 de octubre de 1542, justo después de la muerte de Juana, ordenaba que la pensión fuera transferida a sus hijas; y una petición de dinero presentada en 1559 por dos de las hermanas de Juana a Margarita de Parma, su sobrina y en ese momento regente de los Países Bajos, recordándole que eran «personas pobres de buena familia» que se «ganaban el sustento tejiendo tapices».

4. *KFF*, I, 474-478, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de octubre de 1526 (sobre un plan de casar a «ma bastarde qu'est en Flandres» con el príncipe de Ferrara); AGS *PR* 45/18, Instrucciones a Leyva y Caracciolo, 27 de junio de 1529 (ofreciéndola a Mantua); AGS *PR* 45/84, tratado matrimonial firmado en Barcelona el 23 de junio de 1529; RAH *Ms. Salazar* A-44/135, acta de Carlos legitimando a Margarita, del 9 de julio de 1529.

5. AGS *E* 867/3 y 6, Carlos a don Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, 2 de enero de 1538, y al marqués de Aguilar, 3 de febrero de 1538.

6. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, II, V-VII, Carlos a Margarita, 11 de abril y 15 de agosto de 1540, ambas ológrafas. Las cartas de Margarita a Carlos evidentemente han desaparecido.

7. *Pauli Iovii Opera*, I, 312-313, Giovio (que viajaba con el emperador) a Nicolas Raynce y Girolamo Angleria, 7 de junio de 1543 («Il bel duca Ottavio chiavò in Pavia quattro volte la prima notte la sua Madama»); *NBD*, VIII, 520-526, el nuncio Dandini al cardenal Farnesio, 5-6 de enero de 1546 (sobre el interés de Carlos por los gemelos).

8. AGS *E* 644/101, Carlos a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 19 de septiembre-7 de octubre de 1547 (sobre «la enfermedad del duque de Camarino»). Sobre la posterior trayectoria de Margarita, véase d'Onofrio, *Il carteggio intimo*; de Iongh, *Madama*; y Steen, *Margaret*.

9. AGS *E* 142/135, «Breve Relación del caso de la Señora Orsolina de la Peña» escrita por Camillo Enobarbo en 1562, un italiano que escribía en español (lo que explica su errática prosa), junto con documentos de apoyo entre los que se incluía el fo. 134, dos cartas autógrafas de Carlos a Ursolina della Penna, del 13 y 19 de abril de 1536, en francés e italiano, y el fo. 142, Tadea a Felipe II, 12 de octubre de 1562. Las imperfectas transcripciones de estos documentos se encuentran en *CODOIN*, LXXXVIII, 512-521; Gossart, «Deux filles», los comenta.

10. BNMV *Ms. Italiani,* Classe VII, cod. 1009/408v, Gasparo Contarini al Consejo de los Diez, 28 de enero de 1525 (donde se menciona «la fiola de la Maestà Cesarea, la qual hebbe in Vagliadolid ja 18 mesi»). Sobre Girolamo da Nogarola y el misterioso regalo imperial de «due milia [scudi] per maritare una sua figliuola» en mayo de 1524, véase Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni*, VI, 240-241.

11. AGS *E* 5/231, la priora María de Aragón a Enrique de Nassau, 28 de marzo de 1524 (publicada parcialmente en *CODOIN*, LXXXVIII, 510-511). Díaz del Valle y de la Puerta, *Historia del reyno de León*, II parte 1.ª, fo. 86, declaró (sin citar ninguna fuente) que «otra hija del César fue doña Juana de Austria que murió de edad de 7 años el de 1530, siendo novicia en el convento de Augustinos en la villa de Madrigal donde yaze». Zurdo Manso y Cerro Calvo, *Madrigal*, 40, afirmaban (también sin citar ninguna fuente) que en 1530 Juana «murió ahogada en el pozo del convento». Mi agradecimiento a Ruth MacKay y Felipe Vidales del Castillo por tratar conmigo el tema del destino de Juana.

12. *KFF*, III/2, 223-233, Carlos a Fernando, 29 de julio de 1531, ológrafa. Pese a su declaración de intenciones de que estaba «a punto de marcharse», Carlos permaneció en los Países Bajos durante al menos cinco meses más.

13. *CODOIN*, XIV, 16-17, Loaysa a Carlos, 8 de junio de 1530; Sanuto, *I diarii*, LIII, cols. 208-210, carta de Zuan Francesco Masardo, Innsbruck, 5 de mayo de 1530; Ribier, *Lettres et mémoires d'Estat*, II, 633-637 (publicado también en Cimber y Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, 1.ª serie, III, 296-306), recuerdos de Carlos contados durante una audiencia en 1556, registrados por un testigo presencial francés anónimo.

14. Rosso, *Istorie*, 70; Poumarède, «Le voyage», 283, el embajador Alfonso Rossetti a Ercole de Este, 1 de marzo de 1536; Cosentini, *Una dama*, 66-80 (su arrepentimiento consta en la p. 76).

15. Panzer, *Barbara*, cap. 2, sugiere que Bárbara podría haber llamado la atención de Carlos mientras este se encontraba de caza en Geisling, cerca de Ratisbona, donde sus padres tenían propiedades, y más tarde visitarle en el Gasthof «Zum goldener Kreuz» de Ratisbona (véase lámina 5 en su libro).

16. BMECB, *Ms. Granvelle*, V/423-424, codicilo firmado por Carlos, 6 de junio de 1554, al que se adjunta la cédula de François Massi firmada el 13 de junio de 1550 (copias hechas de los originales en 1624). *PEG*, IV, 495-500, publicó ambos textos, pero omitió las descripciones y anotaciones realizadas por el copista. Sobre este codicilo, véase también el capítulo 16. Ningún documento llegado hasta nosotros revela la fecha en la que Bárbara contrajo matrimonio con Hieronymus Kegel, pero la coincidencia de que el chico llevara el mismo nombre que su padrastro sugiere que Bárbara conoció a su futuro marido antes de que Carlos secuestrara a su hijo.

17. Gachard, *Études*, 9-10 y 21 (órdenes emitidas por el Tesoro de los Países Bajos en 1551 a favor de Hieronymus Kegel Piramus) y 14 (detalles de la casa familiar de Bárbara en 1571).

18. *GRM*, II, 506-507, Quijada a Felipe, 12 de octubre de 1558 (el mensajero secreto encargado de llevar el dinero fue Ogier Bogart, que había estado presente en la firma del documento por el que se facultaba a François Massi para hacerse cargo de

Jerónimo en 1550).

19. Fuente, «La madre», Gachard, *Études*, 15-20, y Lozano Mateos, «Noticias», publicaron los documentos más importantes de la vida de Bárbara en los Países Bajos; AGS *CSR* 152/432-433, petición autógrafa de pago realizada por «Madama de Blomberg, madre del sereníssimo don Juan de Austria», 26 de junio de 1595, y por Agustín de Alvarado, su testamentario, 1 de agosto de 1599. En la década de 1950 se desenterró un esqueleto, casi con toda seguridad de Bárbara (Lozano Mateos, «Noticias», 136-137, publicó una fotografía del cráneo), que ahora se halla reenterrado en la iglesia de Montehano (Cantabria).

20. *RVEC*, 359, Salinas a Fernando, 28 de mayo de 1527. Véase también el relato de los *autos* del bautismo en March, *Niñez*, I, 27-40.

21. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 198-241, describe la selección del preceptor. Carlos firmó el título de Silíceo como *maestro* el 1 de julio de 1534, pocos días después de escucharle dar clase: March, *Niñez*, I, 104. Gonzalo, *op. cit.*, 237, afirma que la emperatriz acompañó a su esposo a Salamanca, y por tanto sería probable que interviniera también en la elección de Silíceo, pero lo cierto es que ella viajó directamente de Segovia a Valladolid (Girón, *Crónica*, 43).

22. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 242-256 (sobre la selección de Zúñiga); Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la Cámara Real*, 1-3.

23. March, *Niñez*, I, 230, Zúñiga a Carlos, 11 de febrero de 1536, explicando por qué se había encontrado ausente cuando Felipe resultó herido durante una pelea con dos de sus pajes. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*, II, 100, habla del tamaño de la casa.

24. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 243, citando a Francisco de Monzón, *Libro primero del espejo del prinçipe christiano* (Lisboa, 1544).

25. March, *Niñez*, I, 68-70, 72, Silíceo a Carlos, 25 de febrero de 1536 y 19 de marzo de 1540.

26. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 258-259.

27. March, *Niñez*, I, 230, Zúñiga a Carlos, 9 de febrero de 1536. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 260-273, describe la formación religiosa de Felipe e identifica el Rosario como que actualmente se encuentra en la Chester Beatty Library de Dublín, iluminado por Simon Bening (ibíd., 266-167).

28. March, *Niñez*, I, 227, Zúñiga a Carlos, 25 de agosto de 1535 (al llevar al servicio a Carlos desde 1506, cuando el futuro emperador solo tenía seis años, no cabe duda de que Zúñiga sabía de lo que hablaba).

29. Martínez Millán, *La corte*, II, 129-146, resulta ilustrativo sobre los esfuerzos del emperador por mantener a Felipe separado de sus hermanas. Véase un ejemplo en *CDCV*, II, 229, Carlos a Felipe, Metz, 6 de julio de 1544, sobre cómo el emperador encontraba tiempo para supervisar muy estrechamente las vidas de sus hijos hasta cuando acababa de comenzar su invasión de Francia.

30. AGS *CSR* 106/470-471, Albalá a «el bachiller Christobal de Estrella», 4 de febrero de 1541. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II: la educación*, 499-572, ofrece una admirable biografía de cada uno de los preceptores.

31. HHStA *Ms. Blau* 596/1/45v-46, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de noviembre de 1542; BL *Addl.* 28.706/1-16, incluye los documentos más importantes en relación con el matrimonio portugués de Felipe enviados al embajador de Carlos en Lisboa el 23 de septiembre de 1542. Incluso entonces, la bula papal resultó ser insuficiente para cubrir todas las instancias de consanguinidad, y Carlos tuvo que conseguir otra «suppliendo el deffecto de la dispensación que se concedió quando os casastes con la princesa»: *CDCV*, II, 636-639, Carlos a Felipe, 8 de julio de 1548.

32. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 70-77, Carlos a Felipe, 4 de mayo de 1543 (de donde proceden todas las subsiguientes citas de este documento).

33. «Pretendía imponer» porque el —por lo general— obediente Gandía se negó a cumplir la insólita orden del emperador, temiendo que «de mi yda se podría rescrescer algo de que Vuestra Magestad fuesse deservido». Él y la duquesa se quedaron por tanto en su casa hasta mucho después de que Felipe y María Manuela hubieran consumado su unión: véase *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, II, 460-464 y VI, 609-611, Gandía a Carlos, Felipe y Los Cobos, todas del 2 de octubre de 1543.

34. BZ 144/39 y Riba García, *Correspondencia*, 25-26, Mateo Vázquez a Felipe II con reescritos, 28 de diciembre de 1574 y 21 de marzo de 1576.

35. *CDCV*, II, 172-173 y 183, Carlos a Felipe, 27 de octubre de 1543 y 15 de noviembre de 1543, y 189-193, Felipe a Carlos, 4 de febrero de 1544, minuta.

36. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Felipe II. La mirada*, 124.

37. March, *Niñez*, I, 323-326, Carlos a Zúñiga, 17 de febrero de 1545.

38. *CDCV*, II, 332 y 343, Carlos a Felipe, 13 de enero y 17 de febrero de 1545; March, *Niñez*, I, 324, Carlos a Zúñiga, Bruselas, 17 de febrero de 1545, todas con posdatas ológrafas.

39. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 68-69, Granvela (Nicolás, y no el «cardenal Granvela,» como afirmó Von Druffel) a María de Hungría, 4 de agosto de 1547.

40. AGS *E* 644/20, Carlos a Felipe, 25 de diciembre de 1547; *CDCV*, II, 564-569, instrucciones de Carlos a Alba [18 de enero de 1548].

41. *CDCV*, II, 569-592, Instrucciones de Carlos V a Felipe II, 18 de enero de 1548, del que proceden todas las citas. Es posible que Carlos partiera de un borrador preparado por Granvela, como al parecer hizo cuando escribió sus Instrucciones de 1539 (capítulo 10); desde luego, entre los documentos de Granvela se encuentra una copia de las Instrucciones: *PEG*, III, 267-318. También existe la posibilidad de que el emperador trabajara solo, como hizo con sus Instrucciones de 1543 (capítulo 11). Dado que al parecer no ha sobrevivido ningún original, es imposible saberlo con certeza.

42. Carlos se consideraba rodeado por «ymbidia» desde, como mínimo, 1528: véase Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 20.

43. El texto del archivo de Granvela omitía el párrafo sobre Pedro Luis Farnesio y Piacenza: al parecer, lo añadió el propio Carlos (*CDCV*, II, 576 n. 691).

44. Gachard, «Mémoire», 29, Manrique a Cisneros, 8 de marzo de 1516. Véase también el frustrado plan de partición propuesto a Carlos por Margarita de Austria y su Consejo en 1519, en el capítulo 4.

45. Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión*, I, 101-102; Pietschmann, «Carlos V», 444-445.

46. *CDCV*, II, 612-615, Carlos a Felipe, 9 de abril de 1548. El emperador justificaba en parte su elección basándose en la «cordura y prudencia» con la que Maximiliano «a entendido y entiende en my lugar [los negocios] tocantes al imperio».

47. Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II*, 701-702, citando a Sande ante Perrenot, 14 de octubre de 1548; BL *Egerton* 2148/16v, relato de la «entrada del príncipe de España» en Mantua, de Thomas Hoby, un testigo presencial.

48. Calvete, *Felicíssimo viaje*, 625 (Vicente Álvarez).

49. *RTA*, XVIII, 2082-2176, publica los debates mantenidos durante la Dieta en relación con el «Burgundischer Vertrag» entre marzo y junio de 1548.

50. Frieder, *Chivalry*, 133-158, describe y analiza pormenorizadamente «las fiestas de Binche». En 2003, la Unesco declaró el carnaval de Binche «Obra Maestra del Patrimonio Oral e Inmaterial de la Humanidad».

51. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 831, Relación de Marino Cavalli, 1551.

52. Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 255, Roger Ascham a Edward Raven, 29 de enero de 1551 (describiendo las barcazas que surcaban el Rin).

53. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12-13, Van Male a Louis de Praet (su mecenas), 17 de julio de 1550. Algunos han afirmado que el emperador dictó sus *Memorias* a Van Male, pero la carta de este último dice claramente que Carlos «scriberet in navi». Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 160, sostenía que Carlos había dejado de escribir sus *Memorias* cuando llegó a Maguncia el 18 de junio, pero esto parece infundado: el 14 de junio embarcó en una barcaza del Rin en Colonia y viajó río arriba hasta llegar a Espira el 23 de junio (Foronda, *Viajes*, 617-618). Véase el Apéndice I para más información sobre las *Memorias*.

54. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12-13, Van Male a Louis de Praet, 17 de julio de 1550; Zimmerman, «The publication», 89, Bernardo de Médici, obispo de Forlì, al duque Cosme, Augsburgo, 19 de diciembre de 1550.

55. Ribadeneira, *Vita,* 109v-110 (lamentablemente, Ribadeneira no dio fecha, limitándose a decir que este intercambio tuvo lugar «no sé qual de las vezes que estuuo el padre Francisco en Iuste con el emperador»).

56. *CDCV*, IV, 486: todas mis citas proceden de esta versión.

57. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 170-171, hace una lista de los numerosos «numérotages» en sus *Memorias*.

58. *CDCV*, IV, 532, describe «la primera falta o yerro» de «los de la Liga de Schmalkalden»; ibíd., 560, subraya la «sexta falta y error».

59. Pacheco, *Libro de descripciones*, n.º 84. Mexía terminaba su *Historia Ymperial*, publicada en abril de 1547, con una llamada a que alguien escribiera una historia digna de Carlos. Mexía se puso manos a la obra de inmediato, utilizando documentos de la

Biblioteca Colombiana, pero solo había llegado al año 1530 cuando murió.

60. *Pauli Iovii Opera*, II, 170-171, Giovio a Carlos, 14 de agosto de 1550; Zimmerman, «The publication», 87-90, Forlì a Cosme, 8 de noviembre y 1 de diciembre de 1550 y 9 de enero de 1551. Para más información sobre Carlos y sus historiadores, véase Kagan, *Clio*, cap. 2; sobre el trabajo de Ávila como *protocronista*, véase Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, «Acerca», 177-178, e ídem, *El César*, 275-283.

61. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 207-209, La Gasca a Van Male, Palencia, 23 de agosto de 1553, en respuesta a la petición de detalles; López de Gómara, *Hispania Victrix* (el trabajo de imprenta «acabóse a veinte días del mes de agosto» de 1553; un año antes se publicó una versión en Zaragoza); Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta*, 94-97, real cédula de 17 de noviembre de 1553, y autos de los libreros de Sevilla de febrero de 1554.

62. Kagan, «La propaganda», 213-214, enumera las distintas producciones salidas de la «agencia de publicidad» del emperador entre 1548 y 1549.

63. Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 370-372, Leoni a Perrenot, 14 de agosto de 1555, describió el avance de sus diversos encargos; Sepponen, «Imperial materials», nota 5, ofrece las localizaciones concretas.

64. The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, conserva otra pieza de un juego de damas con el retrato de Carlos, hecho en Augsburgo alrededor de 1540 (Inv.-Nr KK_3853).

65. Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 362-363, Leoni a Perrenot, 1550.

66. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12-13, Van Male a Praet, 17 de julio de 1550, posdata (sobre el proyecto de un texto en latín). Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 172-173, argumenta convincentemente que Fernando era el objetivo de las *Memorias*.

67. Bernays, *Urkunden und Akten*, 2e Abteilung, IV/2, 822 y 826, Jakob Sturm y otros a los magistrados de Estrasburgo, 15 y 31 de diciembre de 1547; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 412-414, Mocenigo y Badoer a la Señoría, 19 de abril de 1548; *NBD*, X, 377-380, cardenal Santa Croce al cardenal Farnesio, 15 de junio de 1548.

68. Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 726-728, Fernando a María, 29 de marzo de 1549, y 729-730, respuesta de María, 13 de abril de 1549.

69. Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, IX, 495-497, María a Fernando, 1 de mayo de 1550 (he traducido *nostre maison* como «nuestra dinastía»). Los «argumentos de gran alcance» de Felipe son probablemente los publicados por Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, 450-461, «Denkschrift über die Succession in der Kaiserwürde».

70. Gachard, «Carlos V», 793 n., Fernando a María, 19 de julio de 1550. En un principio, las actas oficiales españolas designaban a «Fernando, nuestro muy caro e muy amado hijo e hermano», heredero y sucesor de Carlos: véase, por ejemplo, Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección*, IV, 116-121, Capitulación y asiento entre Carlos y Magallanes, 22 de marzo de 1518, copia.

71. *LCK*, III, 12, Fernando a Carlos, 14 de diciembre de 1550, y 15-21, Carlos a María, 16 de diciembre de 1550 (trasladándole su versión del agrio intercambio mantenido con su hermano en estilo directo).

72. *LCK*, III, 15-21, Carlos a María, 16 de diciembre de 1550; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 508-510, Mocenigo y Badoer a la Señoría, 15 de febrero de 1551.

73. Dollinger, *Dokumente*, 168-177, y Von Druffel, *Beiträge*, III, 196-201, publican los numerosos documentos firmados por Felipe y Fernando en Augsburgo el 9 de marzo de 1551.

74. Friedensburg, «Karl V.», 76-81, Giovanni Michele al Consejo de los Diez, diciembre de 1551, informando de las indiscreciones de Maximiliano; *CODOIN*, XCVIII, 24-28, Fernando al obispo de Aquila, embajador de Felipe II, 22 de julio de 1558, en una carta en la que renegaba de la promesa de investir a su sobrino como vicario imperial en Italia. Edelmayer, «Carlos V», y Laubach, «Karl V», analizan en profundidad los complejos debates mantenidos en Augsburgo sobre la sucesión.

75. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 364-365, informe de Marillac, 1551; Giles, *The whole works*, III, 9, Ascham, *A report*.

76. IVdeDJ 55/IX/97-98, Mateo Vázquez a Felipe con rescripto, 17 de junio de 1586; TNA *SP* 68/7 n.º 358, sir Richard Morison al Consejo Privado inglés, 26 de mayo de 1551.

15. Las últimas campañas del emperador, 1551-1554

1. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 74-80, 107-110 y 290-295, Carlos a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 18 de marzo y 30 de octubre de 1550 y 19 de abril de 1551 (borrador). Carlos venía instando a los papas a convocar el Concilio general en Trento desde 1524: RAH *Ms.* 9/4817 fos. 216-225v, Carlos a Sessa, 18 de julio de 1524.

2. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 132-135, Protesta, 3 de enero de 1551; ibíd., III, 22-29, sobre las cartas con las convocatorias; Buschbell, *Concilium Tridentinum*, XI/2, 771-777, Julio a su legado en Trento, 16 de enero de 1552.

3. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, I, 425-428, y II, 63-77, Carlos a Toledo, 8 de octubre de 1551 y 5 de enero de 1552.

4. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 240-246, «Resultan los puntos que se han consultado a Su Magestad», sin fechar, pero febrero de 1552; Buschbell, *Concilium Tridentinum*, XI/2, 771-777, Julio a su legado en Trento, 16 de enero de 1552. Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*, III, 397-398, celebra el éxito de Carlos al conseguir convencer al menos a algunos estados protestantes alemanes —incluidos Brandeburgo, Wurtemberg y Estrasburgo— para que enviaran delegaciones oficiales a Trento.

5. Gutiérrez, *Trento*, II, 281-291, Carlos a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 27 de febrero de 1552, minuta. Felipe II establecería un paralelismo similar entre sus intereses y los de Dios: *FBD*, 225.

6. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 10, *Report* de Ascham; Vos y Hatch, *Letters*, 236, Ascham a Cheke, 7 de julio de 1553. Véase la valoración similar realizada por el embajador francés Marillac en la misma época, citada en la página 612 más adelante.

7. Tytler, *England*, I, 301-307, sir John Mason al Consejo Privado, 29 de junio de 1550; Rymer, *Foedera*, XV, 211-217, tratado de Boulogne, 24 de marzo de 1550.

8. ASF *MdP* 4308, sin foliar, Bernardo de Médici a Cosimo, 29 de septiembre y 3 de octubre de 1550 (sobre la «festa maxima»); *LCK*, III, 9-11 y 55-57, Carlos a Solimán, 31 de octubre de 1550 y 8 de marzo de 1551.

9. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 14, *Report* de Ascham.

10. *PEG*, III, 504-510, Instrucciones de Julio al obispo de Imola, 31 de marzo de 1551; Dumont, *Corps*, IV parte III, 26-27, tratado entre Enrique II y Farnesio, 27 de mayo de 1551.

11. *LCK*, III, 68-71, Carlos a Fernando, 15 de agosto de 1551; AGS *CMC* 1a/1231, Cuentas de García Portillo, pagos efectuados en octubre de 1551 a la «ynfantería y caballería spañola que quedó en guardia y presidio de las tres fuertes del ducado de Wirtemberg… al tiempo que salieron de las dichas fuertes de Wirtemberg… para baxar en Italia al cerco de Parma» y a tres compañías de guardias alemanes al mando del conde de Nassau.

12. Vos y Hatch, *Letters*, 132-138, Ascham a Cheke, 11 de noviembre de 1550, describe a los oponentes protestantes de Carlos; Rein, *The Chancery of God*, relata con detalle la resistencia de Magdeburgo.

13. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 474-476, Enrique a Marillac, su embajador en la corte imperial, 10 de agosto de 1550.

14. El tesorero de Carlos pagó 67.000 ducados a los 300 soldados españoles que mantuvieron bajo custodia al landgrave entre 1547 y 1552: AGS *CMC* 1a/1519/V, pago a Diego de Torralva.

15. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 234-237, Fernando a Carlos, 21 de junio de 1549; *LCK*, II, 622-626 y 637-638, Mauricio a Felipe, 27 de enero de 1549 y respuesta el 31 de agosto de 1549, Latin; Giles, *The whole works*, III, 57, *Report* de Ascham, citando la petición de Felipe para la liberación del landgrave.

16. Turba, «Verhaftung», 228-231, publicó estos dos documentos a partir de ŐNB, *Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus* 9363, un volumen lleno de documentos relativos a la prisión de los dos líderes luteranos.

17. *LCK*, III, 60-67, Carlos a Viglius, 17 de marzo de 1551, y respuesta de Viglius, 25 de marzo de 1551. Benavent Benavent y Bertomeu Masiá, *El secuestro*, 82-99, presentan documentos relativos al fallido intento de escapada por parte del landgrave. Véase también Mariotte, *Philippe*, 273-275.

18. Dumont, *Corps*, IV parte III, 31-33, tratado de Lochau, 5 de octubre de 1551, ratificado por Enrique en Chambord, 15 de enero de 1552 (texto alemán en Von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 340-350).

19. Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 313, Ascham al director y los miembros de St John's College, Cambridge, Augsburgo, 12 de octubre de 1551; y III, 19-20, *Report* de Ascham, escrito en junio-julio de 1553 (véanse también las cartas de otros ministros de Carlos de esa época negándose a creer los rumores de un desastre inminente, citadas en Von Druffel, *Briefe*, I, 854 n. 1); *NBD*, XII, 103-104, el obispo de Fano a Julio III, 14 de noviembre de 1551. Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 72-84, comentaba el deficiente proceso de toma de decisiones en la corte imperial en aquel momento; Janis, *Groupthink*, analizaba el fenómeno de forma más amplia.

20. Gachard, «Charles V», 831 n.1, Perrenot a María, 17 de noviembre de 1551; *NBD*, XII, 28-30, el obispo de Fano a Julio III, 8 de junio de 1551. El nuncio se quejaba en otras varias cartas de la dificultad de obtener decisiones de Carlos mientras se hallaba de caza.

21. ASP *GG* b 43, sin foliar, Natale Musi a Gonzaga, 13 de diciembre de 1553, e instrucciones de Gonzaga a Gonzalo Girón, su enviado ante Carlos, 20 de diciembre de 1553, ambas tratan de las críticas hechas por Carlos a Gonzaga durante los dos años anteriores.

22. Gachard, «Charles V», col. 830 n. 3, Perrenot a María, 14 de junio de 1551.

23. *LCK*, III, 78-83, María a Perrenot, 5 de octubre de 1551. Carlos partió de Augsburgo hacia Innsbruck el 2 de noviembre.

24. Giles, *The whole works*, III, 9 y 28-30, *Report* de Ascham (que, por desgracia, termina cuando Mauricio inicia su marcha hacia Innsbruck).

25. Grata, *Des lettres*, 258-260, Perrenot a Niccolò Belloni, 1 de enero de 1552; Gachard, «Charles V», col. 834 n. 1, Perrenot a María, 27 de enero de 1552, y Carlos a María, 26 de febrero de 1552.

26. *LCK*, III, 98-106, Instrucciones a M. de Rye, 3 de marzo de 1552, enumerando las concesiones que Carlos estaba dispuesto a hacer; Von Druffel, *Briefe,* II, 70-71, Carlos a María, 28 de enero de 1552, posdata ológrafa.

27. Dumont, *Corps*, IV parte III, 33-34, Juramento de la ciudad de Metz, 21 de abril de 1552.

28. Gachard, «Charles V», 838 n. 2, Carlos a María, 21 de marzo de 1552; *LCK*, III, 107-108, Instrucciones secretas a M. de Rye, 3 de marzo de 1552. Véase también BNE *Ms.* 20212/72/1, Lesmes de Macuelo a Perrenot, 7 de abril de 1552: «teniendo entendido los mercaderes [de Augsburgo] días ha lo que passava, no fiaron de Su Magestad un real, paresciéndoles cosa perdida. Vea Vuestra Señoría qué ánimos ay, y quán pocos de quien fiar».

29. Fernández Álvarez, *Política mundial*, 306-317, Instrucciones a Juan Manrique de Lara, 28 de marzo de 1552, y AGS *E* 90/7-9, y más Instrucciones de 29 de marzo de 1552; *CDCV*, IV, 485, Carlos a Felipe, marzo de 1552 (Fernández Álvarez deduce la fecha y la forma de hacérselas llegar en ibíd. p. 471.)

30. Lanz, *Correspondenz,* III, 159-162, Carlos a Fernando, 4 de abril de 1552, ológrafo. La orden de Carlos de que su secretario no debía enviar esta carta hasta después de haber dejado Innsbruck demuestra hasta qué punto desconfiaba entonces de su hermano.

31. *CDCV*, III, 420, Carlos a Felipe, 9 de abril de 1552; Fernández Álvarez, *Política mundial*, 306-317, Instrucciones a Juan Manrique, 28 de marzo de 1552. Ambos mensajes le llegaron a Felipe a la vez.

32. Gachard, «Charles V», col. 838 n. 6, Carlos a María, 15 de abril de 1552.

33. Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 534.

34. *NBD*, XIII, 1 n. 1, el embajador de Saboya al duque de Ferrara, 22 de mayo de 1552. El embajador Florentino informó de que «el emperador salió de Innsbruck con tanta prisa que apenas tuvo tiempo de hacer el equipaje», y luego «cabalgó toda la noche, llegando cuatro horas después de la salida del sol» a Sterzing: ASF *MdP* 4314/134, Pandolfini al duque Cosme, 20 de mayo de 1552.

35. AST *LM Vienna*, 2/348, Stroppiana a Manuel Filiberto de Saboya, 20 de mayo de 1552.

36. Greppi, «Extraits», 219-220, Stroppiana a Manuel Filiberto de Saboya, Villach, 30 de mayo de 1552.

37. *LCK,* III, 300-303 y 305-308, Fernando a Carlos, Passau, 27 y 28 de junio de 1552

38. Ibíd., 318-329, Carlos a Fernando, 30 de junio de 1552 (la fuente sigue siendo la misma para todas las citas del párrafo siguiente). Véanse también los detalles del debate sobre el tratado en Greppi, «Extraits», 227-228, Stroppiana a Manuel Filiberto de Saboya, 10 de julio de 1552.

39. BNE *Ms*. 7915, sin foliar, Raimundo de Tassis a Perrenot, Madrid, 9 de junio de 1552; *NBD*, XIII, 20-22, nuncio Camaiani al cardenal Del Monte, 5 de julio de 1552; Rodríguez Salgado, «Los últimos combates», 90, Carlos a María, 16 de julio de 1552.

40. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 536-539, Marc'Antonio Damula a la Señoría, Innsbruck, 4 de agosto de 1552; AGS *E* 647/30, Luis de Orejuela a Gonzalo Pérez, Brixen, 28 de julio de 1552. Von Druffel, *Briefe*, III, 532-535, publicó la Ratificación de Carlos del tratado de Passau, Múnich, 15 de agosto de 1552.

41. *CDCV*, III, 478, Instrucción de Carlos a Figueroa, [6] de septiembre de 1552 (sobre esta fecha, véase la nota 44 de este capítulo).

42. *NBD*, XIII, 107-111, Camaiani a Del Monte, Esslingen, 9 y 11 de septiembre de 1552. El embajador de Florencia mencionó que Carlos «cabalgaba vestido con su armadura completa»: ASF *MdP*, 4314, unfol., Pandolfini a Cosimo, 13 de septiembre de 1552.

43. *CDCV*, III, 478, instrucción de Carlos a Figueroa, su enviado, a Felipe, [6] de septiembre de 1552. Fernández Álvarez (loc. cit.) fecha el documento el 18 de septiembre, pero Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 106, propone plausiblemente una fecha del 4, 5 o 6 de septiembre.

44. AGS *E* 648/85, Carlos a Ferrante Gonzaga, 28 de junio de 1552; Brandi, «Karl V. vor Metz», 26-30, Carlos a María, 23 de septiembre de 1552.

45. *LCK*, III, 512-513, Carlos a María, 13 de noviembre de 1552, ológrafo. Véase un argumento similar referido a Argel en 1541 en el capítulo 10, y en el capítulo 8 sobre la tendencia a confiar en la «Fortuna del César».

46. *NBD*, XIII, 92-96 y 116-120, nuncio Camaiani a Del Monte, 22-23 de agosto y 16 de septiembre de 1552, ambas cifradas.

47. *CDCV*, III, 542, Carlos a Felipe, 25 de diciembre de 1552, explicando por qué y cómo había sitiado Metz. El embajador florentino señaló que Carlos «no quería que Alberto Alcibíades besara su mano», pero Alba le convenció de que era necesario: ASF *MdP*, 4314, sin foliar, Pandolfini a Cosme, 23 de noviembre de 1552.

48. Zeller, *Le siège*, 105-106, Carlos a María, 21 de octubre de 1552.

49. GRM *Introduction*, 28 n. [1], Bossu a María, 23 de octubre y 21 de noviembre de 1552; Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 208.

50. *CDCV*, III, 543, Carlos a Felipe, 25 de diciembre de 1552; Zeller, *Le siège*, 126-127, Carlos a María, 14 de noviembre de 1552 (quejándose de «los que dicen que mi reputación entera está en riesgo si no me impongo»); ASF *MdP*, 4314, sin foliar, Pandolfini a Cosme, 29 de noviembre de 1552, informaba del recorrido realizado por el emperador por el campamento y las trincheras, acompañado de Alba y Alberto Alcibíades.

51. Zeller, *Le siège*, 145-146, Carlos a María, 11 de diciembre de 1552 (sobre las minas); *NBD*, XIII, 395-402, informe del secretario de Camaiani sobre su visita clandestina a las obras de asedio en torno a Metz, 20 de noviembre-12 de diciembre de

1552; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 578-580, Damula a la Señoría, 20 de diciembre de 1552.

52. Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, IV, 89 («Ç'a été le plus beau siège qui fût jamais»); Greppi, «Extraits», 233-234, el conde Stroppiana a Manuel-Filiberto de Saboya, 31 de diciembre de 1552; TNA *SP* 68/11 n.º 604, Richard Morison al Consejo Privado, enero de 1553; *CCG*, IV, 554, Perrenot a Morillon, 18 de marzo de 1573.

53. Zeller, *Le siège*, 153-154, Carlos a María, 20 de diciembre de 1552; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 76-78, Van Male a Praet, 23 de noviembre de 1552 (ibíd., 44-45, del mismo al mismo, 5 de mayo de 1551, mencionaba también que el emperador disfrutaba «con la repetida lectura de los Salmos de David, que encontraba inspiradores»); Pérez de Tudela Bueso, *Documentos*, I, 207-209, La Gasca a Van Male, 23 de agosto de 1553, donde comenta el libro recibido de los Países Bajos en junio y julio.

54. Zeller, *Le siège*, 153-155, Carlos a María, 20 y 22 de diciembre de 1552 (él no sabía entonces que Hesdin se había rendido el día 18). A su hijo le expuso los mismos razonamientos; *CDCV*, III, 553, Carlos a Felipe, 25 de diciembre de 1552.

55. Greppi, «Extraits», 238, Stroppiana a Saboya, 10 de febrero de 1553; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 590-592, Damula a la Señoría, 11 de febrero de 1553; Rigault, «Une relation inédite», 302.

56. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 587-589, Damula a la Señoría, 23 de enero de 1553 (con detalles sobre la composición de las divisiones en la corte de Carlos).

57. Cálculos españoles tomados de Tracy, *The emperor*, 240-245; los totales de los Países Bajos proceden de ADN *B* 2482, 2493, y Henne, *Histoire*, X, 87, cuentas del recaudador general Robert de Bouloingne correspondientes a 1550, 1552 y 1553.

58. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 89-92, Van Male a De Praet, 24 de diciembre de 1552; GRM *Introduction*, 30 n. 1, Corneille de Baersdorp a María, 30 de diciembre de 1552; TNA *SP* 68/11 n.º 604, Morison al Consejo Privado, enero de 1553, ológrafa.

59. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 590-592, Damula a la Señoría, 11 de febrero de 1553; Greppi, «Extraits», 237, Stroppiana a Saboya, 4 de febrero de 1553. El enviado florentino también temía que Carlos pudiera morir pronto: ASF *MdP*, 4314, sin foliar, Bartolomeo Concini al duque Cosimo, 5 y 10 de enero de 1553.

60. Henne, *Histoire*, X, 13-17, publica el discurso de Carlos del 13 de febrero de 1553; Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 603-607, Damula a la Señoría, 19 de mayo de 1553.

61. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, II, 603-607, Damula a la Señoría, 19 de mayo de 1553 (sobre De Praet); *PEG* III, 639-641, Carlos a Perrenot, 20 de abril de 1553 (aunque Perrenot visó el documento «le xxe d'apvril 1552», Weiss lo fecha correctamente en 1553: véase *CDCV*, III, 563, Felipe a Carlos, 14 de marzo de 1553, anunciando la muerte del Gran Canciller de Nápoles, cuyo puesto quería ocupar Perrenot).

62. *CDCV*, III, 577-592, Carlos a Felipe, 2 de abril de 1553, con posdata fechada el 27 de abril, evidentemente la fecha en la que Carlos confió la carta al duque de Alba, porque esta fue a la que respondió el príncipe; ibíd., 592-595, Felipe a Carlos, 18 de

mayo de 1553. Todas las citas de este párrafo y el siguiente proceden de esta carta.

63. *CDCV*, III, 583-584, Carlos a Felipe, Bruselas, 2 de abril de 1553.

64. Martens, *Militaire architectuur*, 225, Roeulx a María de Hungría, 5 de abril de 1553; ibíd., 283-284, Orden de Carlos V, junio de 1553; Rabutin, *Commentaires*, I, 199.

65. Rabutin, *Commentaires*, I, 203.

66. *NBD*, XIII, 261-263 y 269-278, el obispo de Imola al Papa, 3, 8 y 10 de junio de 1553 (citado Perrenot en la primera carta).

67. *NBD*, XIII, 298-299, Imola al Papa, 29 de agosto de 1553, inserto cifrado; TNA *SP* 69/1/69, el obispo Thirlby al Consejo Privado, 10 de septiembre de 1553. Sobre la campaña de 1553, véase Martens, *Militaire architectuur*, cap. 5.

68. AGS *E* 1498/6, documento sin título de finales de 1554 que comienza diciendo «Al tiempo que falesció el Rey Eduardo»; *PEG*, IV, 108-116, Carlos a Renard, 20 de septiembre de 1553, donde se exponen los argumentos para poner a María y a su Consejo a favor del «matrimonio español».

69. *PEG*, IV, 78-77 y 97, Renard a Perrenot, 15 de agosto y 8 de septiembre de 1553; Gachard, *Voyages*, IV, 99, embajadores en Inglaterra a Carlos, 16 de agosto de 1553, relatando la audiencia en la que María «se echo a reír no una sino varias veces»; ibíd., 105, Carlos a sus embajadores en Inglaterra, 22 de agosto de 1553; y *PEG*, IV, 113-115, Carlos a Renard, 20 de septiembre de 1553.

70. Gachard, *Voyages*, IV, 12, 11/15 de septiembre de 1553 (el enviado era Diego de Azevedo, «tras haber hablado con el emperador y visitado y visto a la reina María de Inglaterra»); *CSPSp*, XI, 177-178, Felipe a Carlos, 22 de agosto de 1553, minuta ológrafa en respuesta a las cartas del emperador fechada el 30 de julio de 1553. Solo después de que esta carta llegara a Bruselas el 11 de noviembre se iniciaron seriamente las negociaciones de matrimonio: *PEG*, IV, 102-104, Perrenot a Renard, 13 de noviembre de 1553. Rodríguez Salgado, *Un imperio,* 126, refiere la extraña historia de la carta no entregada del 8 de agosto de 1553, en la que Felipe prometía contraer matrimonio con su prima María de Portugal.

71. *PEG*, IV, 108-116, Carlos a Renard, 20 de septiembre de 1553, ordenándole hacer la crucial concesión de que don Carlos no heredaría los Países Bajos; *CSPSp*, XI, 326, Renard a Felipe, 29 de octubre de 1553, instando a los estudios lingüísticos (irónicamente, el príncipe no pudo leer esta importante carta en francés y sus secretarios tuvieron que hacer para él una traducción al español).

72. *CDCV*, III, 636-639, Carlos a Felipe, 16 y 26 de diciembre de 1553; y *CODOIN*, III, 451-453, del mismo al mismo, 21 de enero de 1554.

73. AGS *E* 807/36-2, «Escriptura ad cautelam», 4 de enero de 1554.

74. *CDCV*, III, 667, Carlos a Felipe, 13 de marzo de 1554 (cursiva añadida).

75. AGS *E* 90/147-148, Eraso a Felipe, 12 de diciembre de 1553, minuta; *CDCV*, III, 641-644, Carlos a Felipe, 30 de diciembre de 1553.

76. *CDCV*, III, 645-646, Carlos a Felipe, 19 de enero de 1554.

77. AGS *E* 808/134, Ruy Gómez a Eraso, [enero] 1554. Para más información sobre el proceso por el que Juana se convirtió en regente, véase Rodríguez Salgado, *Un imperio*, 136-140.

78. Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II y su tiempo*, 761, el conde de Buendía a Felipe, 2 de septiembre de 1552.

79. *CDCV*, IV, 40, Carlos a Felipe, 30 de abril de 1554; 46, Felipe a Carlos, 11 de mayo de 1554; y 109-110, Instrucciones de Felipe a Juana, 12 de julio de 1554.

80. TNA *SP* 69/4/147, Mason a la reina María, Bruselas, 20 de junio de 1554.

81. AGS *PR* 29/10, quinto y último testamento de Carlos V, Bruselas, 6 de junio de 1554 (publicado con algunas variaciones en *CDCV*, IV, 66-98, donde se señalan varios errores y omisiones del texto publicado por Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 639-656). Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V*, 761-779, ofrece un excelente análisis de este documento, apuntando (entre otras cosas) que cita el testamento de Isabel la Católica (y solo el suyo).

82. BMECB, *Ms. Granvelle*, V/265-268, codicilo del testamento de Carlos, 6 de junio de 1554, escrito «de la misma mano imperial», copia realizada en 1624 a partir de un original perdido (parcialmente publicado en *PEG*, IV, 495-496). Aunque el emperador firmó su testamento aquel día en presencia de tres notarios y siete testigos, escribió y firmó el codicilo a solas, utilizando su «sello pequeño y secreto». Véase el capítulo 14 para más información sobre el comportamiento de Carlos para con Tadea, Jerónimo y las madres de estos.

83. AGS *PR* 55 n.º 30, Instrucciones de Carlos a Eraso, Béthune, 1 de septiembre de 1554, minuta, donde menciona «la escritura general en Latin» (que al parecer no ha sobrevivido) que «otorgué en Namur» (según Foronda, *Viajes*, el emperador estuvo en Namur entre el 27 de julio y el 2 de agosto de 1554). Carlos entregó a su hijo una caja con todos sus testamentos existentes en la ceremonia de abdicación del 16 de enero de 1556: Mayer, «Die letzte Abdankung», 156-158, «Ragionamento».

84. TNA *SP* 69/4/119, 127 y 153, Mason a María, 4, 11 y 26 de junio de 1554; *CSPV*, V, 516-517, Damula a la Señoría, 30 de junio de 1554. El nuncio también comentaba que Carlos montaba a caballo por el parque todos los días: *NBD*, XIV, 58-62 y 79-82, Girolamo Muzzarelli, arzobispo de Consa, a Del Monte, 5 de mayo y 15 de junio de 1554.

85. *CDCV*, IV, 98-102, Carlos a Felipe, 29 de junio de 1554, minuta.

86. *NBD*, XIV, 93-94, Muzzarelli a Del Monte, 8 de julio de 1554; TNA *SP* 69/4/165, Mason al secretario Petrie, 10 de julio de 1554. El nuncio también informaba de que el Consejo de Guerra de Carlos se oponía a esta estrategia: *NBD*, XIV, 90. n. 1, Muzzarelli a Del Monte, 6 de julio de 1554.

87. TNA SP 69/5/18, Mason al Consejo Privado, 13 de agosto de 1554.

88. ASF *MdP*, 4317, sin foliar, Pandolfini a Cosimo, 22 de julio de 1554; *NBD*, XIV, 97 n. 8 y 100-102, Muzzarelli a Del Monte, 15 y 22 de julio de 1554.

89. *CSPV*, V, 519, Damula a la Señoría, 8 de julio de 1554.

90. TNA *SP* 69/5/2, Mason a María, 2 de agosto de 1554; AGS *E* 508/187, «Lo que vos, Mos de Obremon, gentilhombre de nuestra cámara, haueys de hazer en Inglaterra», «del campo», 4 de agosto de 1554, minuta.

91. Salignac, *Le voyage*, sig. Gi v, parte de un relato de la campaña que hizo un testigo presencial francés; Gachard, «L'abdication», 882 n. 2, María al alcalde de Brabante, 17 de agosto de 1554.

92. TNA *SP* 69/5/18, Mason al Consejo Privado, 13 de agosto de 1554. El embajador sabía de qué hablaba, ya que había servido intermitentemente en la corte de Carlos durante veinte años: véase *ODNB* s.v. «Sir John Mason».

93. AGS *Estado* 508/194, Carlos a Felipe y a Alba, «de nuestro exército cerca de Renti», 15 de agosto de 1554, misma carta con diferentes posdatas ológrafas, minuta. (*CDCV*, IV, 121-122, data erróneamente estas cartas el 25 de agosto).

94. Gachard, «L'abdication», 883 n. 1, Carlos a María, 16 de agosto de 1554; AGS *PR* 55 n.º 30, Instrucciones de Carlos a Eraso, Béthune, 1 de septiembre de 1554, minuta.

16. Un retiro agitado, 1555-1558

1. TNA *SP* 69/5/58, Mason a la reina María, Bruselas, 10 de octubre de 1554; *NBD*, XIV, 140 n. 6, Nuncio Muzzarelli al cardenal Del Monte, 14 de octubre de 1554 (Carlos «hieri andò alla caccia»); Tytler, *England*, II, 456, Mason a Felipe y María, 9 de noviembre de 1554; ibíd., 462-426, Mason al Consejo Privado, 25 de diciembre de 1554 (Mason escribió el texto en cursiva en francés, añadiendo —desafortunadamente para los historiadores— «el cual, por ser demasiado largo de escribir, omito»).

2. *CODOIN*, III, 531-536, Ruy Gómez a Eraso, 12 de agosto de 1554, y respuesta, 29 de noviembre de 1554 (las anotaciones hechas por Felipe en la respuesta de Eraso demuestran que el propio príncipe había leído las maliciosas palabras de su padre).

3. AGS *PR* 55 n.º 30 y n.º 27 fo. 124-127, Instrucciones de Carlos V a Eraso, 1 de septiembre de 1554 (solo está fechado el n.º 30, pero Eraso evidentemente también llevó consigo las instrucciones sin fechar en el n.º 27); *CSPSp,* XIII, 124, María a Carlos, 20 de diciembre de 1554, ológrafo («respecto a lo que llevo en mi vientre, yo declare que está vivo»).

4. *CSPV*, VI/1, Badoero a la Señoría, 3 de enero de 1556. *CDCV*¸ IV, 118-232, publica una selección de la correspondencia sobre este tema de Carlos y Felipe con Juana.

5. *CDCV*, IV, 127-130, Felipe a Carlos, Londres, 16 de noviembre de 1554; Morel-Fatio, «Une histoire», 30-31.

6. Pastor, *History of the popes*, XIV, 130, informe del enviado veneciano tras una audiencia con Pablo IV, julio de 1555. Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta*, 374-398, ofrece un excelente relato de estos hechos.

7. Véanse más descripciones de la casita de Carlos en Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633-637 (marzo de 1556); *GRM Introduction*, 77-79; Heymans, *Le palais du Coudenberg*, 196; y *NBD*, XIII, 298-299, el nuncio Imola a Del Monte, 24 de junio de 1553 («cassetta…

non più grande nè più commoda di quello che sia la stanza d'un fratre certosino»).

8. TNA *SP* 69/6/67-69, Mason a la reina María, 11 de abril de 1555; *CSPV*, VI/1, 39-41, Badoero a la Señoría, 6 de abril de 1555; TNA *SP* 69/6/75, Mason al Consejo Privado, 26 de abril de 1555 (publicado con algunos errores en Tytler, *England*, II, 466-468). En efecto, Carlos había recibido la insignia en febrero de 1509, 46 años antes: véase capítulo 1.

9. Jordan Gschwend, «Verdadero padre», 3030-3031, Anna de Andrade a la reina Catalina de Portugal, Bruselas, 15 de agosto de 1554; Bataillon, «Charles-Quint», 402, citando el sermón de fray Cipriano de Huerga pronunciado en Alcalá el 19 de abril de 1556.

10. Aram, *Juana*, 277-278, refiere el suspiro de alivio que dieron los cortesanos de Felipe al enterarse de la muerte de su abuela. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 27, comenta el decreto del emperador de enero de 1556 por el que daba permiso para que los demás comenzaran a vestir de seda, pero aclarando que él continuaría llevando luto por su madre hasta que muriera.

11. *LCK*, III, 622-628 y 681-683, Carlos a Fernando, 8 [*recte* 10] de junio de 1554 y 19 de septiembre de 1555 (Carlos escribió que había decidido «de non me plus *enveloper* en ce point de religion», una afirmación muy tajante). Parker, *La Guerra de los Treinta Años*, 17, resume las condiciones de la Paz de Augsburgo.

12. *CSPV*, VI/1, 186-188, Badoero a la Señoría, Bruselas, 14 de septiembre de 1555; *NBD*, XIV, 302-304, Muzzarelli a Paul IV, 15 de septiembre de 1554; Gachard, *Analectes belgiques*, 70-72, Carlos al gobernador de Hainaut, 26 de septiembre de 1555.

13. Gachard, «L'abdication», 891-894, sobre las provincias infractoras (Hainaut y Guelders; Overijssel y Drenthe), y 901 y 923-948 sobre el resto. Véase también el relato de estos hechos en *CSPV*, VI/1, 214-216 y 218-220, Badoero a la Señoría, Bruselas, 16 y 23 de octubre de 1555. *GRM Introduction*, 82 n. 3 sobre el total («Pasaban de mil personas, las que en la gran sala había»). Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 235, publica el discurso de Carlos para la ocasión.

14. Gachard, *Analectes belgiques*, 77-79, citando a un testigo presencial; ASF *MP* 4319/240v, Ricasoli al duque de Florencia, 26 de octubre de 1555; *SLIP*, III, 142 n. 111, «Escrito de Corte». Otros testigos presenciales apuntaron que el emperador «mist ses lunettes» y sostuvo «*zekere rolleken*» mientras hablaba: véase *GRM Introduction*, 87 n. 1, y *CSPV*, VI/1, 221-224, Badoero a la Señoría, 26 de octubre de 1555.

15. Discurso y hechos reconstruidos a partir de Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 87-91, «Receuil de ce que l'empereur dit de bouche aux estatz generaulx», casi con toda seguridad recopilado por Perrenot a partir de las «notas» utilizadas por Carlos (yo he utilizado la primera persona); Le Petit, *La grande chronique*, II, 236; Stirling-Maxwell, *Notice*, 14-19, Badoero a la Señoría, 26 de octubre de 1555; y Kervijn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 4-7, Mason a Petrie, 27 de octubre de 1555, con una «Nota» sobre los procedimientos. Otros detalles de ASF *MdP*, 4318, sin foliar, Tornabuoni al duque de Florencia el 22 (recte 26) de octubre de 1555; *SLIP*, III, 142 n. 111, «Escrito de Corte»; y el *Cancionero* español y Manuscrito Ieper citado en *GRM*. Sobre las dificultades para conciliar esta y otras versiones de la ceremonia, véase la página 686.

16. *GRM Introduction*, 98, publica la versión de Joachim Viglius de «cada palabra que el rey pronunció». Sir John Mason comentó con desaprobación que «el rey no podía hablar bien a la gente en la lengua que correspondía»: Kervijn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 6. *PEG*, IV, 486-489, publica el acta de abdicación de Carlos como gobernador de los Países Bajos, Bruselas, 25 de octubre de 1555.

17. Gachard, *Analectes belgiques*, 102-106, cartas patente, 25 de octubre de 1555. Dado que la ceremonia dejó agotado a todo el mundo, Felipe y los Estados Generales no intercambiaron sus juramentos hasta el día siguiente: ibíd., 79-80.

18. *CSPV*, VI/1, 242-243 y 288-289, Badoero a la Señoría, 11 de noviembre y 22 de diciembre de 1555.

19. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 28-33, Badoero a la Señoría, 16 de enero de 1556 (resumido en *CSPV*, VI/1, 317-318). Véase también el relato contemporáneo de la ceremonia publicado por Mayer, «Die letzte Abdankung», 156-158.

20. *GRM Introduction*, 110-142, detalla cada una de las renuncias; AGS *PR* 45/9, nombramiento por parte de Carlos de Felipe como su vicario general en Italia, 16 de enero de 1556. Los impedimentos que pusieron algunos funcionarios aragoneses obligaron a Carlos a efectuar una segunda renuncia a dicha Corona en julio de 1556 e, incluso entonces, Felipe solo fue formalmente reconocido como rey cuando fue allí en persona en 1564: Buyreu Juan, *La Corona de Aragón*, 85-90.

21. *CSPV*, VI/1, 321-322, Badoero a la Señoría, 19 de enero de 1556; Rodríguez Salgado, «Los últimos combates», 97, Carlos a Maximiliano, enero de 1556.

22. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notice*, 14-19, Badoero a la Señoría, 31 de marzo de 1556 (resumido en *CSPV*, VI/1, 394-395).

23. Ribier, *Lettres*, II, 633-637 (publicada también en Cimber y Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, 1.ª serie, III, 296-306), relato de un testigo presencial de la embajada francesa en marzo de 1556; *CSPV*, VI/1, 389-390, Badoero a la Señoría, 28 de marzo de 1556 (hijos de Fregoso); Paredes, «The confusion» (los tapices).

24. *CSPV*, VI/1, 437, Badoero a la Señoría, 4 de mayo de 1556; Kervijn, *Relations politiques*, I, 43, Mason a Peter Vannes, 29 de junio de 1556.

25. CSPV VI/1, 468-471, Badoero a la Señoría, 31 de mayo de 1556.

26. *LCK*, III, 693, Carlos a Fernando, 3 de noviembre de 1556. Ibíd., III, 698-699 y 702-703, Carlos a Fernando, 5, 16 y 28 de mayo de 1556, lamentando los retrasos.

27. *LCK*, III, 707-709, Carlos a Fernando, 8 de agosto de 1556, comunicaba su voluntad de posponer la abdicación como su hermano deseaba. Badoero refiere las lágrimas de Carlos al dejar Bruselas: StirlingMaxwell, *Notices*, 51-52.

28. *PEG*, IV, 469-480, María a Carlos, sin fecha, pero a finales de agosto de 1555 (una carta fascinante). Los rumores de que María pretendía retirarse a España con su hermano llevaban tiempo circulando por la corte: *NBD*, XIV, 176-177, Muzzarelli a Monte, 18 de noviembre de 1554, refiriendo «li discorsi de speculative».

29. ASF *MdP* 4319, sin foliar, Tornabuoni al duque de Florencia, 29 de agosto de 1556. El embajador añadía: «Estoy asombrado de que pasara tanto tiempo hablando confidencialmente conmigo». Pablo IV acababa de cumplir 80 años; sobreviviría a

Carlos casi un año.

30. *CSPV*, VI/1, 622-624, Badoero a la Señoría, 16 de septiembre de 1556; BNF *F.f.* 16.121/295-316, «Discours de l'embarquement de l'empereur», recopilado por un representante del embajador francés el 30 de octubre de 1556. Véase también *SLIP*, III, 169 n. 137, entradas del cuaderno de bitácora del comandante de la flota de Carlos, don Luis de Carvajal.

31. Unamuno, «Yuste», 278-280.

32. Ribadeneyra, *Vida*, fo. 98v (basado en lo que «el mismo padre algunos años después me lo comentó», donde añade que, aunque en un principio lo mantuvo en secreto, Carlos le dijo a Borja durante su reunión: «Aora que yo lo he hecho, bien lo podeys vos dezir»); Sigüenza, *Historia*, II, 148 (donde afirma que Carlos ordenó su inspección de Yuste «más de doze años antes» de la visita del príncipe Felipe en 1554, en otras palabras, en 1542 o antes). El «cauallero principal» era casi con toda seguridad don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, que vivía cerca del convento de Yuste, y que por tanto seguramente conocía (no así Carlos). También fue probablemente uno de los «hombres doctos y prudentes» a los que hacía referencia Sigüenza.

33. Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 28-33, Badoero a la Señoría, 16 de enero de 1556 (resumido en *CSPV*, VI/1, 317-318).

34. Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, 188 n. 1, Lorenzo Pirez de Tavora a Juan III, Yuste, 15 de febrero de 1558. Un biógrafo posterior de Borja afirmó, pero sin citar la fuente, que él y Carlos decidieron ya en 1533 «aquel famoso retiro y desprecio del mundo para en caso que la disposición Divina rompiesse la cadena que tenía el coraçón de cada vno en el estado de matrimonio, sacrificando desde entonces sus almas al desengaño, y saliéndose cada uno a fiador del otro»: Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida*, 49 (escrito en 1702).

35. *GRM*, *Introduction*, 40-41, cédula de Carlos a García de Castro, 30 de junio de 1553, y a Felipe, 17 de diciembre de 1553 (Gachard argumentó que ambos documentos fueron escritos en 1554 y no en 1553, pero esto no tiene sentido porque los monjes de Yuste realmente *recibieron* los 3.000 ducados el 25 de junio de 1554). Pizarro Gómez, «El monasterio», 97-99 y 103, describe la fase de los trabajos de construcción que comenzaron en 1539, año de la muerte de la emperatriz: una pista bastante convincente de que Carlos podría haber considerado ya retirarse a Yuste.

36. *GRM*, II, 4, crónica de fray Hernando del Corral; *GRM Introduction*, 163-164, fray Juan de Ortega a Carlos, 9 de agosto de 1554.

37. Checa Cremades, «Venezia», 140, Tiziano al cardenal Farnesio, 16 de enero de 1567; Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 265, Inventario fechado el 18 de agosto de 1556 («Premièrement de la Trinité, faicte par Tisiane, en grande forme, sur toile»).

38. ADN *B* 2510/636, Cuentas del receptor general Robert de Bouloingne correspondientes a 1555 (Vermeyen). Tanto Mancini, «Los últimos cuadros», como Baker-Bates, «The "Cloister Life"», reproducen y comentan los cuadros religiosos que Carlos se llevó a Yuste. Curiosamente, tanto el inventario de 1556 como el de 1558 adscriben el cuadro de «la rreyna de Ynglaterra» a «*Tomas* Moro»: Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 266 y 299.

39. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 597-598. Morales, *Las antegüedades*, fos. 93-93v, y *NBD*, XIV, 62-64, Muzzarelli a Del Monte, Bruselas, 5 de mayo de 1554, describía «el Planetario».

40. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 261-265, «Inventario de vajillas, pinturas y objetos litúrgicos», Bruselas, 18 de agosto de 1556.

41. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, «El caballero», comenta la pequeña biblioteca de Yuste y nos recuerda que Carlos depositó muchos otros libros en el Castillo-archivo de Simancas, y que además podía leer y de hecho leía otros libros que le llevaban los que le iban a visitar a Yuste. El volumen de los «Estatutas» se encuentra en la actualidad en IVdeDJ signatura 26-I-27. En 1998 se publicó un facsímil.

42. *GRM,* II, 8 y 19 (de la «Historia breve» de Del Corral).

43. *GRM*, I, 4, fray Juan de Ortega a Juan Vázquez de Molina, Yuste, 5 de octubre de 1556, y 5-6, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, Laredo, 6 de octubre de 1556. *SLID*, III, 166-167 y n. 130-131, publicó las cartas de Carlos sobre los preparativos.

44. *GRM*, I, 7-11, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 6 y 8 de octubre de 1556.

45. *CSPV*, VI/1, 638-640, Giovanni Michiel a la Señoría, 22 de septiembre de 1556, y 631-633, Bernardo Navagero a la Señoría, 19 de septiembre de 1556; *CSPV*, VI/2, 719-723, Navagero y Pebo Capella a la Señoría, 20 de octubre de 1556.

46. *GRM*, I, 6-7, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, Laredo, 6 de octubre de 1556; *SLID*, III, 232 («Retiro, estancia y muerte»); *GRM*, II, LXVII n. 1, Carlos al conde de Alcaudete, 6 de septiembre de 1557 (junto con más ejemplos de negativas de Carlos a implicarse en asuntos públicos). Sobre el uso de la expresión «en mi tiempo», véase *GRM*, I, 300, y II, 485-486.

47. *SLID,* III, 234-236 («Retiro, estancia y muerte»). Véase también ibíd., 235 n. 183, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 12 de noviembre de 1556, refiriéndose a las alabanzas de Carlos hacia las «colchas» y su petición de más.

48. *GRM*, I, 39-43, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, y Gaztelú al mismo, Jarandilla, 14 y 15 de noviembre de 1556; *SLID,* III, 236. En 1908, Unamuno también encontró en ese camino «un tormento para los pies»: Unamuno, *Obras completas*, VI, 280. Véase también *SLID*, I, mapa p. 144, «Itinerario de Carlos V, desde Bruselas a Yuste».

49. *GRM*, I, 41-51, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, 15, 18 y 20 de noviembre de 1556, y Quijada al mismo, 18 y 20 de noviembre de 1556, cartas todas ellas repletas de quejas. Gaztelú mencionaba los 27 días de lluvia en una carta posterior: *GRM*, II, 145 n. 1, a Vázquez de Molina, 28 de diciembre de 1557.

50. Stirling-Maxwell, *The cloister life,* 50; *GRM*, I, 84-86, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 6 de enero de 1557.

51. Clifford, *Photographic Scramble*, 19 (mi agradecimiento a Patrick Lenaghan por esta referencia); Perla, «Anton van den Wyngaerde», 35 (el mismo artículo fecha convincentemente el dibujo en 1567).

52. *GRM*, II, 13 (Hernando del Corral). Otras informaciones de Perla, «Una visita», e ídem, «Anton van den Wyngaerde».

53. *GRM*, II, 264-265, Quijada a Juana, 31 de octubre de 1557; *GRM*, I, 234-235, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 27 de diciembre de 1557; Martín González, «El palacio», XXIII, 39-40 (cuentas de las obras).

54. Detalles de Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 281-834, «Inventario postmórtem»; y Martín González, «El palacio», XXIII, 51 (17.500 ducados, más los artículos que pasaron a propiedad de Felipe sin mediar compensación).

55. *GRM*, II, 22-26. Sigüenza incluiría más tarde el relato de Del Corral prácticamente palabra por palabra (sin citarle como fuente) en su *Historia*: *GRM*, II, pp. VI-X, y *SLID*, II, 233-237, notas, señala las discrepancias.

56. BNE *Ms*. 5578/77-99v, «Méthodo para escribir la Historia por Dr Juan Páez de Castro»; Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 386-387, Carlos a Vázquez de Molina, 9 de julio de 1558. Véase Apéndice I más adelante sobre las *Memorias*.

57. *GRM*, II, 25 (Del Corral); *GRM*, I, 89-90, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, 16 de enero de 1557; Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos*, 97 (237 cartas han sobrevivido hasta hoy).

58. Rodríguez Salgado, *The changing face*, 132.

59. Kervijn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 54-59, Instrucciones de Felipe a Ruy Gómez, 2 de febrero de 1557.

60. AGS *E* 128/326, Carlos a Felipe, Yuste, 15 de noviembre de 1557, con una posdata ológrafa; y *E* 128/317, «Relación de cartas del emperador a Su Magestad». Eraso visó ambos documentos.

61. *GRM*, II, 186-187 y 195-196, Carlos a Valdés, 18 de mayo y 2 de junio de 1557 (véase el resto de la correspondencia en pp. 188-203). Valdés finalmente le prestó 50.000 ducados en lugar de los 150.000 solicitados.

62. *GRM*, I, 170, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 4 de septiembre de 1557; ibíd., I, 218, Gaztelú al mismo, 23 de noviembre de 1557.

63. *CDCV*, IV, 296-297, Carlos a Juana, 31 de enero de 1557; y 415, Carlos a Felipe, 31 de marzo de 1558, posdata ológrafa.

64. *CDCV*, IV, 309-311, Carlos a Juana, 1 de abril de 1557, copia de ológrafo; *GRM*, I, 148-149, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, 12 de mayo de 1557 (informando de una diatriba del emperador).

65. BNE *Ms.* caja 18,667/90, secretario Vargas a Juan de Vega, 4 de noviembre de 1557, copia (el visitante era Ruy Gómez da Silva); *CODOIN*, XCVII, 335-339, un consejero de Hacienda anónimo a Ruy Gómez, Valladolid, 4 de enero de 1558.

66. *GRM*, I, 297-300, Carlos a Juana, Yuste, 25 de mayo de 1558.

67. Rodríguez Salgado, «Los últimos combates», 104.

68. Citas de las cartas mencionadas en notas 64-66 (cursiva añadida).

69. *GRM*, II, 120-123, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 6 de diciembre de 1557. Véase la manifestación de un sentimiento similar reflejada por uno de los médicos de Carlos cuatro meses más tarde: «de muchas dolencias, suele preferirse la que es más leve y tolerable» (*SLID*, III, 544, Mathys a Felipe, 1 de abril de 1558, traducido del latín).

70. *GRM*, II, 22 (fray Hernando del Corral comentaba la visita del futuro don Juan en un capítulo en el que destacaba los escasos visitantes que Carlos permitía). El único testigo presente en la visita de doña Magdalena («a quien Su Magestad tiene cuidado de mandar visitar») no mencionó a Jerónimo, sin duda porque la verdadera identidad del muchacho seguía siendo un secreto: *GRM*, II, 454-455, Gaztelú a Vázquez de Molina, 19 de julio de 1558.

71. *GRM*, I, 449-450, Quijada a Felipe, 13 de diciembre de 1558, explicando a su nuevo señor su intención de educar a Jerónimo hasta que Felipe volviera y afirmando que la «voluntad» era «questo estuviese secreto hasta la venida de Vuestra Magestad, y desde allí adelante se hiciese lo que Vuestra Magestad mandase». (Carlos había dado por hecho que él seguiría vivo para la vuelta de Felipe). Del Corral afirmó que el futuro don Juan de Austria permaneció «arrimado y pegado» a Quijada durante todas las exequias (*GRM*, II, 54-55). La «novela histórica» escrita por Uslar Pietri, *La visita en el tiempo*, comienza cuando don Juan, con once años, observa cómo Quijada y otros hacen inventario de los bienes del fallecido emperador, de quien todavía no sabe que era su padre (agradezco a José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero esta referencia). En 1563, algunos de estos bienes fueron comprados por «el serviçio del señor don Juan de Austria»: Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 558-562.

72. Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 288, «Inventario Postmórtem», comenzado el 28 de septiembre de 1558.

73. Sobre la cura herbaria para las almorranas imperiales, véanse las cartas publicadas en *GRM*, I, 121-125 y 144-146, y II, 109-110. García Simón, *El ocaso*, cap. VI, detallaba la letanía de problemas de salud que sufrió el emperador durante su estancia en Yuste.

74. *GRM*, II, 314-315, Ávila a Vázquez de Molina, 28 de febrero de 1558; *SLID*, III, 544, Mathys a Felipe, 1 de abril de 1558 (traducido del latín).

75. *GRM*, II, 470-, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 9 de agosto de 1558.

76. *GRM*, I, LXXXIX-XC, «Historia breve» de Del Corral, reimpresa en *SLID*, II, 125. Aunque Sigüenza adornó el relato en su *Historia* (*SLID*, II, 249-250), claramente se basó en la versión de fray Hernando.

77. *GRM*, I, 331-336, el doctor Mathys a Vázquez de Molina, 3 y 4 de septiembre de 1558, y Quijada a Vázquez de Molina y Juana, 4 de septiembre de 1558 (dos cartas); ibíd., I, 353-354, Mathys a Vázquez de Molina, 8 de septiembre de 1558; ibíd., I, 370-373, Quijada a Felipe, 17 de septiembre de 1558.

78. AGS *PR* 29/11, «Codicillo original que otorgó el emperador don Carlos», 9 de septiembre de 1558 (publicado en Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 657-661, pero sin indicar las numerosas declaraciones juradas, añadidos y firmas anexas).

79. *GRM*, I, 365-366 y 377, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 14 y 18 de septiembre de 1558, ambas ológrafas; e ibíd., 374-375, Mathys a Vázquez de Molina, 18 de septiembre de 1558. *SLID*, III, 633-675, publicó un relato, día a día, de las tres últimas semanas del emperador, recopilado a partir de las fuentes conservadas en Simancas por el archivero Tomás González (véase página 682).

80. *GRM*, II, 506-507, Quijada a Felipe, 12 de octubre de 1558.

81. Tellechea Idígoras, «Carlos V», 51-52, testimonio de fray Luis de San Gregorio sobre la visita a Yuste del arzobispo Bartolomé de Carranza.

82. *GRM*, I, 408-411, Quijada a Felipe, 30 de septiembre de 1558.

83. Orsi, «The severe gout», cita tomada de la página 519; Zulueta, «The cause», 109; y Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 336-343. Sobre la autenticidad del dedo meñique, véase Apéndice II.

84. Zulueta, «The cause», 107; ídem, *Tuan nyamok*, 342-343.

Epílogo. Balance del reinado

1. El joven Marcel sin duda se quedó dormido con el libro para niños de Jules Michelet, *François Ier et Charles-Quint 1515-1547* (París, 1887). Versión en español de Pedro Salinas, Alianza Editorial.

2. RAH *Salazar* A-43/176-177v, Juan Pérez a Carlos, 19 de septiembre de 1528; GRM, I, 385-386, Quijada a Vázquez de Molina, 21 de septiembre de 1558; Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, con licencia de publicación obtenida en Gante en mayo de 1559.

3. Los Santos, *Descripción*, 167-168; Caimo, *Lettere*, II, 32-53, El Escorial, 22 de agosto de 1755. Más información sobre el estado del cadáver imperial en Apéndice II.

4. Menegus Bornemann, «Los títulos», 225-230, publica el título primordial de Ocoyoacac, en el valle de Toluca, en el que Carlos ocupaba un papel prominente. Véase también Ruiz Medrano, *Mexico's indigenous communities*, 112-124 y 175-178.

5. Leti, *Vita*, IV, 412-413 (cifras) y 463 (cita). Auernhammer y Däuble, «Die exequien», 154-157, y Schraven, *Festive funerals*, tabla 2.1, ofrecen listas incompletas de los funerales por Carlos; Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 435-436, ofrece un listado con las 1.743 publicaciones que mencionan las exequias en Augsburgo.

6. Calvete de Estrella, *El tvmvlo* (Valladolid); Pandola, *Il funerale* (Piacenza); *La magnifique et somptueuse pompe funèbre* (Bruselas); Anón., *Aigentliche unnd wahrhaffte Beschreibung* y Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 433-452 (Augsburgo).

7. Calvete de Estrella, *El tvmvlo*, fo. 6v. Abella Rubio, «El túmulo», incluía tres reconstrucciones de la imagen descrita por Calvete; Redondo Cantera y Serrão, «El pintor portugués», documenta la duración del trabajo de Calvete en el túmulo. Sobre las honras en otras tres ciudades españolas, véase Bouza Brey, «Las exequias» (Santiago de Compostela); Creca, «Un programa» (Alcalá de Henares); y Noguiera, «Les repercussions», 211-213. Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 620-637, publicó un relato detallado de las exequias en Bruselas y de las «honras en Roma» el 4 de marzo de 1559.

8. Burgon, *Life and Times*, I, 254-255, Richard Clough a Thomas Gresham, 2 de enero de 1559. Sobre la ceremonia de 1516, véase página 88.

9. Rose, en «La hija pródiga», describió las conmemoraciones en Lima y sugirió (p. 129 n. 1) que Potosí y probablemente Cuzco y Quito también las celebraron.

10. Cervantes de Salazar, *Túmulo imperial*, 191, 195 (resumen en Peset Reig, «Fundación», 552-553, con un análisis de los textos que se encuentran en Sanchis Amat, «Los poemas»). La copia de esta obra conservada en la Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid incluye la impresión completa del túmulo (otras solo reproducen parte): [http://alfama.sim.ucm.es/dioscorides/consulta_libro.asp?ref=B22329791&idioma=0]. Olton, «To shepherd», reprodujo y comentó la imagen del túmulo a partir del Códice de Tlatelolco, terminado en 1562.

11. Aguirre Landa, «Viejos y nuevos», 41-44, describe los contenidos de AGS *CSR* 180, 134 y 142, respectivamente.

12. AGS *CSR* 133, leg. 11, fo. 108 (las deudas totales superaban los 200.000 ducados); fo. 129, real cédula de julio de 1559; y fo. 113, consulta de descargos y rescripto de Felipe, 11 de febrero de 1579.

13. Mulcahy, *Philip II*, 50. Pérez de Tudela, «El Cenotafio», ofrece una brillante descripción de las estatuas de Carlos y su familia en El Escorial así como de qué manera llegaron allí. Tal vez con el objetivo de que el encargo quedara completado antes de su muerte, Felipe redujo el grupo funerario de siete a cinco, eliminando a sus dos hermanos pequeños.

14. *CCG*, XI, 277-278, don Juan de Idiáquez al cardenal Granvela, El Escorial, 22 de septiembre de 1584. Véase Varela, *La muerte*, cap. 1, sobre el traslado del cuerpo de Carlos a El Escorial.

15. Tellechea Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé*, I, 319-321, Interrogatorio de Felipe por la Inquisición, 11 de enero de 1560; BZ 144/39, Mateo Vázquez a Felipe y rescripto, 28 de diciembre de 1574. Para encontrar más contexto y ejemplos de la influencia del emperador en su hijo, véanse páginas 20-21 del prefacio, y Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 26-27.

16. Fernández Terricabras, «La reforma de las Órdenes», 193, Felipe a don Luis de Requesens, mayo de 1569. Véanse más ejemplos en *FBD*, capítulos 5 y 8.

17. AA 7/58, Felipe a Alba, 14 de julio de 1571; AGS *E* 165/2-3, Felipe al archiduque Alberto, 14 de septiembre de 1587.

18. *LCK,* III, 512-513, Carlos a María, 13 de noviembre de 1552, ológrafa; BZ 144/61, Vázquez a Felipe, y rescripto, 31 de mayo de 1575. Sobre esta persistencia en las estrategias, véase Parker, «Incesto».

19. Plaisant, *Aspetti e problemi*, 111, don Mendo Rodríguez de Ledesma a Felipe III, 14 de septiembre de 1600.

20. AGI *Patronato* 29 r. 13, carta de desafío de Aguirre, 1561; ASP *Carteggio Farnesiano* 127 [*Spagna* 4], sin foliar, conde de Olivares a Octavio, duque de Parma, 2 de noviembre de 1568 (el conde continuaba afirmando, ilusamente, «Si el Tiçiano fuere muerto, no faltara en esa tierra o en Venecia quien la saque»); BNE *Ms.* 20210/69/20, Felipe a don Juan, 3 de marzo de 1570, ológrafo (cursiva añadida en todas las citas).

21. Mendieta, *Historia*, 470 (libro IV, cap, 29); Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, fo. 202v; Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 618 (Libro XXXII, § 17); Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, cap. 39 y II, cap. 8); Ponce de León, «La arquitectura», destacó la emulación de Yuste en Loeches; Prieto Bernabé, «Impresos», 101 (las bibliotecas).

22. De Griecke, *De heerlycke ende vrolycke daeden*, introducción; Lox, *Van stropdragers*.

23. Campanella, *De monarchia*, 98-99.

24. Brandi, «Die politische Testamente», 277-286 (las «últimas instrucciones». Véanse más detalles sobre esta falsificación en el Apéndice III).

25. Detalles en Peiró Martin, *En los altares*, 167-186; citando a Fernández Álvarez, *Evolución del pensamiento histórico en los tiempos modernos* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1974), 127.

26. De Gaulle, *Discours*, 428 (de un discurso pronunciado el 3 de julio de 1962); Barón Crespo, «La Europa» (pronunciado durante unas conferencias sobre Carlos y Europa). Estos y otros autores ignoraron la advertencia de Peter Rassow en 1958: «¿Quién querría convertir a una personalidad fracasada como él en un líder ideal? El Carlos histórico no puede servir como mascarón de proa del barco de la unidad europea» (Rassow, «Das Bild», 15).

27. Mémoires de Haton traducidas por Potter, «Emperor Charles», 138 n. 18; Knox, *The History*, 79, citando «Un acertado consejo de John Knox a los que profesan la verdad de Dios en Inglaterra» (1554). Knox también comparó a la «malvada María» Tudor con Jezabel.

28. Kagan, *Los sueños*, 103 (sueño del 12 de marzo de 1590); Daza, *Quarta parte*, libro II, cap. 36, 137-138, también en Sandoval, *Historia*, II, 637-639 y *SLID*, II, 63-66; y en capítulo 5). Méndez no reveló su visión hasta que estuvo en su lecho de muerte, en 1582. A Carlos le siguió favoreciendo la suerte hasta entre los soñadores: varias personas que soñaron con Carlomagno (uno de los modelos a imitar para Carlos) poco después de la muerte del emperador le imaginaron en el infierno con «un animal arrancándole los genitales»: Ganz, «Charlemagne in Hell».

29. *ODNB,* s.v. Robertson. Carlos hizo rico a su primer biógrafo escocés: le consiguió el puesto de historiógrafo real de Escocia en 1763, remunerado con 200 libras esterlinas anuales, y cinco años más tarde, con un adelanto de 3.500 libras; una suma sin precedentes hasta entonces.

30. Robertson, *The history*, III, 276-280 (valoración) y 518-526 (entrada del índice para «Carlos V»).

31. Michelet, *Histoire*, 263. Stirling-Maxwell, *Cloister life*, 260, opinaba también que Carlos era «uno de los escritores más pesados que jamás habían empuñado la pluma de la correspondencia política o diplomática. Premioso y redundante en su estilo, sus descripciones de personas y hechos son planas e insulsas […] Rara vez algún destello de sentimiento o pasión ilumina su tedioso relato sobre el ejercicio diario del poder». Von

Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, abarcó el reinado de Carlos en 5 volúmenes, con un tomo adicional para los apéndices y el índice; los 3 volúmenes de Baumgarten, *Geschichte Karls V.*, terminaban en 1539.

32. Galasso, «La storiografia», 155-156.

33. Peiró Martín, *En los altares*, 111-113.

34. Armstrong, *The emperor*, I, VII, XIII. El *ODNB*, s.v. «Armstrong, Edward», destacaba sus insólitos logros lingüísticos (holandés, francés, alemán, griego, italiano, latín y español), sus largos viajes por Europa y su labor pionera en enseñar historia de Europa a los universitarios de Oxford. Aunque Armstrong llevó a cabo una investigación archivística en Italia y España para otros libros, no parece que hiciera lo mismo para *The emperor*.

35. Brandi, *The emperor*, 12, 15 (Introducción).

36. Erasmo, *Adagios* (París, 1500, múltiples ediciones), 87-91 (Adagio 1 V 18: «Multa novit vulpes, verum echinus unum magnum»).

37. Suri, *The impossible presidency*, 289.

38. Íbid., 193-194, 198-200 y 213-218 (los diarios); 192, 197 y 222 (comentarios de Suri).

39. *CWE*, II, 193-196 (n.º 413), Erasmo a John Fisher, 5 de junio 1516. Véase también capítulo 3.

40. TNA *SP* 1/170/23-33, Paget a Enrique VIII, Chablis en Borgoña, 19 de abril de 1542, con una posdata del día 22.

41. RVEC, 96-106, Salinas a Fernando, 8 de febrero de 1523.

42. Rassow, *Der Kaiser-Idee*, 433-437, «Las pláticas que el emperador passó con [el embajador francés]», enviado por Idiáquez a Los Cobos y a Granvela, febrero de 1538.

43. En el capítulo 5 se habla de la cumbre propuesta en 1519; AGS *E* 60/193-194, Loaysa a Carlos, 9 de septiembre [1543], ológrafo, entregado «en manos de Su Magestad». Al menos durante la década de 1520, Carlos también promovió la diplomacia personal, insertando en sus cartas ológrafas a otros jefes de Estado un signo especial para indicar los asuntos «que son para mí más importantes»: BL *Cott. Ms.* Galba B.VIII/33-34, Tito B.I/336 y Vespasiano C.II/187, Carlos a Wolsey, 15 de abril de 1522, 23 de marzo y 18 de agosto de 1523, todas ológrafas.

44. Rodríguez-Salgado, «Charles V», 80-81.

45. AGS *E* 644/102, Carlos a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 7 de octubre de 1547. Muchos embajadores se quejaron de que Carlos se negaba a tratar de negocios mientras estaba de viaje.

46. Monck, *Observations*, 119. Véase más sobre este tema en Parker, *La revolución militar*, cap. 1.

47. Machiavelli (con Pedro Navarro), «Relazione di una visita fatta per fortificare Firenze» (abril de 1526); Robert, «Philibert», XL, 19-20, 277-279, 282-284, Châlons a Carlos, 25 de septiembre, 25 y 30 de octubre de 1529, todas ológrafas. El príncipe cayó

muerto en combate una semana antes de la rendición. Blockmans, «Logistics», 38-43, comenta estas cartas.

48. Rodríguez Villa, *Memorias*, 258-259, Ferrara a su embajador, 2 de agosto de 1527, copia.

49. Sherer, «All of us», 899 (cifras de 1525), 903 (mapa de los motines de 1537-1538), 912 (protocolo).

50. Tracy, *Charles*, 182 (tabla 8.1) y 247 (tabla 11.2); *NBD*, XIV, 82-83, nuncio Muzzarrelli al cardenal Del Monte, 18 de junio de 1554.

51. *LWB*, V, 197-199, Hesse a Lutero, 9 de diciembre de 1529.

52. *RTA*, II, (212 pp.), X (250 pp.) y XVIII (314 pp.). Los cálculos se ven facilitados por la decisión de los editores de estructurar el Acta por temas, no por fecha. Los volúmenes de las Dietas de Augsburgo (1530) y Ratisbona (1541) no han sido aún publicados, pero el debate religioso acaparó un gran protagonismo en la agenda de ambas asambleas.

53. TNA *SP* 1/87/81-3, Vaughan a Cromwell, Bruselas, 7 de diciembre de 1534, ológrafo. Sobre la carrera de Vaughan véase la entrada correspondiente en *ODNB*. Gunn, Grummit y Cool, *War*, presenta un excelente análisis sobre cómo la Revolución Militar incrementó la carga de trabajo de los gobiernos tanto en Inglaterra como en los Países Bajos.

54. Claretta, *Notice*, 69-84, «Première représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l'empereur» (aunque Claretta fecha el documento en 1526, Gattinara menciona en dos ocasiones que él ha servido como canciller cuatro años y medio: dado que juró el cargo en octubre de 1518, debió de redactar la queja en abril de 1523).

55. Claretta, *Notice*, 84-92, «Deuxième représentation de Mercurin de Gattinara à l'empereur», en italiano, con fragmentos del francés original en Bornate, «Historia», 311 n. 4. BKK, II, 152-153, sostiene convincentemente que Gattinara lo redactó en abril-mayo de 1523.

56. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 200, Relazione de Niccolò Tiepolo, 1532.

57. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 105, Carlos a Felipe, 6 de mayo de 1543; Stirling-Maxwell, *Notices*, 28-33, Badoero a la Señoría, 12 de enero de 1556.

58. Cedillo, *El Cardenal*, II, 334-336, Carlos a Cisneros, 30 de agosto de 1516.

59. *CWE*, V, 108-113, Erasmo a Enrique VIII, 9 de septiembre de 1517; Michaud y Poujoulat, *Nouvelle collection… Vieilleville*, 113-115, «Entretien de M de Vieilleville avec le comte de Nassau» en 1551. Véanse las biografías de la mayoría de los consejeros de Carlos en Martínez Millán, *La corte*, III.

60. Michaud y Poujoulat, *op. cit.*, 113-115, «Entretien». A Nassau le preocupaba especialmente que su hijo, el príncipe Guillermo de Orange, «no consiguiera ganarse nunca el favor del emperador por no ser español».

61. BL *Cott. Ms.* Vespasiano C.II/105-106, Thomas Boleyn y Richard Sampson a Wolsey, 8 de marzo 1523; página 338, Carlos a Fernando, 2 de julio de 1540.

62. Concretamente, Margarita fue confiada a André de Douvrin, Tadea a «Juana Borgognona», Juana a Enrique de Nassau, y Jerónimo a Luis de Quixada: véanse más detalles en capítulo 14.

63. HHStA *Belgien PA* 35/1 ff 256-266, Carlos a Granvela, [28] de diciembre de 1541; HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/7 y 11, Carlos a Fernando, 8 de marzo y 10 de mayo de 1542. Kohler, *Carlos*, 130-135, evalúa a los ministros alemanes de Carlos.

64. Lanz, *Aktenstücke*, II/1, 128-129, Elna y Le Sauche a Margarita, Londres, 19 de marzo de 1520; AGS *E K* 1485/6, Granvela a Los Cobos, 6 de enero de 1540; AGS *E* 806/66, Chantonnay a Los Cobos, 10 de julio de 1543 (Carlos había confiado al joven la delicada tarea de explicarle a Enrique VIII su decisión de ver al Papa y atacar a Cleves antes de actuar contra Francia: véanse sus instrucciones en *L & P Henry VIII*, XVIII/1, 410-411). Véase también AGS *E* 638/88, en consulta con Los Cobos y Granvela en febrero de 1532, donde el primero escribe en español y el segundo en francés. Carlos respondió a cada ministro en la lengua de cada uno.

65. *CMH*, I, 410-417 y 461-463, Carlos a María, 21 de agosto y 20 de septiembre de 1531, ambas ológrafas (Henne, *Histoire*, VI, 23-34, ofrece detalles de la prolongada persecución de los alborotadores y saqueadores).

66. *CDCV*, I, 186, Margarita a la emperatriz, 15 de diciembre de 1529. Carlos sin duda habría justificado este comportamiento tan poco elegante con el intento realizado el mayo anterior de liberar furtivamente a los príncipes: véase capítulo 8 anterior.

67. HHStA *Hs. Blau* 596/1/148v-151, Carlos a Fernando, 28 de junio de 1547, copia del registro. Fernández Álvarez, al menos, sí le creyó, al sostener que «su respeto a la palabra dada» fue una de las grandes virtudes de Carlos: *Carlos V. El César*, 853.

68. Poumarède, «Le "vilain et sale assassinat"», 7-8 (citando los *Commentaries* de Blaise de Monluc, publicados en 1590, y un manifiesto del Directorio francés del 7 de mayo de 1799), y 38-43 (citando lo escrito sobre los asesinatos por parte de Bodin, Gentili, Grotius, Wiquefort, Vattel y otros expertos en derecho internacional). Williams, «Re-orienting», 2426, apuntó cómo Giovio incluyó un comentario del asesinato en su *Historia de su tiempo* (1552-1553) que llevó a los defensores de Carlos a unirse en su apoyo.

69. Sandoval, *Historia*, I, «Libro primero, año 1500».

70. Burbank y Cooper, *Empires*, 2-3, 12-15.

71. Eslógan basado en la *Ilíada*, libro 5: 428-430, y Ovidio, *Heroidas*, 13:84; atribuido a Matías Corvino, rey de Hungría, al enterarse del matrimonio de Maximiliano de Austria con María de Borgoña en 1477.

72. *CDCV*, II, 579-580, «Testamento político» de Carlos, enero de 1548.

73. Álvarez, «The role», detalla el coeficiente de consanguinidad y explica el método para calcularlo.

74. Pociecha, *Polska*, 5.

75. Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso*, 44-45.

76. Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 366-370, «Sommaire de l'Ambassade de feu monsieur de Vienne vers l'empereur Charles V, en l'année 1550», sección titulada «Des pars bonnes ou mauvaises qui sont en l'empereur». Marillac había servido como embajador francés en Inglaterra entre 1539 y 1543, y a Carlos a partir de 1547.

77. Cauchies y Van Eeckenrode, «Recevoir madame», ofrece el mejor relato de esta combinación de hechos.

78. Henne, *Histoire*, VIII, 298 (carta de Roeulx a María de Hungría, 1546), 315 (Stroppiana al duque de Saboya, 24 de agosto de 1547).

79. *RVEC*, 794-799, Salinas a Fernando, 18 de marzo de 1537. Sobre las consecuencias de su caída en 1532, véase capítulo 9.

80. Sastrow, *Herkommen*, II, 647-648 (fuente tipográfica del original), escrita en la década de 1590. El propio Carlos en cierta ocasión hizo la reflexión de que debía haber abdicado en este momento.

81. Bouwsma, «Anxiety», 157, 165.

82. Sansovino, *Il simolacro*, fo. 21; Howard, *Discursos*, 37. La traducción fue publicada en 1552, con una reedición en 1555. Pietschmann, «Carlos V y América», 272, predecía que «un análisis más sistemático y más amplio de los métodos de gobierno de Carlos a la luz del *Príncipe* de Maquiavelo, nos permitiría ver que Carlos, en más de un aspecto, hizo suyos los procedimientos políticos del florentino». Dandelet, *The Renaissance*, 85-88, comenta la posible influencia de Maquiavelo en Carlos, pero basa casi toda su argumentación en una carta imperial de 1519, redactada mucho antes de que *El príncipe* estuviera disponible de forma generalizada.

83. Braudel, «Charles», 202-204. Braudel tal vez olvidaba que la astuta estrategia de Penélope de destejer por la noche la tela que había tejido durante el día terminó cuatro años después de enterarse de que Odiseo estaba muerto cuando «mis doncellas, perras irrespetuosas, vinieron por sorpresa y me reprendieron con sus palabras. Así fue como tuve que terminar la tela contra mi voluntad». (Homero, *Odyssey*, 19.150-158).

84. Blockmans, *The emperor*, 183; páginas 167-168 sobre la declaración a la Dieta del 19 de abril de 1521. Agradezco a Maurizio Arfaioli que haya comentado conmigo estas similitudes.

85. Escamilla, «Le règne», 6-7.

86. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian*, V, 179-191, y Cauchies, *Philippe*, 54, tratan la hipótesis de contraste de si los Países Bajos borgoñones podrían haber mantenido su independencia sin los recursos Habsburgo y ambos concluyen que no habría sido posible.

87. Edelmayer, «El sacro imperio», 169-176.

88. Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 162-163 y 402.

89. Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos recios*, IV, 374-377, «Lo que el Consejo de la Inquisición demanda al Rey», junio de 1558; y 436-442, pragmática de Valladolid, de Juana, 7 de septiembre de 1558, en la que constaba gran parte de la «demanda».

90. Bujanda, *Index*, especifica y describe todos los libros prohibidos en el Índice de 1559.

91. Aram, *Juana la Loca*, cap. 6, registra las tres prolongadas visitas de Borja a la reina Juana en 1554-1555; AGS *CSR* 133/145, enumera a los testamentarios de Carlos V, incluidos (irónicamente) Valdés y también Borja.

92. Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos recios*, IV, 953-954, 995-996, Feria al obispo Quadra (su sucesor como embajador español en Inglaterra), Malinas, 4 de diciembre de 1559 y 21 de enero de 1560. Véase también en Tellechea Idígoras, *op. cit.*, IV, 219-224, una brillante exposición sobre el cordón sanitario creado en España en 1558-1559.

93. Merriman, *The emperor*, 665-666.

94. Deswarte-Rosa, «Espoirs», 270 y 293-294, cita sendas cartas de Luis de Sarmiento, embajador español en Lisboa, a Carlos, 23 de octubre de 1539, y a Los Cobos, 21 de enero y 21 de marzo de 1540 (cursiva añadida).

95. Tellechea Idígoras, *El Papado y Felipe II*, I, 199-202, Pío V a Felipe II, sin fecha, ológrafa (pero en la respuesta de Felipe rechazando este argumento se dice que Pío la había enviado con una carta fechada el 20 de diciembre de 1568).

96. *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, serie II B 5/1, 390-391, Servien a Lionne, 21 de enero de 1647.

97. RAH *Ms*. 9-4817/272-276, Carlos al duque de Sessa, su embajador en Roma, 31 de octubre de 1525, borrador.

Apéndices

1. Snouckaert van Schouwenburg, *De republica*, 137; Cadenas y Vicent, *Las supuestas «Memorias»*, 361-362.

2. Agradezco a M. Olivier Wagner, archivero-paleógrafo de la BNF, la confirmación de que la marca de agua de Ms Port 61 se parece a Briquet n.º 5704, y de que el manuscrito perteneció en su momento a Mazarin.

3. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes*, II, 44, n.º 4806. BNF *Ms. Port*. 15, 16 y 23, y *Ms Esp.* 166, son todos manuscritos de Moura. Agradezco a Fernando Bouza que me haya llamado la atención sobre esto.

4. Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, 12-13, Van Male a Louis de Praet, 17 de julio de 1550. Algunos historiadores han afirmado que el emperador dictó sus *Memorias* a Van Male, pero en la carta de este último consta con claridad que Carlos «scriberet in navi». Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 160, afirmaba que Carlos solo había escrito sus *Memorias* mientras navegaba en su embarcación por el Rin entre Colonia (14 de junio) y Maguncia (18 de junio), lo que le habría dejado poco tiempo para redactarlas, pero el emperador continuó viajando en su embarcación hasta llegar a Espira el 23 de junio (Foronda, *Viajes*, 617-618). En *CDCV*, IV, 361-381, Fernández Álvarez desecha otros errores relacionados con el manuscrito, como la afirmación de que en su momento «debió de existir» una versión española cuyo autor sería Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, VI, 73-79, «Über die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Carls V».

5. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 294-392.

6. Fernández Álvarez, *CDCV*, IV, 471 n. 36, sugiere plausiblemente que Carlos se las confió a un mensajero confidencial, don Juan Manrique, en marzo de 1552.

7. *PEG*, VI, 290, Perrenot a Felipe, 7 de marzo de 1561; Checa Cremades, *Inventarios*, I, 291, entrada del Inventario de las pertenencias de Carlos en Yuste. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 363, señaló la presencia de obras históricas en Yuste y lo tomó como evidencia de que el emperador planeaba seguir trabajando en sus *Memorias*.

8. Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia humanista*, 449-451, Páez de Castro a Jerónimo Zurita, 30 de enero de 1569. Sobre los lazos entre Páez y Van Male («Malineo»), véase ibíd., 419-422, del mismo al mismo, agosto de 1555, y 542, nota de los documentos dejados por Páez a su muerte y entregados al rey («Otro cuaderno en que hay diversos dichos y particularidades de las condiciones y costumbres del emperador referidas al doctor Páez por Guillermo Malineo»). Parece que Páez murió antes de llegar a ver el manuscrito.

9. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 295.

10. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Commentaires*. El manuscrito en aquel momento se archivó en BNF *Fonds français* 10.230. Véase *CDCV*, IV, 461-481 para más detalles sobre el manuscrito y sus diversas ediciones.

11. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 168, n. 1. También pueden encontrarse comentarios expertos de las *Memorias* en Brandi, «Die politische Testamente», 286-293; Fernández Álvarez, *Las «Memorias» de Carlos V*; Kagan, «La propaganda»; y Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El César*, 283-302 y 360-364. Sobre su contenido, véase capítulo 14 anterior.

12. Mi agradecimiento a Almudena Pérez de Tudela, Felipe Vidales del Castillo y Patrick Lenaghan por poner en mi conocimiento varias obras de crucial importancia sobre este tema.

13. Los Santos, *Descripción breue*, 167-168 y 176; [Caimo], *Lettere*, II, 32-53, carta procedente de El Escorial, 22 de agosto de 1755.

14. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 338-339; Salomone, «Se busca malaria».

15. Alarcón y Ariza, *Viajes*, 66-69.

16. «El emperador Carlos V, copiado del natural en 1871», *La Ilustración de Madrid. Revista de política, ciencias, artes y literatura*, año III, n.º 49 (13 de enero de 1872), 11, Rico a Mariano Fortuny, El Escorial, 18 de diciembre de 1871. Dicho número de la revista publicó el grabado en la página 9. En diciembre de 1870, Vicente Palmaroli tomó una fotografía del emperador dentro del sarcófago, que publicaría en forma de postal.

17. Bodart, «Il mento "posticcio"».

18. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 336. Al parecer, la foto que inspiró a Zulueta no fue la de la momia de Carlos V. Si bien la había visto en «la prensa internacional» en París, es casi seguro que tenía su origen en España, aunque una investigación de los principales periódicos españoles (*El Liberal, La Libertad, La Voz, El Sol, El Heraldo de Madrid,*

Estampa, Crónica, El Socialista, Mundo Obrero y *CNT*) entre julio y diciembre de 1936, el periodo durante el que Zulueta residió en París, no reveló nada sobre ningún asalto al Panteón de los Reyes ni ninguna foto de la profanación de la momia imperial. Una búsqueda en el archivo de un fotógrafo francés que vivía en Madrid en 1936, y que envió imágenes e información de vuelta a Francia, tampoco reveló nada (Archivo Deschamps, conservado en Archivo de la Memoria Histórica de Salamanca). En 2016, una entrevista con dos padres agustinos que habían estado estudiando en El Escorial en 1936 confirmó que, aunque los milicianos ciertamente asaltaron El Escorial, llevándose consigo a muchos sacerdotes y fusilándoles en Paracuellos del Jarama, respetaron el patrimonio y no profanaron el panteón. Así pues, la foto vista por Zulueta no puede haber sido de la momia de Carlos V. Es posible que la prensa internacional publicara una foto de un miliciano con una momia tomada en alguna localización donde se profanaran sepulcros, y la nota a pie de foto estuviera equivocada o Zulueta no la recordara bien. En todo caso, el error resultó afortunado, dado que fue lo que generó en él la idea de demostrar que el emperador murió a causa de la malaria.

19. Beruete, «Obituary of Martín Rico», 540-541; Salomone, «Se busca malaria», citando una nota de Pedro Larrea a la Dirección General del Patrimonio Nacional de diciembre de 2004. Patrimonio Nacional n.º 1004-4506, incluye un testimonio firmado por el marqués de Miraflores; una carta firmada por el marqués y su hermana, la marquesa viuda de Martorell, fechada del 31 de mayo de 1912, asegurando a Alfonso XIII que la falange «llegó a nuestras manos involuntariamente, pues nunca empleamos medios para adquirirle y tenerle»; y una declaración de que habían adquirido la falange el 14 de septiembre de 1870. Agradezco a Pilar Benito García el permiso para consultar estos documentos.

20. Zulueta, *Tuan nyamok*, 339-343. Los resultados aparecieron publicados en Ordi, Zulueta y otros, «The severe gout», y Zulueta, «The cause of death».

21. Rico y Ortega, artículo de *La Ilustración de Madrid*, 10-11, carta a Fortuny, 18 de diciembre de 1871.

22. Salomone, «Se busca malaria», informaba de que *The New England Journal of Medicine*, que publicó los resultados de los test, solicitó realizar una prueba de coincidencia de ADN, «pero los investigadores no obtuvieron el permiso». El hecho es lamentable, porque en 2014 se estableció una coincidencia mitocondrial de ADN perfecta entre los recién excavados restos del esqueleto del rey Ricardo III de Inglaterra y un descendiente vivo de la dinastía Plantagenet a la que Ricardo pertenecía.

23. Agradezco a Daniel C. Anderson, Paul Hammer, David Lagomarsino, Linda Levy Peck, Mary Robertson, María José Rodríguez Salgado, Andrew Thrush y Vanessa Wilkie que hayan compartido conmigo su erudición y sus sugerencias para ayudarme a compilar este Apéndice.

24. Los textos impresos son Anon., *The advice*, y Teissier, *Instructions* (con dos ediciones posteriores publicadas en La Haya en 1700 y en 1788). Mayer, «Das politische Testament», comenta 13 textos manuscritos italianos que encontró en los

archivos y librerías de Roma, a partir de uno de los cuales extrajo numerosas citas, si bien ignoró 12 más existentes en otras librerías escocesas, inglesas, francesas, alemanas, estadounidenses e italianas.

25. Publicado por Mayr, «Die letzte Abdankung», 156-158, de HHStA *Hs.* 630/89-90. El documento tiene fecha del 16 de enero de 1555. Los testamentos sin duda eran los redactados en 1554.

26. El embajador veneciano dio un informe detallado del discurso del emperador de aquel día.

27. RAH *Ms*. 9-5949/12 (anteriormente *Varios de Historia* Sign. Est 27, gr. 5a, E. n.º 134, tomo I fo. 12), publicado por Merriman, «Charles V's last paper», 491.

28. Brandi, «Aus den Kabinettsakten», 183-184, documento de consejo de Gattinara, noviembre-diciembre de 1523. Gattinara recomendaba «que les Mores et infidels […] en voz royaulmes […] soient expulsez», a lo que Carlos replicó «Il n'est pas temps», pero «le chancellier pourra dresser le préparatives nécessaires à cest effect pour après les déclairer».

29. Mayer, «Das politische Testament», 476-487, detalla los errores.

30. Biblioteca Nacional de Escocia, *Ms. Adv*. 23.I.6, «Ragionamento di Carlo V Imperatore tenuto al re Philippo suo figiuolo… riscritto l'anno MDXCII»; Craigie, *The Basilicon Doron*, II, 64-66 («Los antecedentes literarios de *Basilicon Doron*») y 171-173 (sobre Pemberton).

31. Títulos de Hunt, *HA Papers* Box 15 (8A), BL *Lansdowne Ms*. 792 n.º 1, y Biblioteca de la Universidad de Glasgow, *Hunter Ms*. 82, respectivamente. Todas las copias conocidas, parciales y completas, aparecen descritas en http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/howardhenryearlofnorthampton.html, entradas HoH 28 y HoH 51.

32. Hunt, *HA Correspondence* 6909, Epístola Dedicatoria de Howard a Isabel, fo. 1v.

33. Agradezco a Paul Hammer haberme señalado que Howard y Castelvetro pertenecían ambos al círculo político y cultural que rodeaba a Penélope, lady Rich, y por sugerirme que Howard entregó su traducción a Isabel en diciembre de 1592, dado que, según dejó escrito, había padecido «doce años apartado del consuelo de vuestra alegre presencia» y que fue encarcelado en diciembre de 1580: correos electrónicos de Hammer a Parker, 20 de agosto y 2 de septiembre de 2014.

34. Hunt *HA Correspondence* 6909, Epístola Dedicatoria a Isabel, fo. 2v.

35. Teissier, *Instructions*, «Avertissement» (sin foliar). El príncipe era el futuro rey Federico Guillermo I de Prusia (1688-1740).

36. Stübel, «Die Instruktion Karls V», publica el texto alemán y señala en qué se diferencia del de Teissier.

37. Mayer, «Das politische Testament», 491-494; Brandi, «Die politische Testamente», 277-286.

38. Agradezco a Bethany Aram, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, Ruth MacKay, Felipe Vidales del Castillo y José Luis Gonzalo SánchezMolero su ayuda con este apéndice.

39. AGS *PR* 29/59, copia validada ante notario del testamento de Germana de Foix, 28 de septiembre de 1536, enviada por Calabria a la emperatriz junto con una carta fechada el 18 de octubre de 1536. El original puede encontrarse en el Archivo del Reino de Valencia, *Clergat*, Caixa 1824 n.º 25.

40. Ríos Lloret, *Germana*, 114.

41. BNE *Ms*. 1758, «Voyages de l'empereur», fo. 15, última entrada de una genealogía que comienza con Faramundo.

42. AGS *PR* 30 n.º 19, «Inventario de las joyas, plata y recámara de la emperatriz», fo. 1v-2, Carlos a María, Augsburgo, 24 de abril de 1551 (la carta del emperador continuaba enumerando otras joyas «que hos enbió Madama Margarita my tía que aya gloria, que son vuestros y se os dieron»). Checa, *Los inventarios*, II, 2258, publicó la copia de la carta de Carlos en el «Libro de partiçyon que se hizo de la rrecámara que fue de la emperatriz», recopilado en 1555.

43. Agradezco a Annemarie Jordan Gschwend que haya identificado el «hilo de perlas» que lleva María en un cuadro, realizado por un artista de los Países Bajos después de 1557: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Viena, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.-Nr. GG_1042.

Agradecimientos

1. Gardiner, *The literary Memoranda*, II, 69-70, entrada del diario del 1 de abril de 1841; Temple, *A sort of conscience*, 2. Temple continuaba diciendo, «tenía previsto acabarlo en un plazo de entre tres y cinco años, pero al final tardé once. Subestimé el tiempo que me llevaría investigar y escribir sobre una familia entera, aunque el personaje central fuera solo uno». Comparémoslo con el emotivo relato que escribió Manuel Fernández Álvarez en 1999 sobre su relación con Carlos: comenzó en 1942, mientras trabajaba en una tesis doctoral para explicar por qué la alianza entre España e Inglaterra, forjada en 1553, debería haberse ido a pique, y cobró fuerza en 1956 cuando le pidieron que organizara algo para conmemorar el cuarto centenario de la muerte del emperador. Lo publicó justo a tiempo para el quinto centenario de su nacimiento (*Carlos V*, 21-2).

2. Koenigsberger y Parker, «Charles V».

3. Soly, *Charles V*, publicado en 2000 en holandés, inglés, francés, alemán, italiano y español.

4. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*.

5. Véase, por ejemplo, su versión del asedio de Carlos sobre Metz, en cuya guarnición Brandi prestó servicio como «erster Adjutant der Festung» en 1917-1918 (Brandi, «Karl V. vor Metz», 1), y su valoración del terror al cavar minas y contraminas. (Brandi, *The emperor*, 641).

6. Brandi también publicó los textos completos de otros documentos citados en su biografía en «Aus den Kabinettsakten des Kaisers».

7. Gardiner, *The literary Memoranda*, II, 145, entrada del diario correspondiente al 23 de abril de 1845; énfasis en el original.

8. Sobre las transcripciones de Bergenroth, véanse páginas 680-681 anteriores, relativas a las fuentes, y sobre la interesante figura de su coleccionista, véase la entrada correspondiente en *ODNB*.

9. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, 89, n. 1, J. S. Brewer a lord Romilly, Valladolid, 21 de agosto de 1861.

10. Atlas, *The shadow*, 31.

Convenciones utilizadas en este libro

1. En *CSPSp*, V/1, VIII, Gayangos aseguró incorrectamente que Antoine Perrenin, el secretario de Estado de Carlos (1525-1538), era, en realidad, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, y en los *Calendarios* que editó atribuyó a este varias cartas que había escrito o de las que era destinatario el otro.

2. Compárese Le Glay, *Correspondance*, II, 155-156, con Walther, «Review of Kreiten», 282. Véase Cheney, *Handbook of dates*, 83-161, para la fecha en que cae la Semana Santa cada año.

3. Talbot, «Ore italiane»; Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXXI, cols. 80-82, Gasparo Contarini al Dogo, 6 de julio de 1521, «a las dos de la noche». Como Carlos y todos sus coetáneos europeos utilizaban el calendario juliano, para calcular la puesta de sol con exactitud es necesario añadir 10 días: de modo que la puesta de sol del 4 de julio de 1521 sería a la misma hora que la puesta de sol el 14 de julio hoy en día.

Notas sobre las fuentes

1. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes*, II, 1 (véanse en pp. 36-165 obras sobre «España en el período 1516-1556»); Dixon y Fuchs, *The histories*.

2. Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes*, disponible en línea en http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/historia/CarlosV/5_3_foronda_1.shtml. Véanse también las interesantes tablas sobre dónde pasaba Carlos su tiempo en Vilar Sánchez, *Carlos V*, 400-401.

3. Véase el resumen en http://karl-v.bsz-bw.de/einl.htm, que enlaza con el sitio web POLKA. Para usar POLKAweb, haga clic en el botón «Gesamtsuche», donde se encuentran las cartas de Carlos correspondientes a, por ejemplo, 1543, ponga «Suchart» en «Standard», teclee «Karl» como «Absender», y teclee en las casillas «Datum»: «01.01.1543 bis 31.12.1543»; de este modo accederá a una lista de 362 cartas. Haga clic en cada ítem para ver más detalles.

4. BL Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive, «Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1871-1873», fos. 1-4, John Dahlberg Acton a J. Winter Jones, 12 de agosto de 1869, y Paul Friedmann a Edward Bond, 14 de junio de 1869. Fos. 1-95 contienen la correspondencia entre los bibliotecarios del museo y los herederos y beneficiarios de la colección, 1869-1871. Cartwright, *Gustave Bergenroth*, narra su vida y publica parte de la correspondencia sobre su proyectada biografía de Carlos V.

5. BL Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive, «Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1871-1873», fos. 446-457 contienen la enojada correspondencia entre el Museo y Friedmann acerca de los 11 volúmenes retenidos por este; Rzepka, *Historia kolekcji*, 121-2, presenta una breve descripción de la colección de Cracovia. Pueden encontrarse otros volúmenes de las transcripciones de Bergenroth, aunque no todos relacionados con Carlos, en TNA *PRO* 31/11 (14 volúmenes de transcripciones de archivos españoles, la mayoría publicados en *CSPSp*; TNA *PRO* 31/11/11 contiene la clave de los documentos cifrados); y BNE *Ms*. 18550/2 (un volumen de 376 ff. contiene transcripciones de Bergenroth publicadas en su mayoría en *CSPSp*).

6. Martínez Millán, *La Corte*.

7. Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*. El volumen I incluye nueve inventarios de Carlos y uno de su madre; el volumen II, 9 inventarios de la emperatriz; el volumen III incluye inventarios de Margarita, tía de Carlos (22), y sus hermanos Leonor (2), Isabel (7), Fernando (4), María (4) y Catalina (5), junto con los índices referentes a los tres volúmenes.

8. *SLID*, II, 21-69.

9. *SLID*, II, 71-154 (*GRM*, II, 1-69, publica el mismo texto, si bien Gachard no pudo identificar su autor). En la década de 1620, fray Luis de Santa María escribió *A la cassa y monasterio Ymperial de St Hr.mo. de Yuste*. En 1999 el monasterio de Yuste adquirió una copia hecha en el siglo XIX de este manuscrito y produjo una edición facsímil, Madrid, 2000; pero los pasajes referidos a Carlos V parecen limitarse a reproducir los de Del Corral.

10. Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life* (1852), Pichot, *CharlesQuint* (1854) y Mignet, *Charles-Quint* (1854), todos trabajaron a partir de las transcripciones de los documentos de Simancas realizadas por González y adquiridas en 1844 para CADMA por Mignet, su director. Gachard, *Retrait et Mort* (3 vols., 1854-1855), utilizó las transcripciones de los mismos documentos, la mayoría de ellos relacionados con Bélgica, realizadas para él en Simancas por García González y su equipo.

11. Sánchez Loro, *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V* (1957-1958), parte de las «Publicaciones de la Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento». Aunque su desbordante entusiasmo por el régimen fascista llevó a Sánchez Loro a incurrir en errores y detestables juicios de valor, su trilogía constituye un importante logro académico que merece conocerse mejor.

12. AGS *CSR* legajos 128-180. Aguirre y Landa, «Viejos y nuevos», 40-44, ofrece la mejor descripción disponible de esta importante pero escasamente utilizada serie.

13. ADN *B* 2268 (79.071) contiene las dos últimas membranas de un rollo de pergamino en el que se enumeran todos los artículos sacados de «la chambre de nos joyaulx à Bruxelles selon qu'elles sont comprinses en vostre inventaire pour nous en servir en nostre prochain voyaige d'espaigne», firmado por Carlos el 30 de junio de 1517.

14. Dekker, *Egodocuments*, 7. Véanse también los excelentes artículos sobre este tema aparecidos en un número extraordinario de *German History*, XXVIII/3 (2010).

15. Neefe, *Tafel-Reden* de Fernando y su médico; *Dr Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Abteilung 2. Tischreden*, seis volúmenes de las denominadas «charlas de sobremesa» de Lutero.

16. Véase la reseña de los proyectos de autopromoción del emperador y los que participaron en ellos en Silver, *Marketing Maximiliano*, 37-40.

17. Bornate, «Mémoire», 394; Rivera Rodríguez, *Carlos V*, 25. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl*, II, 42-45, enumeran y comentan las fuentes sobre Gattinara disponibles en 1941. En 1981, el propio archivo del canciller, actualmente en AS Vercelli, pasó a ser accesible para los historiadores y conformó la base de los estudios de Headley, *The emperor*, Boone, *Mercurino*, y Rivera Rodríguez, *Carlos V*.

18. Laiglesia, *Estudios*, I, 41-92, publicó una docena de instrucciones firmadas por Carlos en mayo de 1543. Sobre los dos documentos de consejo, véase el capítulo 11 y Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*. Sobre las misteriosas «últimas instrucciones» para Felipe supuestamente entregadas por Carlos en 1555 o 1556, véase el Apéndice III.

19. Firpo, *Relazioni*, II, 829, Relación de Marino Cavalli, 1551; Brandi, «Eigenhändige Aufzeichnungen», 256-260.

20. *KFF*, II/2, 549-563 (publicado también en *LCK,* I, 360-373), Carlos a Fernando, 11 de enero de 1530, minuta. Contarini apuntó que Carlos veía estas cartas como un instrumento de planificación: Alberì, *Relazioni*, 2.ª serie, III, 269-270, Relación de Gasparo Contarini, 4 de marzo de 1530.

21. Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar*, 59-76, analiza los diversos «razonamientos» dados ante las Cortes de Castilla por Carlos o en su nombre; Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, publica las actas del secretario.

22. Véanse los diversos relatos publicados por Morel-Fatio, «L'espagnol»; y Cadenas, *Discurso*.

23. Respecto al discurso de abdicación, véanse los relatos de Federico Badoero a la Señoría de Venecia, 26 de octubre de 1555 (publicado por Stirling-Maxwell, *Notice*, 14-19, y parcialmente en *CSPV*, VI/1, 221-224, incluyendo el texto descifrado de un pasaje codificado); Giovanni Battista Ricasoli al duque Cósimo de Florencia, 26 de octubre de 1555 (ASF *MdP* 4319/237-241; publicado parcialmente por Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, V, 380); y sir John Mason al secretario de Estado, Petre, 27 de octubre de 1555, con una «Nota» sobre los procedimientos (publicada por Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, I, 4-7).

24. *SLIP*, III, 142 n. 111, «Escrito de Corte de la cesión que Su Majestad ha hecho» (ibíd., II, 635-638, publicó otro relato más de un testigo español).

25. Heuterus, *Rerum belgicarum*, libro XIV; «Receuil», publicado por Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques*, 87-91. Existen varias copias: véase *GRM Introduction*, 88 n. 1, y Gachard, «L'abdication», 908 n. 1.

26. Atlas, *The shadow*, 37; Baumgarten, *Geschichte*, III, VI; Roper, «To his most learned and dearest friend», 285. Roper señaló que «dado que Lutero escribió tanto, sus cartas han determinado la forma en la que se ha escrito la propia historia de la Reforma» (ibíd., 283).

27. Carlos publicó su correspondencia con Francisco en *Apologie de Charles-Quint* (1535: comentado en Gachard, «Lettre», 306-309). Como ejemplo de algo escrito por Carlos de su puño y letra a uno de sus ministros de confianza, con la dirección y el sello puestos directamente por él para que los demás ministros no lo supieran, véase BMECB, *Ms. Granvelle*, I, 153-155, Carlos al barón de Montfort, 23 de diciembre de 1528, y página 267.

28. *CMH* y *KFF* (el último ordenado inicialmente según la fecha en la que Fernando recibió cada carta, por lo que una carta de Carlos escrita anteriormente puede aparecer más tarde, dado que Fernando no conocía sus contenidos cuando él escribía). Spielman y Thomas, «Quellen», publicaron un grupo de 12 cartas de Carlos a Fernando, 1514-1517; Von Bucholz, *Geschichte*, IX, publicó extractos de muchas cartas entre Fernando y sus hermanos; *LCK* también publicó muchas de las cartas más importantes entre Carlos, Fernando y María; Árpad, «Kiadatlan», publicó cartas sobre Hungría entre Carlos y Fernando entre octubre de 1541 y noviembre de 1542.

29. Laferl, «Las relaciones», 115.

30. Mazarío Coleta, *Isabel*. La pareja imperial también se mandaba mensajeros con el propósito de dar al otro noticias sobre su salud. Tyler, *The emperor*, 356, lamentaba «la desaparición, durante o después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, del material reunido por Fritz Walser para una publicación de la correspondencia de Carlos con la emperatriz». No ha aparecido hasta ahora.

31. AGS *E* 142/134 y 134 bis, Carlos a Ursolina de la Penna, Roma, 13 y 19 de abril de 1536. Véase más sobre Ursolina y Tadea en pp. 484-485.

32. Moeller, *Éléonore*, 327, publica el texto, actualmente en AGS *E K* 1483, B2 n.º 3, llamando la atención sobre la doble ironía de que, aunque ahora cualquiera puede leer la carta y ha viajado por media Europa (desde Zelanda, donde fue escrita, a España, en 1517; de aquí a París en 1812, y de vuelta en 1942), nunca la leyó la persona a la que iba destinada porque Carlos se la quitó de entre los pechos a su hermana antes de que pudiera abrirla.

33. *CDCV*, III, 407, Carlos a Felipe, 2 de agosto de 1545, posdata. Véase también AGS *E* 641/11-12, Carlos a Los Cobos, 3 de agosto de 1545, posdata ológrafa.

34. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, II, II-XIII y LVII-LIX, publicó los textos completos de las cartas de Carlos (dos de ellas ológrafas) de 1539, 1540 y 1556, y resume la mayor parte de las demás. Ninguna carta de Carlos a sus hijos expresa tanto desenfado y a la vez entrañable cariño como el que se muestra en las de Felipe II a sus hijas adolescentes cuando estuvo separado de ellas en 1580-1583: Bouza, *Cartas*.

35. Viaud, *Lettres*.

36. Heine, *Briefe* (cartas a Carlos de 1530, 1531 y 1532, publicadas en español con una traducción en alemán y edición crítica), y *CODOIN*, XIV, 1-234, y XCVII, 213-284 (cartas a Carlos y a Los Cobos de 1530 y 1531, incluidas algunas a Carlos omitidas por Heine). Sobre la trayectoria de Loaysa véase Nieva Ocampo, «El confesor del Emperador»; Martínez Pérez, *El confesor del rey*, cap. 4; y Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 34-59.

37. AGS *E* 89/67, Soto a Carlos, 25 de agosto de 1552 (carta de consuelo tras enterarse de la huída del emperador de Villach). Maurenbrecher, *Karl V*, pp. 29*-32*, publicó el belicoso «parescer» que le envió a Carlos «sobre la empresa de Alemania»; y Carro, «Influencia», publicó otros documentos de y sobre Soto. Véase también Martínez Pérez, *El confesor del rey*, cap. 9; y Lehnhoff, *Die Beichtväter*, 65-71.

38. Cartas de Escoriaza citadas en los capítulos 8 y 9; De Witte, «Cornelis», publicó 13 cartas de Baersdorp, 11 de ellas procedentes de Augsburgo en 1548 (aunque él no escribió a la emperatriz, fallecida en 1539, como De Witte afirmó en varias ocasiones, sino a María); las cartas de Mathys aparecieron en GRM; Reiffenberg, *Lettres*, publicó las 34 cartas de Van Male a Louis de Praet.

39. Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja* (1592). Los siete volúmenes publicados de documentos de Borja o que tratan de él también contienen mucha información sobre Carlos: *MHSI Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*.

40. Los primeros dos volúmenes de *CSP Spanish*, que cubren el periodo 1520-1525, omitían documentos de HHStA, pero el *Further Supplement* editado por Garrett Mattingly, publicado en 1947, presentaba un resumen en inglés de estos (excepto los publicados por Lanz, *Aktenstücke und Briefe*, porque ya existía un resumen en *L & P Henry VIII*). El mismo volumen contiene un resumen de muchos documentos en su día en HHStA, pero devueltos a partir de 1870 a AGRB: véanse más detalles en *CSPSp Further Supplement*, VII.

41. Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt de Graz publicó un facsímil en 1976 (*Codices selecti*, LVII). El Ms. M.491 de la Morgan Library and Museum es un libro de horas muy similar hecho para Carlos en 1533, tal vez copiado del artículo de Viena. Todas las miniaturas se encuentran disponibles en línea en: http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=Local&Search_Arg=%22ms+m.491%22+ica&Search_Code=GKEY&CNT=50&H

42. Aerts, «L'âge», 579-580 (un listado de las incursiones archivísticas de Gachard y sus frutos) y 590 (citando a Reiffenberg).

43. Aerts, «L'âge», 595 (lista de volúmenes de documentos —casi todos sobre política y diplomacia— publicados por Gachard entre 1830 y 1885). Gachard, *Carlos V* (2015), es una traducción al español de su largo ensayo sobre el emperador que se encuentra en la *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (1872), con una valoración escrita por Gustaaf Janssens de Gachard y su obra.

44. Sobre la extraordinaria carrera de sesenta años de Gachard como archivero e historiador véase https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/Gachard.aspx; Wellens, «Études»; Aerts, «L'âge» (con algunas críticas al afán de Gachard por reordenar las series por fecha, sin consideración a la procedencia); y, más recientemente, s.v. en *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, XXII, 311-345.

45. Janssens, «Fuentes flamencas», 201 n. 41, señala la dificultad de identificar la localización actual de los documentos publicados por Lanz, y ofrece algunas directrices.

46. BRB *Ms* II-2270, publicada con algunos errores por Gossart, *Charles-Quint*, 217-220. Sobre su procedencia, véase *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, Jaargang, 1894, p. 175 (nº. 22, 2 de junio de 1894, página 1 — que menciona el documento en su anuncio de la subasta—; sobre su contenido, véanse pp. 101-102 anteriores).

47. Gachet, «Extrait», 269, y Gachard, «Notice», 243-244.

48. Probablemente no se halla en la parte de la colección que continúa en Chimay, porque no aparece en E. Dony, «Les archives du château de Chimay. Recueil d'analyses, textes et extraits», *BCRH*, LXXXVI (1922), 11-162. Agradezco a Wim Blockmans, Claude de Moreau de Gerbehaye, Pierre-Jean Niebes, John O'Neill y Steven Thiry su ayuda para tratar de localizar el Registre.

49. Véase un excelente ejemplo de cómo sacar buen partido a las secciones del AS de Milán que han sobrevivido en Rabà, *Potere e poteri*.

50. Gerhard, *Síntesis*, 12. Gerhard presenta un análisis de los 2.911 «mandamientos» en los 4 volúmenes que van de 1548 a 1553: AGNM *Civil* 1271, AGNM *Mercedes* III, Kraus Ms y Ayer Ms., organizados en 29 áreas geográficas y 6 temas. Esta organización puede ser útil para los historiadores de principios del México colonial, pero no permite cuantificar el flujo diario de dichos negocios.

51. E. O'Gorman, «Mandamientos del virrey don Antonio de Mendoza», *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación,* VI (1935), 2-22 y X (1939), 213-311, publicó una transcripción de las 92 órdenes registradas en este volumen. Cinco expedientes citaban una real cédula. Para 1550, Mendoza había emitido hasta 11 expedientes al día.

52. Para comprobar el funcionamiento de este maravilloso recurso, teclee PARES [Portal de Archivos Españoles] en su buscador y elija la opción «Búsqueda Sencilla». En «Buscar», escriba «Testamento Carlos V» y las fechas «1554» a «1558»; de las 13 series en los 4 archivos que se muestran, elija «Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real», y de los cinco documentos que aparecen en el listado, haga clic en el último: «Testamento del emperador Carlos V, 6 de junio de 1554». Dondequiera que se encuentre, y sea la hora que sea, puede leer los cien folios del documento en línea, e imprimir cualquier parte que le interese.

53. Sobre los préstamos de Carlos en España, véase Carande, *Carlos V*.

54. Danvila, *Historia crítica*, I, 10-16, se vanaglorió de sus esfuerzos por trasladar a Madrid las transcripciones de AGS que él publicó evitando de este modo los problemas paleográficos y la necesidad de vivir en «un pueblo donde difícilmente encuentra regular hospedaje el forastero». Gachard, *Correspondance de Charles-Quint et d'Adrien*, y Von Höfler, «Monumenta Hispanica I: Correspondenz des Gobernadors von Castilien… mit Kaiser Karls V. im Jahre 1520», ambos publicaron cartas intercambiadas entre Adriano y su ilustre exalumno.

55. AGS *Estado K*, los papeles del Consejo de Estado relacionados con Francia se han utilizado a menudo. En cambio, los documentos robados de otras series debido a su importancia, actualmente en AGS *Estado* 8334-8343, se han ignorado en gran parte.

56. Moreno Gallego, «Letras misivas», 45-49, sostiene verosímilmente que la colección de la BR fue adquirida en Besançon por el conde Gondomar en la década de 1630, y entró a formar parte de la BR con el resto de la colección Gondomar en 1806. La mayoría de los documentos han sido digitalizados, pero en la actualidad (2018) solo pueden ser consultados en la propia biblioteca.

57. En 1921, el último descendiente de la familia Requesens confió el archivo a la orden jesuita instalada en Cataluña. Entró en el ANC en 2011.

58. Véase página 644 anterior para más información sobre los problemas de datar estas cartas. Walther enfatizó la necesidad de una nueva edición crítica de toda la correspondencia entre padre e hija con las fechas y transcripciones correctas: lamentablemente, nadie ha respondido todavía a este llamamiento.

59. Los dos registros de la correspondencia del embajador Marillac correspondientes a 1548-1549, analizados en *BNP*, II, 88-105, actualmente se encuentran disponibles en línea: BNF *Ff* 3098-3099 (antes Mss 8625-8626), con copias (también en línea) en BNF *Cinq Cents de Colbert* 397-388 y *Clairambault* 343. La correspondencia diplomática de Marillac de 1550, analizada en *BNP*, II, 106-114, se encuentra ahora en BNF *NAF* 7060 (antes Ms Brienne 89). Todavía no está accesible en línea.

60. Los catálogos detallados de estos documentos fueron realizados mientras se hallaban aún en París: Daumet, «Inventaire»; y Paz, *Catálogo*. Véanse algunos detalles sobre Tirán y sobre la colección de sus documentos procedentes de los archivos españoles que migraron a ANF, en https://francearchives.fr/en/facomponent/56390733ecade52ac4b13529b82e7009b5188 Hasta fechas recientes, las cajas donde se guardaban los documentos devueltos a Simancas tenían estampado el sello de la Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, que ordenaba a todos los funcionarios de aduana que permitieran su libre tránsito, con fecha de 16 de octubre de 1941. En su reunión con Hitler en Hendaya, celebrada el 23 de octubre de 1940, Franco había pedido que se obligara a los derrotados franceses a repatriar estos documentos, y por una vez Hitler cumplió su promesa.

61. Moreno Gallego, «Letras misivas», ofrece la mejor explicación hasta la fecha sobre la dispersión de los papeles del cardenal.

62. The New York Public Library, Obadiah Rich Collection, Mss. 79-82, contiene transcripciones de algunos, si bien no todos, los documentos de la RAH, y algún otro material de Pizarro-La Gasca que aparentemente no se encuentra en la RAH: véase Brownrigg, *Colonial*, 70-85. *CODOIN*, XLIX y L, también publicaron muchos documentos relacionados con la pacificación que La Gasca llevó a cabo en el Perú; y Saville, «Some unpublished letters», publicó cinco cartas importantes de La Gasca a las autoridades españolas en Guatemala, donde queda patente la habilidad con la que movilizó los recursos de todo el hemisferio para aplastar la rebelión de Pizarro. Véase también material de La Gasca en la BR: página 699 anterior.

63. Agradezco a Bill Frank (ya fallecido) y a Clay Stalls, conservadores de las Hispanic Collections de la Huntington, su ayuda en la recopilación de esta descripción de los papeles de Pizarro-La Gasca.

64. Baumgarten, *Geschichte*, III, V-VI; Berwick, *Correspondencia*, 138, Fuensalida a los Reyes Católicos, 4 de agosto de 1500, ofrece la primera descripción de Carlos, entonces de cinco meses de edad.

65. BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.III f. 57, Young y Boleyn a Enrique VIII, Bruselas, 3 de noviembre de 1512, copia del registro.

66. Senatore, «*Uno mundo de carta*», 274, Galeazzo Maria Sforza a Giovan Pietro Panigarola, 21 de marzo de 1476. El título de Senatore procede de la queja de un embajador milanés, expresada en 1448, de que la diplomacia de su señor crearía «uno mundo de carta»: un siglo después, su predicción se había cumplido.

67. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 34-37. Contarini sirvió a Carlos en el puesto de embajador de Venecia entre 1521 y 1525; además, como embajador papal, vio mucho a Carlos durante la cumbre de Bolonia de 1529-1530 y de nuevo en la Dieta de Ratisbona en 1541, y llegó a hacer interesantes comparaciones entre el emperador joven y el ya maduro.

68. Nott, *The works*, II, XII. Véase también Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 67-76, un informe combinado de cinco embajadores venecianos (Tiépolo, Corner, Contarini, Venier y Mocenigo al Dogo, Niza, 24 de mayo de 1538) de una larga audiencia con Carlos, en el que hacen constar «tutto il ragionamento di Sua Maestà con l'ordine et parole istesse quanto più fedelmente havemo potuto». Véase también Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, 44-153: 21 cartas, con una extensión de 111 páginas impresas, escritas desde la cumbre de Niza celebrada en mayo y junio de 1538, enviada «per oratores quinque», dado que los acreditados en la corte francesa, la imperial y la papal estaban todos presentes y eran conscientes de la importancia de la decisión que se iba a tomar. De Vivo, «Archives of speech», destaca el valor de estos informes.

69. *SP*, IX, 638-647, Wotton a Enrique, Espira, 9 de abril de 1544; TNA *SP* 1/182/157-164, «Articles concluded between the viceroy and the king's highness commissioners for ye invasion of France» («Artículos acordados entre el virrey y los altos comisionados del rey para la invasión de Francia»), sin fecha, pero correspondientes al 31 de diciembre de 1543 (cursiva añadida).

70. BL *Cott. Ms*. Vespasian C.III/257-266, Lee a Enrique VIII, 7 de septiembre de 1526; BAV *Vat. Lat*. 6753/203v-215, Navagero a la Señoría, 6 de septiembre de 1526 (resumen en inglés en *CSPV*, III, 601-606); Serassi, *Delle lettere*, II, 57-71, Castiglione a Capua, 8 de septiembre de 1526. No ha sobrevivido ningún despacho del embajador francés.

71. TNA *SP* 1/22/9, adjuntaba «copia de la carta del emperador». Sobre la carrera y la red de inteligencia de Spinelly véase Behrens, «The office».

72. *NBD*, XIV, 82-83 y 176-177, el nuncio Muzzarrelli al cardenal Del Monte, 18 de junio de 1554 (el emperador concentrado exclusivamente en «questi tumulti di guerra») y 20 de noviembre de 1554 (advirtiendo que «sono li discorsi de speculative»); *NBR* XIII, 259-261, el nuncio Imola a Julio III, 28 de mayo de 1553 (durante cuatro meses Carlos estuvo demasiado enfermo para poder conceder audiencias); íbid., 116-120, el nuncio Camiani a Del Monte, 16 de septiembre de 1552, y Giles, *The whole works*, I/2, 334-336, Ascham a Morison, 1 de octubre de 1552 (alejamiento de los

embajadores a Espira). No obstante, los apagones informativos eran más fáciles de ordenar que de hacer: véase *NBD*, XIII, 395-402, informe detallado del secretario del nuncio tras una visita clandestina de doce días al campamento imperial instalado a las puertas de Metz.

73. Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee*, 433-437, «Las pláticas que el emperador passó con el señor de Pressiu», enviado por Idiáquez a Los Cobos y Granvela, febrero de 1538. Véanse más detalles en el capítulo 10.

74. HSA *B* 2954 contiene una excelente colección de cartas ológrafas intercambiadas entre Carlos, Enrique y Francisco y su madre (y regente), Luisa de Saboya, en la década de 1520; Vañes, «Cartas», publicó 63 cartas de Carlos a Clemente.

75. *L & P Henry VIII*, V, I-VIII, exposición de James Gairdner sobre el gran logro de Brewer.

76. «Germania; Corte Imperiale», *Archivio Mediceo del Principato. Inventario Sommario*, ed. de M. del Piazzo (Roma, 1951), 145-155.

77. ASF *MdP* 652/355, embajador Niccolini a Pagni, Ratisbona, 25 de julio de 1541 [Bia, Doc ID n.º 22385].

78. Sanuto, *I diarii*, XL, cols. 285-286, informaba de cómo el 14 de noviembre de 1525 Contarini, «vestido de terciopelo negro», pasó «tres horas y media» leyendo su *Relazione* al Senado «en una voz tan baja que apenas se le oía». Solo Venecia exigía a sus embajadores que presentaran unas «Relaciones finales» tras cada embajada. Unos cuantos diplomáticos toscanos también lo hicieron, pero en este caso no llegó a convertirse nunca en una práctica habitual.

79. Aparentemente Andrea Navagero no entregó una *Relazione*, sin duda debido a que Carlos le arrestó y encarceló.

80. Alberì, *Relazioni*; Firpo, *Relazioni*. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 34-38, hacen una sucinta descripción de este género.

81. Leva, «Marino Sanuto», 117.

82. Un pequeño ejemplo: *CSPV*, III, 160-161, Contarini a la Señoría, 16 de julio de 1521, dice que el embajador y Carlos estuvieron «reunidos casi dos horas» y sin embargo tanto el original de Contarini (Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXI, 318-320) como su copia de registro (BNMV *Ms Italiani Clase VII*, cod. 1009/75-77) dicen «quasi hore 3». No obstante, algunas de las transcripciones de *CSPV* incluyen desencriptados de pasajes codificados en el original cuya clave se encuentra perdida en la actualidad, y por tanto proporcionan más información que los originales.

83. Axer y Fontan, *Españoles y polacos*, 324, Krysztof Szydlowiecki a Dantiszek, 27 de abril de 1530, agradeciéndole el envío de un retrato de Cortés, y señalando que el rey Fernando le había entregado una copia del «libro de las *Cartas de Relación*», sin duda hecha del ŐNB *Codex vindobonensis* S. N. 1600 (véase página 690 anterior).

84. Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara*, 304, y Druez, «Perspectives», 86, demuestran ambos los nombramientos coincidentes de los cronistas de Carlos.

85. Ver detalles en la entrada de cada crónica en la Bibliografía de este libro. Morel-Fatio nunca publicó más entregas de su *Historiographie*, pero véanse actualizaciones en Kagan, *Clio*, capítulo 2; Chaunu y Escamilla, *Charles*, 1134-1139; y los estudios detallados de García Fuentes, «Bernabé de Busto», y Cuart Moner, «Juan Ginés».

86. Sepúlveda, *Historia*, libro 30, cap. 31. GRM, I, 308-310, Carlos a Juan Vázquez, 9 de julio de 1558, exigió que se tomaran medidas para conseguir la publicación de la historia de Sepúlveda (y la de Ocampo) aun después de la muerte de sus autores.

87. Beinert, «Kaiser Karls V. Rede», Redondo, *Antonio,* 303-349, y Civil, «Enjeux», examinan con detalle los pasajes en los que Santa Cruz plagió a Guevara. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 102-103, cita una carta de Santa Cruz donde consta una conversación mantenida con Carlos en 1556, cuando iba de camino a Yuste.

88. Mariscal, «A clown», 67. En la década de 1980 aparecieron publicadas dos ediciones críticas de esta peculiar obra: véanse detalles bajo la entrada «Zúñiga» de la Bibliografía.

89. Véanse detalles en Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, «Acerca de los *Hechos del Emperador*».

90. Zimmerman, «The publication», 59-61; Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera: II, Epistularum pars altera*, 105, Giovio a Sajonia y Hesse, 29 de agosto de 1547.

91. En 1562 su *Historiae* apareció en dos traducciones distintas al español, provocando un hostil contraataque, *El antijovio*, que saldría cinco años más tarde: Cuart Moner, «Jovio en España»;

92. Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, 282-283 (Carlos llamó mentirosos a Sleidan y a Giovio); Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia,* 430-431, Páez de Castro a Jerónimo Zurita, 12 de julio de 1556, calificó la obra de Sleidan como «bien curiosa en las cosas del imperio», lo que demostraba que pronto sería bien conocida en la corte imperial.

93. López de Gomara, *Annals*, edición bilingüe en español e inglés. El editor, R. B. Merriman, sugirió que Gómara escribió su obra, en la que ensalza en todo momento a Carlos, con la intención de que se revocara la decisión de prohibir su anterior *Historia de las Indias*.

94. Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara*, 303-349, realiza un experto examen sobre los solapamientos entre Guevara, Santa Cruz y Sandoval.

95. Thomas, *Annalium de vita et rebus gestis illustrissimi principis, Friderici*, fue publicado a título póstumo en 1624, y una traducción alemana salió cuatro años más tarde. Sobre el frustrado matrimonio por amor, véanse páginas 96-98 anteriores.

96. Fagel, «Carlos de Luxemburgo», 30 y 63 n. 2, presenta un listado de estos lugares con sus reproducciones. Sobre las excavaciones del palacio de Coudenberg y los jardines que lo rodeaban, véase Heymans, *Le palais du Coudenberg*, 195-196 y 209. Por pura casualidad, la «chapelle de Charles-Quint» sobrevivió al fuego, pero se demolió en 1775.

97. Rosenthal, *The palace*, y Tafuri, *Interpreting*, cap. 6.

98. Detalles en *Monumentos restaurados: el monasterio de Yuste*; Baker-Bates, «The Cloister Life»; y Martín González, «El palacio». Véanse también las descripciones de las ruinas de Clifford, *Photographic scramble* (1857, con fotografías) y de Unamuno, «Yuste» (1908). Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V. El César*, 849, dejó constancia del grado de desolación en el que se encontraba Yuste durante su primera visita en 1955.

99. Véase, por ejemplo, el espléndido conjunto de 19 piezas de madera realizadas para un juego, con un retrato en una cara y la identificación en la otra, reproducido en Haag, *Frauen*, 82.

100. Véanse detalles en Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, «Acerca de los *Hechos del Emperador*», 436-438; y Marcks, «Die Antikensammlung». Sobre la venta fallida, véase http://www.hoy.es/plasencia/busto-carlos-palacio-20171212220145-nt.html.

101. Atlas, *The shadow*, 327.

102. *CSPSp*, VI/2, 105, Carlos a Eustache Chapuys, 12 de agosto de 1542; Brandi, «Die politische Testamente», *B & S*, II, 259 nota 1, Perrenot a Fernando, 9 de mayo de 1557 (documentos de la cancillería imperial que «etliche fur Algers verloren wordten»).

103. Vargas Hidalgo, *Guerra y diplomacia*, XI, «Informe» de Gabriel de Zayas, 4 de octubre de 1592. Véase también Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite*, I, II, nota 3, Courtewille a Viglius, 23 de diciembre de 1559.

104. Tanto en HHStA *Handschrift Blau* 595 f. 188, como en 596/1 f. 277, queda constancia de que el registro «a esté collationé en l'an 1558 et trouvé concorder avec les lettres originalles». Head, «Configuring», 504-506, señala que la recopilación de dichos registros se convirtió en práctica habitual entre los archiveros Habsburgo en la década de 1520.

105. TNA *SP* 1/88/162, Richard Pate a Cromwell, Madrid, 11 de diciembre de 1534.

106. *KFF*, V, 11, citando a Herwig Wolfram; Grata, *Des lettres*, 1921; *CMH*, I, 384-389 y 447-448, María a Carlos, 3 de agosto y 4 de septiembre de 1532.

107. *CSPSp*, II, 25-29, Fernando a Catalina de Aragón, 18 de noviembre de 1509, borrador; Walther, *Anfänge*, 246, Maximiliano a Margarita, 7 de diciembre de 1516, copia; *KFK*, II.1, 96-97, Carlos a Fernando, 1 de julio de 1527 (la carta de Fernando del 9 de mayo se ha perdido, lo que puede significar que Carlos la destruyó).

108. *CSPSp*, I, XIII-XV. En 2018, el CNI español comenzó a utilizar modernas técnicas de criptoanálisis con documentos del siglo XVI, empezando por las cartas en clave que el gran capitán envió desde Nápoles al rey Fernando, en España.

109. Kreiten, «Der Briefwechsel», 248-249, Maximiliano a Margarita, 29 de abril de 1508, ológrafa; BL *Cott. Ms*. Galba B.V/241, Margarita a Wolsey, Gante, 12 de mayo de 1517 («car ce sont choses que pourroit mieulx a dire de bouche que par lettre»); Danvila, *Historia crítica*, II, 489, Adriano a Carlos, 31 de agosto de 1520.

110. ADN *B* 2249 (77.795), recibo firmado por «maistre Adriaen Florencii» (esto es, Adriano de Utrecht), 1 de octubre de 1515; ADN *B* 2510/608 y 621, informe del recaudador general Bouloingne correspondiente a 1555 (cursiva añadida).

111. AHN Nobleza *Frías* C.23 D.5, Carlos al conde de Haro, 19 de agosto de 1528 (casi con toda seguridad para nombrarle guardián de los hijos de Francisco I, entonces rehenes en España, y darle órdenes a tal efecto); HHStA *Hs Blau* 596/1/103-104, Carlos a Fernando, 18 de abril de 1546, copia de registro.

112. *PEG*, II, 460-461, Carlos al embajador Hannart, 25 de mayo de 1536, minuta.

113. Ball y Parker, *Cómo ser rey*, 86 y 133, Instrucción de Carlos del 6 de mayo de 1543.

114. Caro, *The years of Lyndon Johnson. The Path to Power*, 776-777; Caro, *The years of Lyndon Johnson. Master of the Senate*, 1052-1053; y una entrevista con Caro en *Fresh Air* el 13 de mayo de 2013, http://www.npr.org/books/authors/151439873/robert-a-caro.

115. Gachard, «Particularités», 128-129 (publicado de nuevo en Gachard, *Études et notices*, II, 352-353); Schlegelmilch, *Die Jugendjahre*.

116. *CDCV*, IV, 11, parte de un revelador relato de cómo el historiador que encargó el proyecto, Cayetano Alcázar, «me había echado una mano cuando tantos me habían vuelto la espalda». La historia se repitió en Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V. El hombre*, 11.

117. *CDCV* omitió a propósito los documentos ya publicados en colecciones importantes: no solo *CODOIN*, sino también *LCK* (con 1.009 documentos de Bruselas) y *PEG* (739 del reinado de Carlos, casi todos procedentes de Besançon). Peiró Martín, *En los altares*, 174-175 y 184-185, proporciona detalles interesantes sobre la elaboración de *CDCV* por el «falangista de juventud y ocasión Manuel Fernández Álvarez».

118. Cohn, «Did bribery», 2.

119. De B. Greiff, «Was Kayser Carolus dem Vten die Römisch Künglich Wal cost im 1520», *Jahresbericht des historischen Kreis-Vereins in Schwaben und Neuburg*, XXXIV (Augsburgo, 1868), 9-50 (publicado también como separata).

120. Tyler, *The emperor*, 357-358; *KBB*, II, 28-29; Dixon, «Charles V», 106-108. Véase un análisis razonado sobre las biografías de Brandi, Tyler y otros, en Galasso, «L'opera».

121. *BKK*, II, 196, admitió que un documento de la RAH (Madrid), citado por un historiador anterior, «ist mir unbekannt geblieben». Resulta significativo que varias guías archivísticas publicadas en *B & S* omiten ADN. Para más información sobre Brandi y sus obras sobre Carlos, véase Plassmann, *Karl Brandi*.

122. Simons, *Keizer Karel*; Fagel, «A broken portrait», 77-78.

123. Möller Recondo, «Carlos V». Véanse págs. 385-386 sobre la frecuencia de visitas en el sitio web de la Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes.

* Le Glay, *Correspondencia,* I, 241-242, Maximiliano a Margarita, 28 de febrero de 1510.

* Cersei Lannister a Eddard Stark, *Juego de tronos*, temporada I, episodio 7 (2011).

* *SP*, IX, 505-507, Nicholas Wotton, embajador inglés en la corte imperial, a Enrique VIII, 9 de septiembre de 1543, tras la rápida conquista de Güeldres.

* Conversación entre Cersei Lannister y su hijo, el rey Joffrey Baratheon, *Juego de Tronos,* temporada III de la serie de televisión, episodio 2 (2013).

Carlos V: una nueva vida del emperador
Geoffrey Parker

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